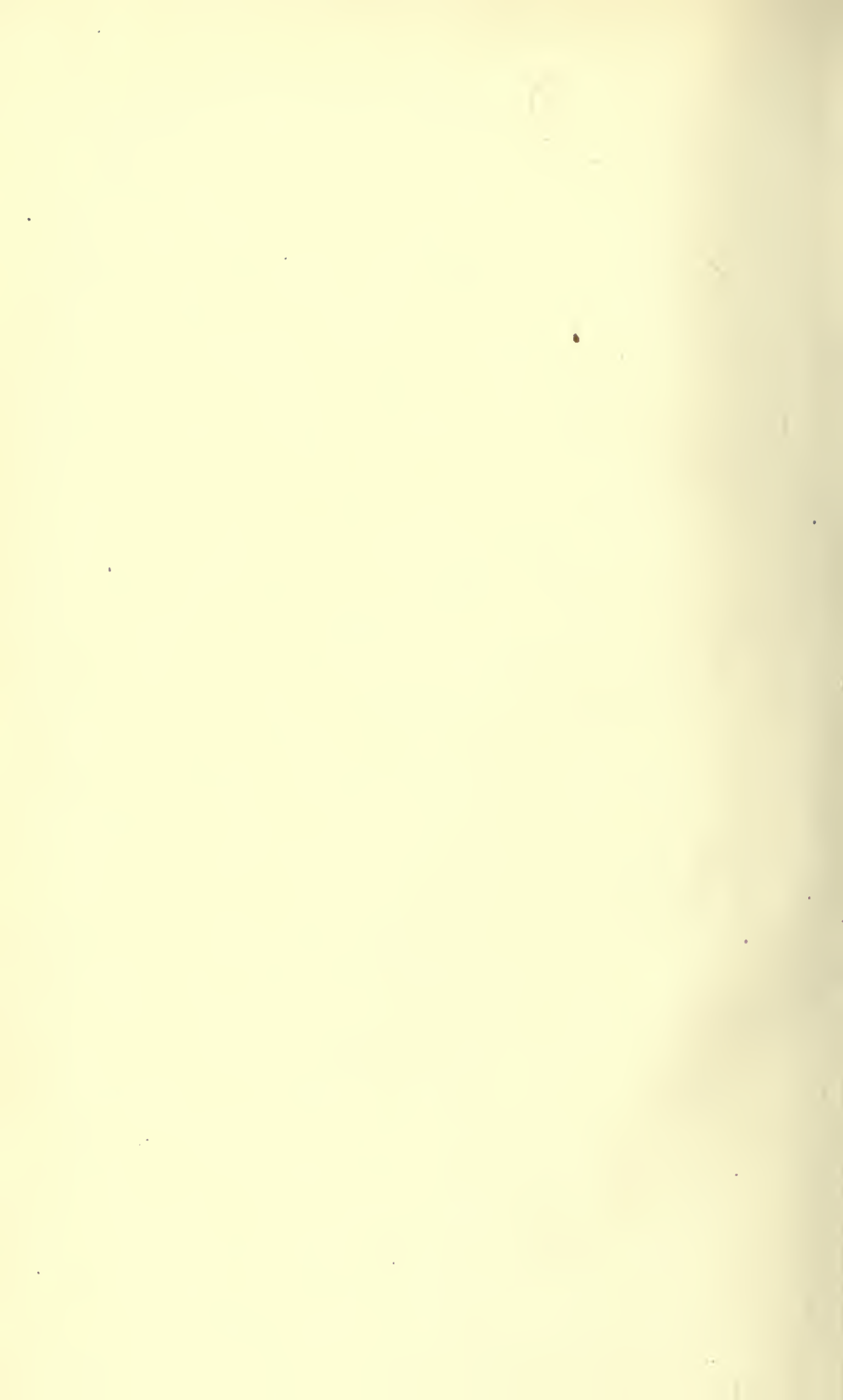








Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation





Rufus Blanchard,

H25.
B6394d

Discovery and Conquests

OF THE

NORTHWEST

WITH THE

HISTORY OF CHICAGO

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

BY

Rufus Blanchard.

CHICAGO :
R. BLANCHARD AND COMPANY
169 RANDOLPH ST.
1898

48996
27/10/00

APR 10 1882
CHICAGO

The author acknowledges lasting obligations to the citizens of Chicago for their generous confidence in him, during his half century's labors among them in cartography and history; by virtue of which he submits the following pages to them, without the immunity of a copyright, not fearing that anyone would unjustly appropriate them, to the prejudice of

Theirs respectfully,

RUFUS BLANCHARD.

APR 10 1882
CHICAGO

INTRODUCTION.

It would not be just for me to introduce the reader to the following pages, without first gratefully acknowledging a lasting debt of obligation to Mr. L. Z. Leiter, for his generous assistance, thereby enabling me to bring this work before the public in a style which the good taste of Chicago people will approve. And here it can with truth be said, that, he has always manifested a lively interest in every effort to obtain and give to the public a complete history of our City and State, and to give aid to every work aiming at a higher life or public utility.

It has been twenty years since the first volume of this work was written, since which time many of the pioneers of Chicago have passed away. They have gone ere they had lived to see what may now be called, with no impropriety, the second stage of this City's growth.

From interviews with them the writer obtained much material as to the infancy of our City, when it consisted of board sidewalks, without curbing, precariously nailed to sleepers resting on mud; streets thrown up of alluvial soil, or in some cases covered with plank in a slipshod manner, vibrating up and down as carriages passed over them. Most of the private houses were made of boards nailed on a slender frame-work of scantling, one or two stories high, without basements.

Such was Chicago as the writer first saw it. It did not then present a promising subject for history, but a few years later the march of improvement changed all this. The future gleamed brightly before prophetic eyes, and it is not too much to say that the Kinzies, the Beaubiens, Gurdon S. Hubbard, the Clybourns and others, to whom the writer was indebted for information in his researches, had but an imperfect conception of Chicago's destiny.

The history of Chicago would be imperfectly written unless it was accompanied with an outline record of the great interior, whose advance in nationality, as States represent it—has ever been and must ever be abreast with the City itself.

Spain took the lead in settling the New World. The West India Islands, Peru, Mexico and Florida were Spanish provinces before any other nation had obtained even a foothold in the great Western inheritance of Nature. Despising the slow process of agriculture as a means of wealth, they wasted their strength in searching for gold wherever they went, and left the fairest portions of America to be colonized by France and England. France pushed her settlements up the St. Lawrence river, and ultimately into the country of the great chain of lakes and the entire valley of the Mississippi, with a view of holding the great channels of American commerce, while the English set their foot upon the Atlantic coast, without any plans for the future. Year after year they toiled in contentment along the eastern fringe of the continent, hardly beyond the hearing of the waves that beat against their narrow foothold in the New World. What was beyond these confines they knew not, nor had they time to inquire, for other work was before them. Across the ocean they had unconsciously borne the elements of a great nation. These had to be planted on a new soil and cultivated into a vigorous growth. While this planting season was in progress, the French, with far-reaching ambition, were strengthening their positions in the interior by building forts and establishing friendly relations with the Indians.

No rivalry between the two nations was manifested at first, but ultimately the religion and State policy of France was destined to come into competition with these same elements in the workings of the English mind. The latter prevailed after a long and apparently even-matched warfare, and the hopes of France were dashed to the ground.

The English flag now waved over lake, river and coast, wherever beginnings had been made, but their triumph had but a transient tenure. A new idea seizes upon the minds of men, and a new flag springs into existence. The English in turn are driven from the soil, and only the Indians, its natural inheritors, left to contend against the Americans. A prolonged struggle

ensued on their part for existence, and on ours for advancement. Many complex conditions were brought into the issue. The early French relations to the Indians; their intermarriages and consequent sympathy for them; the fur trade and its medley of associations; the partially successful missionary efforts, both of the French Roman Catholic Fathers and of the United Brethren, or Moravians—all these brought a charm of romance into the ever open chasm between the pioneer soldiers and the tenacious Indians.

The jurists, the schoolmasters and the ministers of New England and Virginia followed a host of pioneers to the new field, where all the appliances of civilization were to be built, and the timber taken from the stump. During this process the stream of wealth has more than kept pace with expectation, till we now find ourselves equal in rank and influence with the older States of the Union. For this position we are partly indebted to recruits from all the enlightened nations of Europe, and it is not too much to say that we are made up of the activity and enterprise of the world, as it brimmed over its confines at home, and found a broader field here for its action.

"The West," "Western," "Western characteristics," are significant expressions. They mean dash, spirit, elasticity, resolution and hope. Nor is it strange that these are the prominent traits of a people whose star of destiny has so suddenly risen to the zenith; of a people nurtured into confidence in themselves by an almost unrelenting tide of advancement in everything which constitutes national grandeur; and if the images of youth are to be recast in our mature years, they will have to be run in even a larger mold.

The second volume will consist of an historic record of the City's growth in her mature years, when she was no longer a house built on the sand, but on deep foundations of granite dimension stone. The era of building libraries, universities, and kindred institutions, is now present with us. The era of railroad concentration; of street-car transportation, in its improved speed, and safety; of private commercial interest; of manufacturing plants; of inventions and progress—is now in full tide. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892, first a dream, soon a reality, drew confidence and capital here, and will be treated as its importance deserves. A

new and broader field for the ambitious spirits of Chicago followed in its train.

Large cities are the result of geographical thoroughfares, fashioned by the hand of Nature. These are working in harmony with art in Chicago, and it is easy to build a city where the hydraulic power of Lakes and Rivers converge in a great interior plateau in the heart of a continent. London is the acknowledged metropolis of the world, because the wisdom of the Anglo-Saxon people have made it such. By concentrating the great thoroughfares of the world to herself. In Chicago Nature has been foremost in doing the same thing. The ultimate issue of this belongs to future generations, while it may be truthfully said, that the foot of Time, in its unremitting tramp, falls with equal force and grandeur on both sides of the great ocean that rolls between the old world and the new, without separating their common interests.

Across the broad Atlantic flew
The germ-cells of a nation new.
They struck New England's rugged shore—
The threshold of the open door
That led within, where grandeurs rise
Beneath the dome of western skies.
Beside the shore of Michigan
A city poses in the van,
Where Art and Nature both have vied
To build Chicago by its tide.

CHICAGO, May, 1898.

RUFUS BLANCHARD.

CHAPTER I.

Jaques Cartier explores the St. Lawrence River—Settlement of Quebec—Discovery of Lake Champlain—Expedition against the Iroquois—Dutch Settlement at Albany—Discovery of Lake Huron—The Falls of St. Mary reached—The French take formal possession of the country—Discovery of the Mississippi River—The Pictured Rocks—Discovery of the Chicago Portage—Marquette winters at Chicago—The Indians' affection for him—Religious services on the prairies—Death of Marquette—The removal of his remains to St. Ignace—His Journal—Late discovery of his bones.

The forces of Nature lay the foundations of the largest cities; not man. Their architecture is grander than he can conceive. His first plans for them miscarry, while Nature, in her own irresistible way, provides some spot accessible to a large and fruitful country where the carrying trade both of land and water can find a convenient entrepot.

On the great plateau intermediate between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi valley the surface of the earth was excavated for a great chain of lakes whose waters originally spread over large portions of the interior.

The receding waters from this plateau have brought to the surface the best agricultural country in the world, where the sedimentary deposits of ages untold can be utilized to produce food for nations. Geological changes laid this foundation for our national grandeur, whatever other influences have ornamented and given the finishing touches to its structure.

During the centuries that drained this interior, Europe was wasting human life in war, not on great issues that affected all classes, but on the establishment

of dynasties, long since gone into deserved obscurity, and on religious dogmas, transient as cloud studies.

America offered a nobler field for ambition, and on its shores the first recoil began; but it was reserved for the great Northwest, of which Chicago is the commercial center, to finish this work, by turning the tide of trade between Europe and America in favor of the latter. This has been accomplished, in obedience to the laws of nature, against whose fiat no European legislation can contend with success.

The discovery and exploration of the whole interior of the country was the work of French zeal and enthusiasm. To propagate the faith was the first object, at least in theory, but not far behind it was ambition to annex new realms to the crown of France. In pursuit of these two objects, the exploits of their adventurers, soldiers and missionaries have justly challenged the admiration of the world. Borne along by the tidal wave of glory, these men gathered force and strength as they penetrated into the country, and breathed the air of freedom which pervaded the limitless creation of prairie and forest under the regime of the red man.

Even before the Spaniards, under De Soto, had penetrated from Florida to the Mississippi river, which was from 1539 to 1543, the French, under Jaques Cartier, had sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec. This was in 1534. The delighted adventurers returned to France with the news of their discoveries of the wedge-shaped river, ninety miles wide at its mouth, graduating to the dimensions of a common river at Quebec.

What was beyond was left to conjecture, for the present, for France was then too much distracted with religious dissensions, at home, to utilize her discoveries on the St. Lawrence, and it was not till 1608 that she made the attempt. At that time Samuel de Champlain, who was justly called the father of New France, made a permanent settlement at Quebec. He was the man for the place; austere in religion, sapient in politics, and courageous in war.

The deeds of the first settlers of all new countries are germ-cells of future destiny. Even the early Indian policy has had its influence, and it is not too much to say, may have had much to do with casting the lot of the Northwest, ultimately, with the English colonies, instead of with the French, who were its first discover-

ers and white owners. The tribes along the St. Lawrence, or Hochelega, as it was sometimes called, were friendly with the French, whom they called Ononthio (our older brother). In Champlain they beheld their champion who could lead them to victory against their ancient enemies, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who inhabited the present State of New York. Their central seat of power was located on the banks of Onondaga lake, among the cluster of lakes which was then, and is now, the paradise of the region thereabouts.

Without discussing the merits of the dispute between these traditionary enemies, Champlain consented to lead a war party of his allies, of the St. Lawrence, against the Iroquois. It was in 1609, the next year after the settlement of Quebec, that he, with a canoe fleet of noisy Indians, paddled his way up the river, then without a name, which connects the waters of Lake Champlain* with the St. Lawrence river. Following the western bank of the lake nearly to the present site of Ticonderoga, at midnight, they saw the enemy, who, like themselves, were on some adventure. The two parties held a parley and agreed to land and wait till daylight before commencing the fight.

In accordance with this truce, each band chose their positions like duelists on a field of honor. Champlain opened the battle by piercing two Iroquois chiefs through the body at a single shot of his rifle, and the brave but astonished Iroquois fled before the effective weapons of warfare which had been so unexpectedly introduced among them. But the end was not yet. The same year Henry Hudson sailed up the river, which bears his name, to the present site of Albany, where Ft. Orange was built soon afterward. Around this nucleus of German power (ultimately English power) the Iroquois gathered with amicable intentions, all the more abiding from the fact that the French had assaulted them at first sight, and thus made them their enemies.

This good fellowship was reciprocated. The Indians wanted guns, kettles and knives, and the Dutch wanted furs in exchange for them. In a few years they wanted more. As the aggressive spirit of the French, on the St. Lawrence, began to make itself manifest, the Dutch found their Iroquois allies a convenient bulwark, be-

* The lake took its name from him.

hind which to take shelter from their Canadian foes, both French and Indian, who at an early day often threatened the Northern border with destructive forays; meantime Champlain's colony soon began to feel the weight of Iroquois vengeance, relieved only by treacherous intervals of peace.

In 1615 Champlain pushed his explorations to the banks of Lake Huron, and flourishing missionary stations were established in the country of the Hurons on the Eastern shore of the lake, which still perpetuate their memory.

In 1641 two zealous missionaries, Jogues and Ram-bault, reached the falls of St. Mary, and in 1658 two venturesome fur traders, one of whose names was De Groseilles, reached the Western extremity of Lake Superior, and wintered among the Sioux, the same people whose descendants overwhelmed the army of Gen. Custer, in the Black Hills, during the summer of 1876. At that time these tribes numbered 40,000* and held the country far to the West—even beyond the Mississippi river. They told the French traders about the great river which flowed southwardly through the interior, which were the first direct tidings which came to them of this stream. The next spring the two traders returned to Canada with an escort of 250 Indians and a valuable cargo of furs. A great sensation was produced by this imposing delegation. The news they brought of the great river was particularly inspiring to the French, whose passion for water channels of communication into the interior was overweening.

An expedition to return with the Sioux to their distant lodges beyond the great lakes, was immediately set on foot; all classes were eager to join it, the fur traders for peltries, and the missionaries to open new fields for gospel cultivation. The former provided themselves with trinkets for barter with the Indians, and the latter with baptismal basins wherewith to put the seal of Christianity upon their disciples, who were to be converted from heathenish darkness into the light of Christianity.

Armed with these and other appliances, the hosts of the devil were to be attacked in the very heart of his dominion, to use the language of the Jesuit relations during those days of chivalric piety. And in truth,

* Charlevoix, Carver, Pike.

when these hardy old Soldiers of the Cross appropriated the watchwords of the battle-field, as fitting expressions to symbolize the work before them, it can not be denied that the metaphor was not far-fetched, especially after Jogues, Lallemand, Brebeuf, Garreau and Garnier had fallen victims of Iroquois vengeance, as they did soon afterwards.

The expedition started from Montreal the next spring, numbering thirty young Frenchmen, to whom were added Fathers Leonard Garreau and Gabriel Dreuillettes,* and the Sioux delegation who had accompanied the traders. The eyes of the ever watchful and jealous Iroquois were upon them, and they had but little more than lost sight of their starting place, when they were waylaid by these ubiquitous foes. Father Garreau and several others were killed on the spot; the other Frenchmen saved themselves by flight, leaving their canoes and merchandise in the hands of the victors. No cause for a quarrel had yet had place between the Iroquois and Sioux, and the latter were allowed to depart in peace for their homes.

It was not till 1665 that any further progress was made in Western exploration. At this time Father Alouez, reaching the Falls of St. Mary in September,

*This eminent missionary had been stationed for several years among the Abenakis of Sagadahoc (Maine). Returning from thence to Canada, by order of his superiors, he was soon commissioned to go to Boston on an embassy, to bring about a comity of interest, both religious and secular. Canada at that time was oppressed by the burdens of impolitic legislation, such as the banishment of Huguenots and onerous restrictions on the fur trade, and her statesmen beheld with amazement the rising power of the Massachusetts colony, and felt a strong desire to negotiate a treaty with the Bostonians, for the purpose of working in harmony together for the conversion of the Indians, and also to keep them under a wholesome restraint by a concert of action between the English and French. In response to this overture, the prudential Bostonians, under the counsels of such men as Winslow, Dudley, Bradford and Eliot, declined the proposal. Every possible token of respect was shown their distinguished guest. But these considerate representatives of the New American Idea, based on religious toleration, determined not to dilute the force of it by complicity with the elements in Canada, which were carrying weights in the exciting race for National grandeur between the two contestants. Moreover, the Iroquois had never raised the hatchet against Massachusetts, and if they had swept Canada with the fire-brand and scalping-knife, even as the sickle reaps the wheat field and the fire consumes the stubble, might it not be in the providence of God to punish them for their persecutions of the Huguenots? Therefore the disappointed priest was dismissed with a refusal to grant his request, softened with courtly blandishments, but withal an air of independence, as much as to say: we are willing to trust to the providence of God for our future destiny, and you must also do the same.

coasted along the southern shore of Lake Superior to the great village of the Chippewas.

Here he summoned a council of Indian nations, composed of delegations from all the tribes of the adjacent countries, among whom were representatives from the Illinois tribe, which is the first mention made of them. In Father Alouez they beheld a champion of human rights, and to him they unbosomed their griefs by first informing him of their ancient grandeur, and then of their diminished numbers from hostile visitations of the Sioux on the West and the Iroquois from the East, who had extended their conquests over the prairies, even before the white man had come among them. Alouez addressed them with words of paternal care, offering them the Christian religion and promising them protection against the Iroquois.

Soon after this, missions were established at Green Bay, St. Mary's and La Point, but the next notable event which took place was the grand gathering at St. Mary's. Nicholas Perrot was the moving spirit of this convention. Thither he summoned chiefs from no less than fourteen tribes to help celebrate the ceremonies, for a great deed was to be executed. Possession was to be taken of the country. Fifteen Frenchmen were present, among whom were Alouez and Joliet. A large wooden cross was consecrated, and elevated like a liberty pole of modern days. This done, around it knelt the priests, who sang, chanted and prayed with suitable impressment, and went through the forms of taking possession of the country along the upper lakes and "Southward to the sea," a description of an unknown quantity, for up to that time no explorer had ventured very far into the interior.

It was well known, however, that a great river coursed Southwardly through the country, but whither did it lead? The hopeful theory was, that it opened into waters leading to Cathay, China, for this pleasing illusion, which had been the incentive to Columbus when he penetrated the secrets of the ocean, was still the golden dream of the Canadian adventurers.

Pending these speculations, Father Marquette and Joliet obtained leave from Taylon, the Intendant of Canada, to start on an expedition for the purpose of bringing to light the mysteries of this river, the country it drained, and whither it went.

Joliet was born in Canada and was educated for a priest, but was evidently better fitted, by nature, for an explorer than for a father confessor. But Marquette had not mistaken his calling. With peculiar fitness and grace his sacerdotal robes depended from his shoulders, belted around his waist by the inevitable cord of his priestly order. The love of God and man, and the deep adoration of the blessed Virgin, who was his patron Saint, were ever visible in his face, which was cast in a mould of benevolence.

The tender passions of his youth found vent in the pious devotions which were his every-day routine, and which for nearly twenty years had made him conspicuous among his Jesuit brethren in the vanguard of that army of pioneers, who were winning fame on the page of history. The two distinguished men started from St. Ignace, a small missionary station on the north shore of the Straits of Mackinaw. Two birch bark canoes, five men, a bag of corn meal, a string of dried beef and a blanket apiece, constituted their outfit, except the all-important appliances for religious devotions, such as beads and crosses, so necessary to the success of the enterprise.

Their route lay along the north shore of Lake Michigan and the west bank of Green Bay. Fathers Alouez and Dablon had established the mission of St. Francis Xavier here four years previously, and welcomed the adventurers on their laudable enterprise, with that hearty unction which can only be appreciated by men who have missions to perform, big with future destiny. Resuming their journey, they passed through the waters of Lake Winnebago, and thence, accompanied by Indian guides, continued up the Fox river to the carrying place across to the Wisconsin river. Into this stream they launched their canoes, and for the first time dipped their paddles into the tributary waters of the Mississippi. Down its current they passed under cedar-crested precipices of solid rock, through forest glooms and across long stretches of sandy prairie. No marks of human life were apparent along these, then silent, grandeurs which are now the admiration of tourists in the picturesque State of Wisconsin.

On the 17th of June they emerged from the prairie copse which fringed the banks of the Wisconsin, entered the forest shades which stud the Mississippi, and soon

found themselves on its broad surface of moving waters, "with a joy I cannot express," says the devout Marquette.*

As they passed down its waters the scenery was changed. The banks were less precipitous than the bold headlands of the Wisconsin, and the country looked more promising, as they obtained occasional views of it through the openings along its wooded margin. Herds of buffalo were seen grazing on the ample pasturage of the prairies, which must have struck the beholders as a waste of nature's gifts.

In the neighborhood of the Des Moines river they discovered human footprints and hesitated not to follow them. Leaving their canoes in charge of the five men who accompanied them, Marquette and Joliet took the Indian path, and after two leagues' travel, came in sight of their villages. The two adventurers shouted to attract attention, and four chiefs advanced to meet them with friendly tokens. "Who are you?" inquired Marquette, in good Indian dialect. "We are Illinois," answered the chiefs. This word in their language, the Algonquin, meant "men," and the chiefs emphasized the expression to distinguish themselves from the Iroquois, whom they designated as brutes. The incentive to this reply was to give their guests an assurance of friendship. They feasted them with roast buffalo, fish and sagamite (hominy), and even honored them with the proffer of roast dog. The distinguished guests, however, declined this dainty repast, although they did not call in question the spirit of hospitality with which it was offered. After suitable prayers, benedictions and compliments, the Frenchmen took their leave, continuing their course down the river.

Just above Alton is a high bluff of solid rock. On its time-worn surface some artistic Indian had in time past exhibited his accomplishments by painting a monstrosity in human form.† Marquette was startled at the sight. But the departed spirit of the savage artist whose genius inspired it, and immortalized his own

* Marquette named it Conception River, in honor of the day on which it was discovered.

† No historic authority can be quoted for this assumption, but the theory is plausible enough to warrant its belief in absence of contravening testimony. Portions of this picture were visible as late as 1850, and might have been till this day had not the stone on which it was painted been quarried out for building purposes.

memory, did not come to his rescue. Therefore the pious Marquette was indignant at the sight of the impious device, and doubted not that the devil was its author. Fain would he have effaced the sacrilegious picture, but it was beyond his reach. Painfully he ruminated on this evidence of demonology in the land, as the two bark canoes were borne along as if propelled by the forces of nature, till suddenly they found themselves in the breakers of the Missouri river, whose eddies whirled their light water craft like chaff in a miniature hurricane. This momentary danger diverted his thoughts from the unpleasant subject, and they proceeded along with extra caution.

They passed the site of the present city of St. Louis, slumbering beneath the shades of a full-grown forest, with no premonition of her future destiny. The giddy heights of Grand Tower and the Ohio river were passed without meeting any more signs of life, but on the left bank, below this river, they again saw Indians. A friendly interview was secured by means of the calumet, and to their astonishment they found them dressed in broadcloth and armed with guns.* No tidings of the sea coast could be obtained from them, and the two bands of voyagers parted company with an interchange of courtesies.

Below the Ohio the monotony of scenery is chilling. Here the massed floods from the Western slopes of the Alleghenies and the Eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains roll along through a low, spongy soil, and with a power mighty and unremitting wear away on one bank and replenish on the other,—on one side a primeval forest being undermined and falling by piecemeal into the river, while on the other a young nursery of cottonwood trees sprouting up, to occupy ground that, but a few decades past, was the bosom of the rolling deep, and a few centuries past a mature forest of giant trees.

Through these glooms the adventurers passed down the river, till the mouth of the Arkansas was reached. Here again they met Indians, savage as nature could make them. The hot-headed young men of the tribe hurled their war clubs at the new-comers, one of which flew over Marquette's head; the pious missionary prayed

*They probably were a roving band from the far distant borders of civilization on the Atlantic coast.

to the holy Virgin, and presented the potent calumet. The old men, seeing the situation, call back and restrain the young attackers, and a friendly meeting is the result, for which Marquette, with his accustomed loyalty to the blessed Virgin, gives all the credit to her, without reserving any for the calumet.

From their new hosts they learned that the mouth of the Mississippi was but ten days' travel distant, but it was not deemed prudent to advance farther, with the intense heat of July upon them, and the danger of being picked up by Spanish adventurers imminent. They had passed below the point where De Soto had discovered and crossed the Mississippi in 1541, which was one hundred and thirty-two years previous, but no trace of his work had remained, not even in tradition.*

The object of their expedition had been fulfilled, which was to discover the great river and determine whether it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean. In the latter case the hopes of the past century would be realized, which was a Western passage to the land of the Grand Kahn. That the great river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico no doubt could now exist, but that the waters of the Missouri led to lakes or straits which opened into the Pacific, was still a pleasing illusion.

The voyagers, with thankful hearts, now determined to return, and on the 17th of July, after an affectionate leave-taking of their conciliated, but rather doubtful friends, turned their canoes up-stream, when came the tug of tugging; for 'twas no easy task to stem the current of the Mississippi. Patient toiling at the oar finally brought them to the mouth of the Illinois river, where the Kaskaskias volunteered to conduct the voyagers to Lake Michigan by a more convenient route than the one by which they had come, which was by the Illinois, the Desplaines and the Chicago rivers.†

*Some late historians have stated that Spanish coats of mail, captured from De Soto, were found here by the French, but their authority is not quoted.

†This is conceded to be the first record made of any allusion to the Chicago portage, although Alouez, Nicholet and Perrot have each been credited by some writers as the first to visit Chicago. But it is possible, and even probable, that the Illinois chiefs informed Alouez of the place at his great council at the Chippewa village on Lake Superior in 1665; yet no record is made of such information by either Shea or Parkman. That wandering French hunters had visited this place before is believed by some critical historians, but such a theory, though probable, is speculative,

Marquette gladly availed himself of their services, especially as it would bring him to the acquaintance of new tribes to whom the blessed words of the Gospel had never been spoken. On the Illinois river, along the shores of Peoria lake, and in the vicinity of Starved Rock, near the present site of Utica, were the principal villages of the Illinois tribes. The squaws dug up the rich prairie soil with sharpened sticks, planted their corn, and cultivated it with the same rude instruments. The yellow harvest was carefully stored in caches* for the common use of the tribe, none of which was wasted in the manufacture of whisky or assigned to tax gatherers. Their government, or rather their absence of government, was simple. If one person committed an offence against another, prompt vengeance was taken on the spot. All shared alike in creature comforts, but yet an aristocracy existed among them, quite as marked as can be found at the same place now. It was not based on wealth, for they had nothing which could represent it, beyond a few glittering ornaments which were within the means of the humblest porcupine hunter; but it was based on some act of daring or wise or heroic counsel which had promoted the public weal.

These qualifications gave their possessors the right to speak in their councils and challenged due homage from the whole tribe. By these qualifications in gradations of political power and influence nice distinctions were made by common consent; and he who would transcend these distinctions would be ostracised unsparingly, with no asylum wherewith to hide his disgrace.

To these high-minded chiefs Marquette offered the Christian religion, and no opposition was made to it; indeed they set their subordinates an example of patronage to it by manifesting a commendable interest in it, nor did they by implication or otherwise show any signs of preference for their own God, the Great Spirit. Marquette was delighted at the prospect that a nation might be born in a day, especially when they listened to his religious tenets and elementary explanations of the plan of salvation, and politely invited him to return and set up the standard of the cross among them. Thus passed the hours of his sojourn among the flexible Illinois; and

*These were excavations in the ground, not unlike cellars, covered with earth.

when the pious missionary resumed his journey with Joliet and his company of five, a large delegation of his late Indian friends accompanied them to Chicago. Few people ever came to this place for the first time without an excited curiosity to see it, and it is only a reasonable presumption that these French adventurers were eager to behold the face of the dear old lake, in whose sparkling waters they had for many years glided their light barks, in its northern extremity, and especially to see the little inlet stream called Chicago, to which the Indians attached so much importance.

'Twas in September. The emerald hues of the prairie had already been mottled with the mature tints of autumn. The summer haze had vanished, and the stimulating breath of the familiar old lake greeted them cheerfully, as the party crossed the carrying place from the Desplaines to the South branch of the Chicago river. Into the little stream they launched their boats, and their wake sent tiny waves among the tall grasses which bathed their roots in the water's edge on each side. Here the two bands parted with a hearty good-bye; the Indians returned to their lodges, and the Frenchmen took their course down the western shore of the lake.

It is in the economy of Providence to hide the book of fate from all, else who could move in their accustomed spheres. Where is the fruitage of those seeds which Marquette planted during his life-labors in the wilds of America, and where the haughty tribes whom the French hoped to elevate to their own standard by infusing their own spirit into their facile but keen senses?

The enthusiasm and dash of the French and their tawny allies have melted away before the silent power which began without high expectations, on the stubborn coast of the Atlantic, and the Chicago of to-day is no inconsiderable monument of the force of this power. Its destiny, however, was yet a sealed book, and so it remained for a century from this time.

Marquette and his party soon arrived at the Mission at Green Bay. His strength was exhausted, and he was obliged to remain here for the winter to rest, while Joliet should return to Canada and report their discoveries to Frontenac, the governor. Ample notes of travel had been carefully prepared, and also an auto-



graph map of the country through which they had passed, on which rivers and Indian villages had been laid down with a fair approximate to accuracy.* Marquette rested at the comfortable quarters of the mission house at Green Bay the ensuing winter, and when spring came he was still too weak to return to preach the gospel to the Illinois tribes, according to his promise when he left them. He therefore deferred his departure till the heats of summer were over.

On the 25th of October, feeling revived by the bracing influences of autumn, he, with two companions, Pierre and Jacques, and a band of Indians, started on his mission to the Illinois. It took them a month to reach Chicago. Here again the strength of the missionary gave out, and his companions built a cabin for him on the South branch of the Chicago river, where they nursed him with tender solicitude through the winter, and where the Indians often brought him such luxuries as their limited means could supply to relieve his wants.†

There were also some fur traders "at the portage," which meant Chicago, who had just established themselves at this important point, so lately made known to the Canadians. They also often visited Marquette's humble cabin and divided their scanty supplies of eatables with the invalid missionary.‡ From items of his journal it appears that his Indian friends, who visited him, with all their willingness to receive his religious instruction, had the bad taste to ask him for powder, to which request the missionary replied: "Powder I have not. We came to spread peace through the land, and I do not wish to see you at war with the Miamis."§

The spring floods, which broke up the ice, on the 29th of March were so high as to cover the ground where his cabin stood and make the wretched hut untenable.

* This map is still preserved in the college of Ste. Mary in Montreal. A fac simile of it has been published by Mr. Shea, of New York, and inserted in his book entitled, "Discovery of the Mississippi." It has also been inserted in the margin of Blanchard's Historical Map of the United States, published at Chicago in 1876, and a copy reduced in scale is herewith presented.

† Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, page 54. Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, page 68.

‡ Shea, page 54.

§ The Illinois and Miamis to the east of them had been enemies for many years, and remained so till La Salle, in 1682, with skillful diplomacy, negotiated a permanent peace between them. See Tonty's *Life of La Salle*.

They were therefore forced to seek their canoe as an asylum from the swollen waters, and in it they passed over to the Desplaines and down its current to the Illinois river. The last item on his journal bears date of April 6th. On the 8th he arrived at the great village of the Illinois, which was situated near the present site of Utica. He was received as "an angel from heaven," says the relation. Five hundred chiefs and old men seated themselves, in a circle, around the Father, and outside of these were fifteen hundred of the commoner classes; beyond these were the women and children. The whole village had assembled on the green, leaving their empty houses behind, without fear of burglars or faithless servants' misdemeanors during their absence. With deep pathos the words of the Father, in pure Indian dialect, penetrated the hearts of his hearers, and inspired them with a transient veneration for the Christian's God. These were his last services. His sands of life had almost run out, and feeling a desire to reach Canada before he died, he made haste to take his leave. He had endeared himself to his Indian flock, proofs of which they gave by accompanying him in large numbers on his return as far as Chicago, and contending with each other for the honor of conveying his baggage.

From Chicago he had determined his route to Canada by the Eastern shore of Lake Illinois, as Lake Michigan was then called. The same two companions were with him who had conducted him from Green Bay to the Illinois villages. The love between these young men and their spiritual father was tender and sincere on both sides, and as they plied their oars along the still shores of the lake with unremitting strokes, the father instructed them how to bury him when death came, for he now felt certain that he could not live to reach Canada.

Arriving at a place a little below Sleeping Bear Point, the father felt a strong desire to land, but his companions, wishing to make all possible haste on the way, tried to persuade him to keep on their course. At that moment a storm began to make a commotion in the waters, and they landed, built a hut of bark for their dying master, and carried him in their arms from the boat to it. While his strength yet held out he took the precaution to write down his own sins, or what he called such, since his last confession to his superior, for propitiation.

Next he promised to remember his two attendants in heaven; and then, after asking their pardon for the trouble he had caused them, he begged them to lie down to rest by his side, promising to awaken them when the last agony came. In about two hours he called them to his side, and soon died in transports of joy.

Pierre and Jacques buried him on the bank of the lake, and erected a large wooden cross over his grave, and with deep dejection left the spot where their beloved father had lain down to take his last rest, where twenty years of toiling through the wilderness had brought him.

It was late in the spring, on the 19th of May, that his death took place, and the news of the sad event came to the different tribes of the country, not long after they had returned to their various homes from the usual winter's hunt. A universal tribute of respect was shown to his memory. The Ottawas, of Canada, did more than to express this in words. The next spring, 1676, as one of their hunting parties were returning from the vicinity of the grave, they dug up the remains and separated the bones from the decayed flesh, according to the Indian custom, and enveloped them in a casket of birch bark. This done, they carefully conveyed the precious relics to the nearest missionary station, which was at St. Ignace, opposite Michilimackinac. As they approached the place they were met by the priests at the head of a procession of the resident traders and Indians, and with impressive funeral services the bones were interred beneath the floor in the chapel.

"REV. FATHER: The peace of Christ. Having been compelled to remain all summer at St. Francis on account of my ill-health, and having recovered in the month of September, I waited for the arrival of our people returning from below (i. e., Quebec), to know what I should do for my wintering. They brought me orders for my voyage to the Mission of the Conception among the Illinois. Having met Your Reverence's wishes touching copies of my journal on the Mississippi river, I set out with Pierre Porteret and Jacques —, Oct. 25, 1674. In the afternoon the wind forced us to lay up for the night at the mouth of the river, where the Pottawatomies were assembled; the head men not wishing any to go off toward the Illinois, for fear the young men would lay up furs with the goods they had brought from below, and after hunting beaver would resolve to go down in the spring, when they expect to have reason to fear the Sioux.

"Oct. 26. Passing to the village, we found only two cabins there, and they were started to winter at La Gasparde; we learned that five canoes of Pottawatomies and four of Illinois had set out to go to the Kaskaskia.

"27. We were detained in the morning by rain; in the afternoon we had fair weather and calm, and overtook, at Sturgeon Bay, the Indians who preceded us.

"28. We reached the portage; a canoe which was ahead prevented our killing any game; we began our portage, and cabined for the night on the other side, where the bad weather gave us much trouble. Pierre did not come in till one o'clock at night, having got lost on a road on which he had never before been. After rain and thunder, snow began to fall.

"29. Having been compelled to change our cabinage, we continued to carry the bundles. The portage is about a league long, and very inconvenient in some parts. The Illinois, assembling in our cabin in the evening, ask us not to leave them; as we might need them, and they know the lake better than we do, we promised.

"30. The Illinois women finished our portage in the morning; we are detained by the wind. No game.

"31. We start with pretty fair weather, and stopped for the night at a little river. The road from Sturgeon Bay, by land, is a very difficult one; we did not travel far on it, last fall, before we got into the woods.

"Nov. 1. Having said holy mass, we halted at night at a river, from which a fine road leads to the Pottawatomies. Chachagwessiou, an Illinois, much esteemed in his nation, partly because he concerns himself with trade, came in at night with a deer on his shoulder, of which he gave us part.

"2. Holy mass said, we traveled all day with fair weather. We killed two cats, which were almost clear fat.

"3. As I was on land, walking on the beautiful sand, the whole edge of the water was of herbs similar to those caught in nets at St. Ignace; but coming to a river which I could not cross, our people put in to take me on board, but we could not get out again on account of the swell. All the other canoes went on except the one that came with us.

"4. We are detained. There is apparently an island off shore, as the birds fly there in the evening.

"5. We had hard work to get out of the river. At noon we found the Indians in a river, where I undertook to instruct the Illinois, on occasion of a feast, which No-wasking had just given to a wolfskin.

"6. We made a good day's travel. As the Indians were out hunting, they came on some footprints of men, which obliged us to stop next day.

"9. We landed at two o'clock, on account of the fine cabinage. We were detained here five days on account of the great agitation of the lake, though there was no wind; then by the snow, which the sun and a wind from the lake melted next day.

"15. After traveling sufficiently, we cabined in a beautiful spot, where we were detained three days. Pierre mends an Indian's gun. Snow falls at night and melts by day.

"20. We slept at the Bluffs, cabined poorly enough. The Indians remain behind, while we are detained by the wind two days and a half. Pierre, going into the woods, finds the prairie twenty leagues from the portage. He also passed by a beautiful canal, vaulted as it were, about as high as a man; there was a foot of water in it.

"21. Having started about noon, we had hard enough work to make a river. The cold began from the east, and the ground was covered with a foot of snow, which remained constantly from that time. We were detained there three days, during which Pierre killed a deer, three wild geese and three turkeys, which were very good. The others passed on to the prairies. An Indian having discovered some cabins, came to tell us. Jacques went with him there the next day. Two hunters also came to see me. They were Maskoutens to the number of eight or nine cabins, who had separated from each other to be able to live. They travel all winter, with hardships almost impossible for Frenchmen, by very difficult roads; the land being full of streams, small lakes and marshes. They are very badly cabined, and eat or fast according to the spot where they happen to be. Having been detained by the wind, we remarked that there were large sand-banks off the shore, on which the waves broke continually. There I felt some symptoms of a dysentery.

"27. We had hard enough work to get out of the river; and having made

about three leagues, we found the Indians, who had killed some buffalo, and also three Indians who had come from the village. We were detained there by a wind from the shore, immense waves that came from the lake, and the cold.

Dec. 1. We went ahead of the Indians, so as to be able to say mass.

"3. Having said mass and embarked, we were compelled to make a point and land, on account of the fog.

"4. We started well to reach Portage River, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else, and also more tracks of animals and turkeys. The navigation of the lake from one portage to the other is quite fine, there being no traverse to make, and landing being quite feasible all along, provided you do not obstinately persist in traveling in the breakers and high winds. The land along the shore is good for nothing, except on the prairies. You meet eight or ten pretty fine rivers. Deer hunting is pretty good as you get away from the Pottawatomes.

"12. As they began to draw to get to the portage, the Illinois having left, the Pottawatomes arrived with much difficulty. We could not say mass on the feast of the Conception, on account of the bad weather and the cold. During our stay at the mouth of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three buffalo and four deer, one of which ran quite a distance with his heart cut in two. They contented themselves with killing three or four turkeys of the many which were around our cabin, because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge he had killed, every way resembling those of France, except that it had like two little wings of three or four feathers, a finger long, near the head, with which they cover the two sides of the neck, where there are no feathers.

"14. Being cabined near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, on my inability to go further, being too much embarrassed, and my malady not permitting me to stand much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, going to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe. We gave them a buffalo and a deer that Jacques had killed the day before. I think I never saw Indians more greedy for French tobacco than these. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet to get a small piece; but we returned them, giving them some pipes, because we had not yet concluded whether we should go on.

"15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us to go and find their people and give them the merchandise which they had brought, in order to get their furs, in which they act like traders and hardly give more than the French; I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding a council till spring, when I should be at their village. They gave us for a fathom of tobacco three fine buffalo robes, which have done us good service this winter. Being thus relieved, we said the mass of the Conception. Since the 14th my disease has turned into a dysentery.

"30. Jacques arrived from the Illinois village, which was only six leagues from here, where they are starving. The cold and snow prevent their hunting. Some having informed La Toupine and the surgeon that we were here, and unable to leave their cabin, had so alarmed the Indians, believing that we would starve remaining here, that Jacques had great trouble in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry all our affairs.

Jan. 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen knew that my illness prevented my going to them, the surgeon came here, with an Indian, to bring us some whortleberries and bread; they are only eighteen leagues from here, in a beautiful hunting ground for buffalo and deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had, too, laid up provisions while awaiting us, and had given the Indians to understand that the cabin belonged to the black gown. And I may say that they said and did all that could be expected of them. The surgeon having stopped here to attend to his duties, I sent Jacques with him to tell the Illinois, who were near there, that my illness prevented my going to see them, and that if it continued I should scarcely be able to go there in the spring.

"24. Jacques returned with a bag of corn and other refreshments that



Marquette Monument.

One of the first objects of interest on the line of the CHICAGO & ALTON RAILROAD is the above monument, erected by that Company to mark the first landing of Marquette, after being driven by the spring flood from the cabin where he had spent the winter of 1674-5. It is an historic monument, ornate and valuable, which lays Chicago under lasting obligations to that Company for its generosity.

It is composed of boulders gathered from the glacial drift in the bed of an ancient lake through which the Chicago Drainage Channel is excavated. (See Geological History of the Site of Chicago, in future pages of this volume).

the French had given him for me; he also brought the tongues and meat of two buffalo that he and an Indian had killed near by; but all the animals show the badness of the season.

"26. Three Illinois brought us from the head men, two bags of corn, some dried meat, squashes, and twelve beavers; 1st, to make me a mat; 2d, to ask me for powder; 3d, to prevent our being hungry; 4th, to have some few goods. I answered them: firstly, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of the prayer, etc.; secondly, that I would not give them powder, as we were endeavoring to diffuse peace on all sides, and I did not wish them to begin a war with the Miamis; thirdly, that we were in no fear of starving; fourthly, that I would encourage the French to carry them goods, and that they must satisfy those among them for the wampum taken from them, as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come twenty leagues, to pay them for their trouble and what they brought me, I gave them an axe, two knives, three clasp knives, ten fathoms of wampum, and two double mirrors; telling them I should endeavor to go to the village merely for a few days, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, to stay and die in their country, and said that they had been told that I would remain long with them.

"Feb. 9. Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, to whom we began a novena by a mass, at which Pierre and Jacques, who do all they can to relieve me, received, to ask my recovery of the Almighty, my dysentery has ceased; there is only a weakness of the stomach left. I begin to feel much better, and to recover my strength. None of the Illinois who had ranged themselves near us have been cabined for a month; some took the road to the Pottawatomies, and some are still on the lake, waiting for the navigation to open. They carry letters to our Fathers at St. Francis.

"20. We had time to observe the tide which comes from the lake, rising and falling, although there appears no shelter on the lake. We saw the ice go against the wind. These tides made the water good or bad, because what comes from above flows from the prairies and small streams. The deer, which are plentiful on the lake shore, are so lean that we had to leave some that we killed.

"March 23. We killed several partridges; only the male has the little wings at the neck, the female not having any. These partridges are pretty good, but do not come up to the French.

"30. The north wind having prevented the thaw till the 25th of March, it began with a southerly wind. The next day game began to appear; we killed thirty wild pigeons, which I found better than those below (Quebec), but smaller, both young and old. On the 28th the ice broke and choked above us. On the 29th the water was so high that we had barely time to uncabin in haste, put our things on trees, and try to find a place to sleep on some hillock, the water gaining on us all night; but having frozen a little, and having fallen as we were near our luggage, the dyke burst and the ice went down, and as the waters are again ascending already, we are going to embark to continue our route.

"The Blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering, that we have wanted nothing in the way of provisions, having a large bag of corn still left, meat and grease; we have, too, lived most peacefully, my sickness not preventing me from saying mass every day. We were able to keep Lent only Fridays and Saturdays.

"31. Having started yesterday, we made three leagues on the river, going up, without finding any portage. We dragged for half an arpent. Besides this outlet, the river has another, by which we must descend. Only the very high grounds escape inundation. That where we are has increased more than twelve feet. Here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago. Geese and ducks pass constantly. We contented ourselves with seven. The ice, still brought down, detains us here, as we do not know in what state the river is lower down.

"April 1. As I do not yet know whether I shall remain this summer at the village or not, on account of my dysentery, we left there what we could

dispense with, especially a bag of corn, while detained by a strong south wind. We hope to-morrow to reach the spot where the French are, fifteen leagues from here.

"6. The high winds and cold prevent us from proceeding. The two lakes by which we have passed are full of bustards, geese, ducks, and other birds that we do not know. The rapids are pretty dangerous in some places. We have just met the surgeon, with an Indian, going up with a canoe-load of furs; but the cold being too severe for men who have to drag their canoes through the water, he has just made a cache of his beaver, and goes back to the village with us to-morrow. If the French get robes from the country, they do not rob them, so great is the hardship they experience in getting them."

(Copied from THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, contributed by Shea, who translated it from the French.)

The old chapel at St. Ignace stood guard over the remains of Marquette till 1706, when it was burned by the Jesuits on their departure from this historic spot, and until the autumn of 1877 no steps were taken either to memorize the grave of the missionary explorer or to recover his bones, at which time, in the month of May, Pierre Grondeau discovered the foundation walls of a small building, the stones bearing the marks of fire. The location accorded with the description of the spot marked in La Hontan's map, originally published in France in 1703, and republished in London in 1772, as the site of the house of the Jesuits.

By direction of Father Jucker, village priest, further excavations were made the same year, and conclusive proofs of the identity of the spot as the grave of Marquette were obtained. The spot where the altar of the Virgin had stood was found, and buried in front of it were wrought-iron nails, a hinge, and charred wood. These relics, and a large piece of birch bark, in a good state of preservation, were within the walls of a vault, which walls were of cedar, still partially preserved. The bones were nearly all turned to dust, two only being found.

The foregoing facts were obtained from a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, October 16th, 1877, by Mr. Cecil Barnes, a resident of Chicago, who was an eye-witness, having assisted in the excavation.

CHAPTER II.

Ft. Cataraugui built at the outlet of Lake Ontario—La Salle arrives in Canada—His ambitious plans—He builds a vessel for navigating the Lakes—It sails for Green Bay, and is sent back laden with furs—La Salle arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph, and builds a Fort—Goes to the Illinois River, and commences building a vessel to explore the Mississippi to its mouth—Hennepin starts to explore the Upper Mississippi—His captivity—Du Lhut among the Sioux—La Salle returns to Canada to raise recruits—Bad news from Ft. Creve-Cœur—Retribution—Iroquois invasion of the Illinois Country—Indian trading policy—Desperate exploit of Tonty—Council with the Western Tribes—La Salle's plans resumed—Success.

The journey of Marquette and Joliet had outlined a work far beyond the comprehension of any one at that time; and to utilize it was too heavy an undertaking, even for all the French forces in Canada, till ample preparations could be made in the way of building forts to connect Quebec to the Illinois country. The French had nothing to fear from the Western tribes, but their communication with them was impossible, unless the Iroquois could be propitiated; for these tribes held the whole present State of New York, and not only did their canoes sweep Lake Ontario, but their war parties often scoured the country north of it.* Frontenac, a

*In 1649, an unusually fearful Iroquois invasion was visited upon the Huron tribes, who were allies of the French, and among whom successful missions had been established. These were destroyed, and two heroic missionaries, Brebeuf and Lalemant, refusing to leave their charge in the hour of danger, fell before the merciless invaders. The following account of their death is copied from Parkman's "Jesuits in America":

"On the afternoon of the sixteenth—the day when the two priests were captured—Brebeuf was led apart, and bound to a stake. He seemed more concerned for his captive converts than for himself, and addressed them in

man of distinguished ability, was then Governor of Canada, and, with a view to Western progress, in 1673, had convened a council with the Iroquois, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, to obtain permission of them to build a fort. In this he was successful, and the fort was constructed at once, and named Ft. Catarauqui. This was a great point gained by the French, for it not only served as a barrier against the recurrence of an Iroquois invasion of Canada, but it brought French goods into a more direct competition with the Dutch trade at Albany, by the facilities which the fort offered as a trading post.

Conspicuous among the adventurous explorers of Canada, at that time, was Robert Cavalier, known in history by the name of La Salle. He was the son of a wealthy merchant living at Rouen, France, from which place he came to Canada in the spring of 1666. His seven years' life in American wilds, previous to Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi river, was largely spent in exploring the interior. One of his expeditions was made across the Iroquois country to the Ohio river, and down its channel as far as the falls at Louisville.

a loud voice, exhorting them to suffer patiently, and promising Heaven as their reward. The Iroquois, incensed, scorched him from head to foot, to silence him; whereupon, in the tone of a master, he threatened them with everlasting flames, for persecuting the worshipers of God. As he continued to speak, with voice and countenance unchanged, they cut away his lower lip and thrust a red-hot iron down his throat. He still held his tall form erect and defiant, with no sign or sound of pain; and they tried another means to overcome him. They led out Lalemant, that Brebeuf might see him tortured. They had tied strips of bark, smeared with pitch, about his naked body. When he saw the condition of his Superior, he could not hide his agitation, and called out to him, with a broken voice, in the words of Saint Paul, 'We are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men.' Then he threw himself at Brebeuf's feet; upon which the Iroquois seized him, made him fast to a stake, and set fire to the bark that enveloped him. As the flame rose, he threw his arms upward, with a shriek of supplication to Heaven. Next they hung around Brebeuf's neck a collar made of hatchets heated red-hot; but the indomitable priest stood like a rock. A Huron in the crowd, who had been a convert of the mission, but was now an Iroquois by adoption, called out, with the malice of a renegade, to pour hot water on their heads, since they had poured so much cold water on those of others. The kettle was accordingly slung, and the water boiled and poured slowly on the heads of the two missionaries. 'We baptize you,' they cried, 'that you may be happy in Heaven; for nobody can be saved without a good baptism.' Brebeuf would not flinch; and, in a rage, they cut strips of flesh from his limbs, and devoured them before his eyes. Other renegade Hurons called out to him, 'You told us that the more one suffers on earth, the happier he is in Heaven. We wish to make you happy; we torment you because we love you; and you ought to thank us for it.' After a succession of other revolting tortures, they scalped him; when, seeing him nearly dead, they laid open his breast, and came in a crowd to drink the blood of so valiant an enemy, thinking to imbibe with it some portion of his courage. A chief then tore out his heart, and devoured it."

As might be supposed, the actual discovery of the Mississippi stimulated La Salle's ambition to higher aims than ever. That it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Pacific Ocean, was now his settled belief, and, peering into the future, he foresaw, with a penetrating eye, the yet unmeasured volume of trade which would one day pour through the deltas of the Mississippi to the sea. There was enchantment in the thought that he should be the instrument by which this would be thrown into the lap of France; and to accomplish this end, became the idol of his imagination till death. Intent upon the fulfillment of these designs, he sailed for France in the autumn of 1674, the next year after the discovery of the Mississippi.

Frontenac and La Salle were on the most friendly terms, for they were no rivals. La Salle did not envy him as governor, because he aimed at higher fame than could come from the viceroy's chair of a province. Nor did Frontenac envy La Salle as an explorer, especially as he felt an assurance that he should be a sharer in any honors growing out of his discoveries. He therefore gave La Salle letters of the highest commendation to the court of France, which insured him a favorable hearing. Louis XIV., the king, gave him the order of knighthood, and granted him a seigniory of land adjacent to Ft. Catarauqui.

Returning to Canada, he built the fort with substantial walls of stone, within two years, and changed its name to Frontenac. The next step was to build a fort at the mouth of the Niagara river. By dint of great exertions and profuse presents to the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois Nation, he obtained reluctant permission to do this, and also to build a vessel above the falls of Niagara, with which to navigate the lakes. The fort having been finished, the vessel was next completed, and launched early in the spring of 1679. It was named the Griffin, in honor of the family arms of Frontenac. The immediate design of this vessel was to convey materials wherewith to build another vessel on the Illinois river, with which to navigate the Mississippi to its mouth. This mission executed, the exploring party were to set sail for France, after taking formal possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of the French king.

Beyond these designs was another less practical one, which contemplated a raid on the Spanish province of

Mexico, at the head of ten thousand Indians, for the purpose of reducing it to a French province. This latter madcap scheme of La Salle's must have had its origin in the inspirations of a forest life, which have often turned the brain of otherwise able-minded men into utopian channels.

Soon as the vessel was finished it was launched, and anchored in the stream as a measure of safety, lest the Senecas might, in a fit of jealousy, set fire to it. On the 7th of August everything was made ready. The sailors were at their posts, some at the capstan drawing her anchor, and others hoisting her canvas to the first breezes that ever wafted a vessel over Lake Erie. A cannon was fired on the occasion, and the Griffin gracefully moved away from the shore, tacking to the larboard and starboard alternately, in order to make headway up the Niagara river, to the astonishment of the Indians, who beheld the strange spectacle for the first time. Her crew numbered about thirty, all told, among whom were Fathers Gabriel, Membre and Hennepin, Tonty having been sent in advance to Michilimackinac.

The Griffin sailed up Lake Erie, up the Detroit river, and across Lake Huron to Michilimackinac. Stopping here a short time, she became the marvel of the Indians, who called her the monster canoe. Next she proceeded to Green Bay, landing at an island there, where her cargo was unloaded. This consisted of trinkets for Indian traffic, in part, but its most valuable portion was the materials wherewith to build another vessel on the Illinois river, such as chains, bolts, cables and a blacksmith's forge. The Griffin was loaded with furs, sent back from whence she came, and her unloaded freight packed into small boats, to be transported from thence to the Illinois river.

For some cause, not now known, La Salle had determined to make the trip by the way of the St. Joseph river, crossing the portage from its elbow near the present site of South Bend, to the headwaters of the Kankakee river, thence down stream, till deep water on the Illinois was reached. With this intent, he started with seventeen men, with his small boats, along the western shore of Lake Michigan. The southern extremity of the lake had to be doubled, and its eastern shore followed to the point of destination, the mouth of the St. Joseph.

Tonty had been ordered to meet him at this place, with twenty men, from Michilimackinac. While waiting for him, La Salle set his men at work to build a palisaded fort, and, for the first time, the sound of the axe and saw rang along those cone-shaped sandhills which now teem with an annual burden of peaches for the Chicago market. Is it to be wondered that La Salle should be more favorably impressed with the large and beautiful river of St. Joseph, than the insignificant stream at Chicago, whose mouth was almost closed with a sandbar?

Tonty arrived at the appointed spot at the end of twenty days, when the order was given to advance. Two men were left in the lonesome fort, and the flotilla paddled up the tranquil waters of the St. Joseph to the carrying place, where the freight was unloaded, and with the boats, carried across the dividing ridge, by a devious path, to the headwaters of the Kankakee. Into this stream the boats were launched, and loaded again, for final transportation.

'Twas a strange sight to behold a miniature army of resolute Frenchmen threading their course along the sluggish little stream, almost overlapped with water bushes. This sea of mud is seldom entered, even now, except on wild duck excursions; and many an effeminate sportsman, who has been tempted from his luxurious parlors in the present Chicago, to invade these bottomless swamps, on such errands, has returned with the ague.

As La Salle passed along, the stream widened and the surroundings improved, till he reached the great village of the Illinois, on the river which still bears their name. It was on New Year's day in 1680. All was silent, for the inhabitants—braves, squaws, papposes and dogs—had gone on their winter's hunt. La Salle was in need of provisions, and, impelled by necessity, took from their storehouses corn enough to feed his men, and kept on his course down the river.

Arriving at the present site of peoria, he met the returning Indians. A council was convened at once, in which La Salle made known the nature of his mission. First, he made satisfactory apologies for having taken their corn, and paid them its value in goods. His next business was to get leave to build a fort and also a vessel for the navigation of the Mississippi. This liberty was easily obtained from the flexible Illinois tribes,

whose jealousy had never been aroused against the French. Work on both was commenced. The palisaded fort was soon finished. The keel of the vessel was laid, and its ribs placed in position, when murmurs of discontent arose among the ship-carpenters, and a few of them deserted, in consequence of not being paid promptly.*

It is no marvel that these men should prefer the ease and immunity from care, which the amenities of savage life offered them, rather than the service of the austere and exacting La Salle, with, to them, but a barren hope of pay, especially as they did not share his hopeful ambition. That La Salle did not make proper allowances for such contingencies, was one of the weak points that undermined his best-laid plans, and robbed him of that success, which his broad-gauge intellect and zeal deserved. These first desertions were but a foretaste of that bitter cup, which his overweening dash, at the impracticable, was preparing for him. We have such men among us now, and perhaps one in a thousand of them, by some eccentric turn of the wheel of fortune, achieves success, which example, like a contagion, seizes upon a thousand more, to lastly be victimized. La Salle, whose nature forbade him to look on but one side of a question, and that the front side, supplied the places of the deserters by his wonderful faculty of bringing an extra stock of energy into service, and by these means continued work on the vessel.

Of the four priests who comprised the party of adventurers, Hennepin was the least in favor. Ever prone to intrude his advice unasked, or to attribute unlucky incidents to a neglect of his counsel, he became a bore, all the less endurable because his sacred robes protected

*Tonty, who was an eye-witness to the whole, in his *Life of La Salle*, page 35, uses the following language on the desertion of the men:

"Most of our men being discouraged by a long and tedious voyage, the end whereof they could not see, and weary of a wandering life in forests and deserts, where they had no other company but brutes and savages, without any guide, carriage or provisions, could not forbear murmuring against the author of so tiresome and perilous an enterprise. M. La Salle, whose penetration was extraordinary, discovered immediately their dissatisfaction, and tried all possible means to prevent the consequences thereof. The glory of the enterprise, the example of the Spaniards, the hopes of a great booty, and everything else that may engage men, we made use of to encourage them and inspire them with better sentiments; but these exhortations, like oil poured upon fire, served only to increase their dissatisfaction. What said they? 'Must we always be slaves to his caprices, and be continually bubbled by his visions and foolish expectations? and must the fatigues we have hitherto undergone be used as an argument to oblige us to go through more perils, to gratify the ambition or folly of a merciless man?'"

him from censure.* He was ever pluming himself on his self-sacrificing spirit and willingness to undertake any enterprise, however dangerous, providing it would advance the Christian cause among the heathen, and that his highest ambition was to die in such a service.

There was no lack of priests in the fort, and La Salle conceived the thought of taking Hennepin at his word, by sending him on an expedition to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi. The astonished priest accepted the mission, but with a bad grace, and started in an open canoe with two attendants, on the last day of February, his brother priests uniting with La Salle in lavishing upon him words of consolation, as he left the fort to push his way among new and unheard-of tribes of savages, in an equally unknown land. And here we will leave La Salle, to follow the fortunes of Hennepin and his two companions, Accau and Du Gay.

They were provided with an ample store of goods, to be used, as presents to the different tribes they might encounter on their way; besides which were provisions, guns and ammunition. They glided down the Illinois river to its confluence with the Mississippi, and plied their oars up the stream, in obedience to orders. Game was abundant, and they fared well till the 12th of April, when, stopping on shore to roast a wild turkey for dinner, they beheld with consternation a war party of 120 naked savages, breaking the solemn silence of the uninhabited place with the noisy whooping of Indians on the war path. The little party were immediately taken captive, despite the ceremonials of the calumet, or the inevitable tobacco accompanying it.

They were a band of Sioux, intending to make war on the Miamis, in revenge for some old scores; but the raiders were turned from their purpose, when Hennepin informed them, by signs, that the Miamis were away from home on a hunting excursion. The next business to be settled was the fate of the three French captives. As to the question whether they should be killed, or treated with hospitality, there was at first a division of opinion.

Had the chivalrous La Salle been among the French party, his impressive dignity would have insured the utmost courtesy toward themselves; but Hennepin was overcome with terror, and the haughty Sioux could

*This analysis of his character is drawn from Parkman, who has exposed the frailties of Hennepin unsparingly.

have but little respect for him. After a hasty council, however, they concluded to spare the lives of the captives, in order to encourage more Frenchmen to come among them, with the much-coveted trinkets, of which it was known they had an abundance.

But this decision was not made known to the captives. On the contrary, Hennepin was informed by signs, amid a din of wailings, that his head was to be split with a war-club. This unwelcome news drew forth from him some presents, which, at least, had the effect to postpone the execution of such a cruel purpose.

The Indians now concluded to return to their home among the little lakes at the upper Mississippi, and take the captives with them; but they kept up the practice of their villainous tricks, to extort goods from Hennepin, till nearly his whole store was exhausted. Pending these griefs, Hennepin sought consolation in reading his morning devotion from his breviary; but this solace was a fresh source of danger, for the devotional murmurings of his voice were interpreted by the Indians as a piece of sorcery, which might bring retribution upon themselves. Hennepin, observing this, chanted the words in a clear, musical voice, which amused instead of terrified his hearers, and satisfied his own conscience. The party arriving at the vicinity of St. Paul, the boats were concealed in a thicket, and they started on foot across the country to their respective lodges.

'Twas early in May, but remnants of ice still clung around the shaded margins of river, lake and marsh, imparting an icy chill to the waters through which the travelers passed, sometimes shallow, and sometimes deep enough to swim them. Between these low savannas, long stretches of high prairie had to be traversed, over which the naked-limbed Indian skimmed along with nimble step, but the poor priest, shackled by his long robes, lagged behind in spite of his utmost exertion. Seeing this, the Indians, always fertile in expedients, took hold of his hands, one on each side, and pulled him along at a rapid pace, while they set fire to the dry prairie grass behind him, to act as an extra incentive to speed.

Five days of this exhaustive travel brought them to the Indian town in the region of Mille Lac. Here the captives were adopted, each by a different chief, and consequently separated from each other. Hennepin

was taken by Aquipaguetin, the head chief of the party and his most persistent persecutor on the way. His home was on an island in Lake Mille Lac, where five wives and a due proportion of children paid savage courtesies to their lord and master. Hennepin was well received. A sweating bath was given him, and his mutilated feet rubbed with wildcat's oil, under an impression that, by this process, the agility of that animal might be measurably imparted to the patient. He was fed on a short allowance of wild rice and dried whortleberries, of which the Indians had laid in no over-stock for winter's use; but all shared alike, except sometimes a little preference shown by the squaws for their own children.

Ouasicoudie was the highest in rank, as chief of the Sioux of this region, and he had no sooner learned of the arrival of the three French captives, and the dastardly tricks by which Hennepin had been robbed, than he berated Aquipaguetin severely, for he had been the instigator of those villainous devices, which the high-minded Sioux discarded, as a nation.

As the weary days wore along, the supply of food diminished, and hunger began to warn these improvident children of nature, that something must be done to appease it. For this purpose a buffalo hunt was determined on, in early summer, and Hennepin was promised that he might accompany them.

This was good news to him, as it gave promise of a plentiful supply of food; but inasmuch as he was to accompany the grim father of his adoption, Aquipaguetin, he feared that fresh abuses were in store for him, when away from the influences of Ouasicoudie. To avert this new danger, the reverend father told the Indians that a party of Frenchmen were to meet him at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, in the summer, with a stock of goods.*

The time came for starting on the proposed buffalo hunt, and the 250 braves, with their squaws and children and boats enough to carry them, were promptly on the spot. Accau and Du Gay had a boat of their own, a

* Hennepin affirms that La Salle had promised this to him when he left Ft. Creve-Cœur; but the truth of this assertion may well be questioned, especially since Hennepin's veracity has been tarnished by the mendacious book of travels which he published on his return to France. In this book he claimed to have explored the Mississippi to its mouth. It had a large sale, and won for him a reputation which was as short-lived as his motive in writing it was contemptible, inasmuch as his aim was to rob the true explorers of the lower Mississippi of the honor due to them alone.

present from the Indians, into whose good graces they had grown since their captivity. But poor Hennepin was no favorite. Boat after boat passed the forsaken priest, as he stood on the river bank begging a passage. Even the two Frenchmen refused to take him in; and but for the condescension of one of the crew in the rear, the missionary would have been left alone in those distant and savage realms of the wilderness.

Arriving at the mouth of Rum river, they all encamped on the bank of the Mississippi. Very short rations of dried buffalo meat was their fare, except what unripe berries could be gleaned from the uncultivated face of nature, which was spread out in appalling amplitude around them. Hennepin, as might be supposed, was disgusted with Indian life, and so was Du Gay. The two, therefore, obtained permission of Ouasicoudie, who had always been their friend, to leave the encampment, and go and meet the expected Frenchmen at the mouth of the Wisconsin river. Meantime, Accau's highest ambition was to remain with his savage associates.*

Equipped with a birchen canoe, a knife, a gun and an earthen pot of Sioux manufacture, in which to boil meat, the Father and Du Gay, his companion, started down the river. They arrived at the falls on St. Anthony's day, and Hennepin, in honor of this Saint, gave them his name, which they still retain. Thence they made their way down the river by slow stages, for they were obliged to resort, in part, to turtles and fish for subsistence, inasmuch as their stock of ammunition was getting short; and to capture these in sufficient quantities to appease hunger caused much detention.

While the travelers were urging their way toward the Wisconsin—of course, with the intention of ultimately reaching Canada—they were disagreeably surprised to see Aquipaguetin, with ten warriors, coming down the river. Hennepin feared the worst, but no harm was offered him. The chief was on his way to meet the French at the mouth of the Wisconsin, for purposes of traffic, and, after a brief salutation, swept past the Frenchmen. In three days he returned, having found no French traders there. Approaching Hennepin, he

*Since Accau had declared his resolution to remain with the Sioux, Du Gay had made ample apologies to Hennepin for having refused him a place in his boat on starting from Mille Lac, and they were now restored to good fellowship again.

gave him a severe scolding, and passed along up the river, to the great relief of the terrified Father.

The travelers had now but ten charges of powder left, which was too small a supply to last them on so long a trip as the route to Canada. In this emergency they determined to again join the Sioux hunters, who were now encamped on the Chippewa river, an affluent of Lake Pepin, not far distant. They soon found them, and, happily for the wanderers, in a good humor, for they had been unusually successful in killing buffalo.

Exciting news was soon brought to their encampment by two old squaws. A war party of Sioux had met five white men coming into their country from Lake Superior, by the way of the St. Croix river. Much curiosity was manifested by Hennepin, to know who the white explorers were. The hunt was over, and as the Indians were to return at once, their curiosity was soon to be gratified, for Hennepin and his companion was to return with them. On arriving at the present site of St. Paul, the expected visitors were met, and they proved to be no other than the famous explorer, Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut, with four companions. This master spirit of the forest had been two years among the far-off lodges of the Sioux, and other tribes to the north, exploring, like La Salle, under the patronage of Frontenac.

Having learned that three white men were in the country, he came to meet them, with a determination to drive them away, if they were of any other nationality but French. The commanding presence of Du Lhut, not surpassed even by La Salle, won the utmost respect from the Sioux at once. The whole party returned north to the region of Mille Lac, and a grand feast of honor was spread for the distinguished guests.

As autumn approached, the Frenchmen made preparations to return to Canada, to which the Sioux interposed no objections, assured, as they were, by Du Lhut, that they would soon return with goods for traffic.

Accau, by this time, sated with the society of his late associates, was willing to join Du Lhut, and the whole party, eight in all, started for Canada, by the way of the Wisconsin river.

The travels of Du Lhut and the captivity of Hennepin had made known to the French the general features of the upper Mississippi, but the outlet of this stream was still a mystery. It had been one hundred and

thirty-seven years since the miserable remnant of De Soto's Spanish adventurers had fled down its current in hot haste, closely pursued by the exasperated natives of the country, whom they had plundered, and little or nothing had been given to the world respecting its physical aspect. La Salle was the destined one to bring to light this majestic chasm, which opened through the heart of a continent.

Let us now return to Ft. Creve-Cœur, and follow the invincible explorer through the thorny path which still intervened between him and his destination. Even before Hennepin had started from Ft. Creve-Cœur, he had felt the positive necessity of a fresh supply of men to fill the places of the deserters; for his force was now too small to even continue work on the vessel. The fort was now finished, and its name, Creve-Cœur ("broken heart"), sufficiently symbolized the failure of all his plans thus far, but was no index to his unconquerable resolution.

Spring was now opening, with its discomforture of mud and swollen streams; but, regardless of these obstacles, he formed the resolution to start for Canada, to obtain the necessary recruits. Hennepin had no sooner left the fort than La Salle made preparations for his departure. On the 2d of March everything was in readiness. Five companions were selected to accompany him, one of whom was Nika, a faithful Indian servant, whose skill as a hunter and knowledge of woodcraft was indispensable to the safety of the party.

They commenced their journey in a canoe, and packing into it a slender outfit of blankets, guns and the inevitable bag of hominy, they tugged up the Illinois river till the mouth of the Kankakee was reached. Up this stream they plied their oars till they came about to the present site of Joliet.

Here the ice of winter was still unbroken, and the canoe had to be abandoned. Blankets, guns and other luggage were now packed on their shoulders, and they took up their march through the oozy savannas, which intervened between them and Ft. Miamis, at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, which was the first point to be reached.

Taking their course to the northeast, according to their best knowledge of locality, after a few days of toilsome travel, and as many nights of cold comfort on the damp ground, they were gladdened by the sight of Lake Michigan. The point at which they struck it was

but a few miles south of Chicago, near the mouth of the Calumet.* Following the shore of the lake, around its southern extremity, on the 24th they arrived at the fort, where its lonesome garrison of two men still stood sentinels of the forest, like hermits, cut off from all communication with the world.

When La Salle had sent his vessel back down the lakes from Green Bay, loaded with furs, he gave orders to have her return to Ft. Miamis for a second trip; and notwithstanding no tidings had reached him of the vessel since her departure, he had not entirely relinquished all hopes that she had arrived at this place, in obedience to his orders, and that he might yet recruit his exhausted finances from the sale of her cargo; but these hopes were not realized—neither the vessel nor any news of her was here.†

The Griffin never had been heard from since she left Green Bay; no doubt could now be entertained that she had been lost during the heavy gales that prevailed soon after she set sail on the great wilderness of waves, that the lakes then were, without a lighthouse or a chart to guide the pioneer bark along the unknown shore. Without taking time to rest, La Salle, with his party, again plunged into the leafless forests, striking their course toward the western extremity of Lake Erie. It was an unknown country. With no other guide but a pocket compass, the travelers pushed through thickets and swamps, weighted down with camping equipments and guns. After a few days' travel, they found themselves pursued by a band of Indians supposed to be Iroquois. For several days their footsteps were dogged, and all attempts to elude their pursuit were unavailing.

The leaf-strewn ground was set on fire, but the wily enemy followed their tracks like bloodhounds. Lest they might come upon them in the night, no camp-fires were made. The cold supper of dried meat was eaten in silence, each wrapped himself in his blankets and laid down to sleep, knowing that an enemy was near, thirsting for their blood. Thus they proceeded on their way till the 2d of April, on which night the cold was too severe to bear, and a fire was kindled to thaw their clothes, which were stiffened with ice. No sooner than

*Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, p. 178.

†In obedience to orders from La Salle, the two men at the fort had made a tour around the northern shore of the lake, to get news from the Griffin, but nothing could be learned of her fate.

the light was descried, their pursuers came upon them with terrific yells; but, happily for La Salle's party, a deep stream intervened between his camp and the hostile party.

La Salle boldly advanced to its banks to get a sight at the enemy, when a parley ensued, which resulted in ascertaining them to be a band of Mascoutins, and not Iroquois, as at first supposed. The mistake was mutual, as the Mascoutins also supposed La Salle's party to be a band of Iroquois, to meet whom was the signal for a fight. This danger averted, they continued their journey till the Detroit river was reached. Two of his men were sent from this place to Michilimackinac; and with the remaining two, among whom was Nika, he crossed the Detroit river on a raft, and bent his course toward the north shore of Lake Erie; reaching which place, a canoe was made, and the travelers started for Ft. Niagara, coasting the northern shore of the lake.

It was past the middle of April when they arrived. The hardships of the journey had told fearfully upon his men. Two of them had become unfit for active duty, before the Detroit was reached; and now the other two, one of whom was the hardy Nika, were unable to proceed farther, while La Salle himself was in the flush of strength and vigor—a striking proof of the power of a great mind over the body. Here news of fresh disasters greeted him again. A vessel laden with stores for him, from France, was wrecked on entering the St. Lawrence river; but this was not all. His envious enemies in Canada had circulated various evil reports about him, and not only estranged some of his friends, but had induced a new recruit of men from France, destined for his service, to desert him.

Never before had such a combination of disasters overtaken him. The very elements seemed to have conspired to destroy what the treachery of his supposed friends could not. In this extremity he selected three fresh men from Ft. Niagara, and started for Montreal. On the 6th of May he arrived at Ft. Frontenac, on his way, which was the spot where his knighthood had been endowed with a seigniory of land. Here he might have become the wealthiest man in Canada, could he have contented himself to parcel out these lands to the peasantry of Canada, and receive rents from them, like other noblemen. But these honors would have been

stale and insipid to the high-minded explorer, whose mind ran on the destinies of New France.

When he reached Montreal, his dignified bearing was a matter of astonishment to his enemies, and was not long in restoring the confidence of his friends. The grandeur, of his still unshaken resolution, was consistent with the even grander schemes in which he had enlisted for life; and, in less than a week after his arrival, both men and money were placed at his disposal, to renew his plans. Active preparations were now made for his departure to the Illinois country with his new recruits; but before these were completed he received bad news from Ft. Creve-Cœur, by messengers sent from Tonty. The fort had been plundered and entirely destroyed by its own garrison, all having joined in the infamous work, except Tonty and four or five others of his companions, who were still true to La Salle's interest.

The renegades took the advantage of a brief absence of Tonty to accomplish the work; and, ere his return, they had robbed the place of everything of value which could be carried away, and threw into the river what they could not steal. Next, they went to Ft. Miamis and committed similar depredations, and closed their career of robbery at Michilimackinac, by stealing a quantity of furs, at that place, which belonged to La Salle. Soon after this unwelcome news came, two other messengers arrived, and informed La Salle that the robbers, numbering twelve men, in three gangs, were now on their way to Ft. Frontenac, with the intention of killing him at sight. Selecting nine of his bravest men, he now resolved to waylay them ere their arrival. In this he was successful, and soon returned to Ft. Frontenac with the whole party, as prisoners, excepting two who had been killed in the encounter.

It was now of the utmost importance that he should make all haste to the Illinois country, to relieve Tonty of the perils which environed him. On the 10th of August everything was made ready, and he embarked from Ft. Frontenac with his new command, numbering twenty-five men. He chose his route by the way of Lake Simcoe and along the shores of Georgian Bay, to Michilimackinac.

From this place he started, in advance, with twelve men, and left the rest to transport the heavy materials, under command of La Forest. Coasting along the east

shore of Lake Michigan, he soon came to the St. Joseph, and, as he expected, found Ft. Miamis in ruins. Leaving five of his men here, to rebuild the fort and await the approach of La Forest, he pushed on, by the same route he had traveled before, through the perplexing mazes of the Kankakee, in its mud-bound circlings. No signs of human life were seen; but when the Illinois river was reached, herds of buffalo made their appearance, and the scene was changed. Hurrying along in painful suspense, the site of the once familiar Indian town was reached; but instead of a wild, tumultuous scene of Indians dancing grotesque figures or grouped around in lazy dalliance, a ghastly spectacle of human skulls, projecting from the ramparts of the ruined fort, greeted his eyes. The Iroquois had been there and swept away every sign of life, not even respecting the tombs of the dead; for these had been desecrated, and masses of fetid flesh and disjointed bones lay scattered over the green.

This crushing disaster had fallen upon La Salle when hope was reviving of a speedy accomplishment of his plans. Searching among the slain, all the while fearing he should find Tonty and his three or four faithful comrades, a painful sense of his forlorn situation came over him; but he was calm, and betrayed no signs of despair. A night of horrors succeeded, in which sleep was impossible. Gangs of wolves, quarreling over the spoils of the battle-field, fell upon their ears, as they listened, in, silence for the war-whoop of the triumphant foe.

The next morning, La Salle, with four of his men, followed the path of the fugitives and their pursuers down the river, to see if any tidings could be heard of Tonty. He kept on till he arrived at the mouth of the river, and here, for the first time, beheld the majestic Father of Waters, whose accumulated floods were gathered from the far-off realms of Nature's unoccupied domain, still slumbering in secret recluses.

Neither Tonty nor any signs of life could be found, and he returned to the spot where he had left his three companions. From here the whole party, after loading themselves with half-burnt corn, which the destroyers had set fire to, started for Ft. Miamis on the St. Joseph river, arriving at the place in January, 1681. Here he found his command, who, according to his orders, had followed on with the baggage, after he had left Michilimackinac, a few weeks before, in such haste, to relieve Tonty.

All his plans had miscarried; here were his men huddled together within the scanty limits of Ft. Miamis, but his base of operations on the Illinois river had been swept away like chaff before a whirlwind, and not a solitary representative of his allies, the Illinois, remained in their native land, and his work was to begin anew. His resolution was taken at once. A strong league of all the western tribes must be formed, for defensive purposes, against the Iroquois, before he dared to push his explorations down the Mississippi; and, indeed, it was all-important, that the French should show themselves able to defend those western tribes, as a preliminary step toward getting possession of their country, or, rather, gaining a foothold in it.

The late Iroquois invasion of the Illinois country, of which La Salle had just witnessed the ravages, was not a mere ebullition of savage frenzy, but the result of a public policy quite as excusable as the ordinary wars of civilized nations, made to secure fiscal ends. The fur trade was the largest interest, at that time, throughout the entire country, and sharp rivalry in this branch of commerce had always existed between the Dutch settlements, on the Hudson river, and the Canadian French. Acting in harmony with the Dutch, the Iroquois themselves had become factors of this branch of industry, and reaped quite a revenue by buying furs of the western tribes, and selling them to the Dutch. It was, therefore, adverse to their interest to have the French among the Illinois, inasmuch as it gave, not only the entire Illinois' trade to them, but threatened to turn the trade with the tribes to the east away from themselves into French hands.

A similar rivalry exists this day between Chicago and Canadian cities, as to who shall command the most trade. But the matter is settled by national comity, in the shape of reciprocity treaties, instead of a resort to the sword.

La Salle with his men remained at Ft. Miamis till March, when the severity of winter had abated, and he could again venture into the forest haunts of the Indians to execute his plans. The Illinois tribes had returned to their ancient villages, smarting under their late humiliation, and the occasion was favorable for La Salle's plan, to unite them with the Miamis and other western tribes, for the purpose of repelling Iroquois invasion. He therefore convened a council of the different

tribes, and soon persuaded them to forget their former causes for resentment, and unite under his standard to make common cause against the common enemy, of both the French and the western tribes. By this politic diplomacy, La Salle had turned the late Iroquois victory over the Illinois to his own account, and opened the way for resuming his grand adventure; but before anything farther could be done, it was necessary to return to Canada and acquaint his friends with the new situation.

The genial influences of May had made the canoe navigation of the lake secure, and he started, at once, along the east shore to reach Canada by the same route he had last come. Arriving at Michilimackinac, his cup of joy was brimming over; for Tonty had also just arrived there from Green Bay, at which place he had been ice-bound for the winter, as La Salle himself had been at Ft. Miamis, on the St. Joseph. The two distinguished explorers were necessary to each other, and their joy was mutual.

When the Iroquois army came upon the Illinois village, Tonty was among them with Father Membre; and, rightly judging that his allies would be defeated by their haughty invaders, he determined to try the arts of diplomacy to ward off, if possible, the impending blow. Both armies were drawn up in order of battle on the open prairie in front of the village; and the usual prelude to an Indian fight, such as horrible yellings and defiant war-whoops, were in full tide, when Tonty, with a heroism seldom witnessed, advanced from the ranks of his Illinois friends toward the Iroquois, bearing a flag of truce. The astonished invaders received him into their councils, and, for a time, their skirmishing, which had already begun, ceased.

The Iroquois were undecided, in opinion, whether he should be instantly tomahawked or let go, and one chief thrust his spear into his side, inflicting a painful wound—perhaps to experiment on his mettle. Tonty bore it, with the immobility of a subject for the dissecting-room, which had the effect to elevate him, vastly, in the estimation of the Iroquois, and they let him go, but were not to be turned from their purpose; and they attacked the Illinois and drove them from their homes—seized a large number of their squaws, whom they led to their far-off lodges in the present State of New York, there to become their supernumerary wives. The devastation

of this battle-field was the scene that had greeted La Salle on his arrival in the Illinois country, as just told.

After Tonty's efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the two contending armies had failed, he withdrew, and, with Membre, made the best of his way to the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Green Bay.

The following summer was employed by La Salle in his trip to Canada and return to his place of rendezvous at Ft. Miamis. All that he had hoped for, in the way of preparation, for his third attempt had been accomplished to his satisfaction, and nothing remained but to start on the enterprise. Besides the twenty-three Frenchmen in his command, eighteen Indians were taken into his service, ten of whom chose to take their squaws with them, to do camp duty.* Father Membre accompanied the expedition, and has given its history, which begins as follows:

"On the 21st of December I embarked, with the Sieur de Tonty and a part of our people, on Lake Dauphin (Michigan), to go toward the divine river called by the Indians Checaugou, in order to make necessary arrangements for our voyage. The Sieur de La Salle joined us there with the rest of his troop, on the 4th of January, 1682, and found that Tonty had had sleighs made, to put all on and carry it, when the Checaugou was frozen over."

The exact words of Father Membre have been quoted to show the antiquity of the name Chicago, which the father spelled Checaugou.

The whole party began their journey, it appears, with sleighs drawn by the men, on the icy faces of the Chicago, Desplaines and Illinois rivers, till open water was reached at Peoria lake. Here the canoes were unloaded from the sleighs and launched in the Illinois river. The camping utensils were stowed away, the four Indian babies, who accompanied them, slung away, in some nook where they would be least in the way, and the flotilla moved along on its way, propelled by strong arms assisted by the current.

The old site of Ft. Creve-Cœur and the amateur shipyard near by it, was soon passed, as they skimmed down the whirling current, and the view was quickly lost to sight, if not the painful remembrances which must have

*These Indians were fugitives from New England, who, having been conquered in King Philip's war, had found an asylum in the far West.

been recalled to La Salle and Tonty.* When night came, the whole party moored their boats on the bank of the river, pitched their tents, slung their kettles on tripods, and built their fires. After a supper of boiled hominy and dried beef, they prostrated their weary forms on the ground for the night. This was the daily routine till the mouth of the Mississippi was reached, although it was varied with intercourse with different tribes of Indians on their way, among whom such improvements as adobe houses, earthen plates and domestic fowls were found.†

It was on the 9th of April, that they arrived at the low and grassy margin of the Gulf of Mexico, upon those attenuated points of spongy soil scarcely deserving the name of banks. Far in the rear, upon the treeless banks of the river, the dry grasses of April rasped their dry blades together, with a din of buzzing, before the wind. The gulf rolled in her heavy swells against the unceasing torrent of the river, which met like two opposing forces of nature; and here, amid these desolations, the party landed, and erected the inevitable cross. Beside it, the arms of France, engraved on a leaden plate, was buried. A solemn service of prayer and singing was then performed, and, with impressive forms, possession was taken of the whole valley of the Mississippi, and named Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., king of France.

The whole party now started on the return, tugging against the scalloping currents of the river, which tossed their light boats like vessels in a storm. Far away, to the right and left, the distant forests pushed their hoary tops into the horizon, walling in the lonely passage to the sea the gathered waters of half a continent. This immense valley was now a French province, by virtue of the wooden cross just erected; around which the amphibious monsters of the gulf were to gambol, in security, as soon as the adventurers were out of sight. This immense domain, the portion of which lying west of the Mississippi river, was sold by the first Napoleon to the United States in 1804. But La Salle could not peer into the book of fate.

*The original plan of building a vessel to navigate the Mississippi had been abandoned for the more practical canoe of that early age.

†These were seen below the Arkansas.

CHAPTER III.

La Salle returns to the Illinois country—Ft. St. Louis built—La Salle leaves Tonty in command of Ft. St. Louis, and starts for France—Tonty unjustly superseded in command by La Barre, the new Governor of Canada—La Salle at the Court of Louis XIV.—La Barre recalled—Tonty restored to command—La Salle furnished with a fleet to sail for the mouth of the Mississippi and establish a Colony—The fleet passes its destination, and lands on the coast of Texas at Matagorda Bay—La Salle builds a fort—His vessels lost—Desperate condition of the Colony—La Salle starts across the wilds for the Illinois country—He is assassinated on the way—The murderers fall upon each other—Return of Cavelier and his party—Tonty's fort on the Arkansas—Mendacious concealment of La Salle's death—Iberville and Bienville make a settlement at the mouth of Mississippi—Analysis of the English Colonies.

La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi was the work of a master mind; but, for the present, it was an unwieldy acquisition to the complicated, as well as overburdened, executive capabilities of the Canadian government.

Had La Salle's means been sufficient, he would have immediately established a fort at the mouth of the river, as a depot, for receiving and shipping buffalo hides and furs, from the inexhaustible sources of supply for these valuable goods; in the limitless wilds drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. But his labors, thus far had not only exhausted his own means in exploration, but had drawn largely upon the resources of his friends, as well as leaving him in debt, even to the men who had performed the drudgery of the camp.

On his passage up the Mississippi, he had been seized

with a violent attack of fever, and was unable to pursue his journey, with the comfortless accommodations afforded by their canoes; but, fortunately for him, a fort had been built at the Chickasaw bluffs, on their passage down,* and his strength barely held out till their arrival at this place. Here he remained till he was able to resume his journey, attended by Father Membre. Meantime, Tonty hastened forward to the Illinois country with the men; for it was all-important that a nucleus of French power should be established here, in order to utilize the late discoveries.



STARVED ROCK.

This was no easy task to accomplish, especially from the untempered materials out of which it was to be improvised; but La Salle, who never looked upon any obstacle in his way, as insurmountable, went to work with his accustomed resolution, as soon as he was able again to take the field. The yellow tints of autumn had begun to imprint their stamp upon the forests, when he and Tonty had commenced building Ft. St. Louis at Starved Rock, where the western tribes might gather

* Fort Prudhomme. On their passage down the river, a landing was made here for the purpose of hunting. While thus engaged, Father Prudhomme was lost in the woods, and, while searching for him, a fort was built and named for him. He was found after a two days' search, in a state of great exhaustion.

around the lilies of France, with an assurance of protection.*

This work completed, La Salle intended to sail for France, as soon as he could arrive at Quebec, the starting point.

At this juncture, rumors of an Iroquois invasion of the Illinois country came to hand, and postponed his anticipated visit to the French court; for to desert his Illinois allies in this hour of danger, would be a forfeiture of French interests on the prairies, as well as a relinquishment of his plans for a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi.

A large number of Indians, composed of several western tribes besides the Illinois, were now tenanted along the Illinois river adjacent to the fort, who, with the aid of a small number of Frenchmen, would be able to repel any Iroquois invasion likely to be sent against them. But to hold these capricious wanderers to the French interest, a stock of goods for barter with them, and a few Frenchmen to do military duty, were necessary. These must come from Canada.

Had Frontenac still been governor, all would have been well; but this able man had been removed through the machinations of some of the jarring interests of the province, and La Barre put in his place. He was no friend to La Salle; and instead of reinforcing him with the necessary men for service in the Illinois country, he detained those in Canada designed for that post, and withheld all supplies from him.

La Salle had now no other recourse left, but to remain at his post in the Illinois country during the winter, ruminating in his fertile brain on future plans, whereby he could bring to the knowledge of the French king an appreciative sense of the magnitude of his discoveries. The next summer was nearly spent in the same painful uncertainty amidst the servile tribes of the prairies, whose lack of courage to protect themselves contrasted unfavorably with the prowess of the conquering Iroquois.

Autumn was approaching—the expected invasion of these champions of the forest had not come—and La Salle determined to start for France. On his way to Quebec he met an officer going to the Illinois country, with a commission from La Barre, the governor of Can-

* This spot was chosen as a place of great natural strength, where a few Frenchmen could hold a nation of savages at bay.

ada, to take possession of Ft. St. Louis, the citadel of the rock tower, which was then the key to the interior. Tonty had first built the fort, and, by virtue of La Salle's authority, now held command of it; and though he alone was better qualified to command it than any other one except La Salle, yet he peaceably conformed to the authority of La Barre, and took a subordinate position under Baugis, the late appointee of La Barre.

The following March the expected Iroquois came and besieged the place for six days. The fort held out, and the discomfited invaders, for once, balked of their expected victory, retreated.

La Salle was now in Paris. La Barre's villainous aspersions had preceded him, in the vain attempt to undervalue his discoveries, and wrest from him what little authority yet remained, in his hands, as commander of Ft. Frontenac and almoner of seigniorial rights of the lands of the Illinois country.* This was more than calumny could accomplish. Sixteen years of toil and disappointment, of hope deferred, crowned at last with a success only waiting recognition, had moulded lines of irresistible advocacy into the weather-beaten face of La Salle.

He no sooner gained a hearing at the court of Versailles, than the reports of his enemies recoiled upon themselves. La Barre was recalled, Denonville was made governor of Canada, and the command of Ft. St. Louis restored to Tonty, the incarnation of courage and fidelity, and the only one now worthy of holding it.

La Salle, now fully restored to the confidence of the French court, was furnished with a fleet of four vessels to fulfill the cherished project of his ambition—the establishment of a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The fleet sailed from Rochelle on the 24th of July, 1684, with 280 adventurers who enlisted in the service as emigrants, to form a colony in the wilds of America.

Among them were artisans of various trades and a few young women. Several priests also accompanied the expedition, among whom was Cavelier, the brother

* La Salle's patent of nobility had invested him with authority to parcel out the lands around Ft. St. Louis to French settlers, who would marry natives and settle on the land. This was done to encourage permanent colonization, but the recipients of these emoluments abused their privileges by marrying new wives as often as their whimsical propensities or their interests demanded, greatly to the disgust of La Salle.

of La Salle, and Joutel, whose history of the progress and tragical termination of the scheme is now esteemed as the best authority.

The general command was given to La Salle, but unfortunately another person, by the name of Beaujeu, had charge of the fleet, whose authority did not go beyond the management of the vessels. He was by birth from a family of note, and had been for many years in the king's service—at least long enough to spoil him for the position he was now to occupy as a subordinate to La Salle, whose experience in the wilds of America was sneered at by the officious captain.

On their way to the mouth of the Mississippi, much dissension arose between Beaujeu and La Salle. The former was envious, and the latter tenacious. One vessel, containing valuable stores, was captured by Spanish cruisers in consequence of Beaujeu's disobedience of La Salle's orders to land at Port de Paix, a harbor of La Tortue.

After much detention at the West India Islands, in consequence of the sickness of La Salle, the fleet finally entered the Gulf of Mexico, and made sail for their destination, as near as they could calculate their course from the latitude and longitude taken by La Salle when he with his canoe fleet, two years before, had discovered the mouth of the river to which they were now tending.

Coasting along the northern shore of the gulf, they made several landings, but finally passed by the place, either through ignorance or design.* Continuing along

* La Salle's expedition to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi river has been considered by historians, especially Parkman, only as a colonizing scheme; but new facts relating to it have been brought to light by the publication of the Margry papers, and also by a work entitled "Penalosa," translated from the Spanish by J. G. Shea.

From these two sources, there is reasonable suspicion that the French court intended this colony to be a base of operations, from which to wrest territory from Spain, on the south, and place the same under the French crown, as a part of Louisiana; but such purposes, if contemplated, of course were never disclosed. The theory is, that the fulfillment of this utopian design, was to be brought about by the assistance of Penalosa, the Spanish governor of New Mexico, who was to reinforce La Salle with an army of Indians, who, together with the French colonists, were to settle and hold the country, as a French province.

Penalosa had been despoiled of his immense wealth by the Spanish Inquisition, as a punishment for some unguarded expression on religious dogmas, and been divested of official authority, hence his disloyalty.

In order to conceal these designs, it is possible it was given out, that La Salle was carried by the mouth of the Mississippi by mistake, and that Beaujeu refused to transport him back to the place. This is shown to be false by both Margry and Shea. La Salle's erratic wanderings in Texas to

the shore, which trended southwardly, La Salle finally made a landing at Matagorda Bay, in doing which one of his vessels became stranded and lost. Here he built a fort.*

The note in the margin is Joutel's account of the building of the fort. The same faithful historian has recorded in his journal the wanderings of La Salle in his search for the fatal river, as he (Joutel) always called it. This search was persisted in for two years, during which time disease and death were wasting away the unhappy colony, till but a feeble remnant was left, while, to make their situation still more desperate, their last remaining vessel was wrecked in crossing the bay on some local service. To save them, La Salle formed the desperate resolution to make his way on foot across the country to Canada, and obtain relief for these victims of his unlucky enterprise.

Joutel, in giving an account of his starting, says:

"We set out on the 12th of January, in the year 1687, being seventeen in number, viz.: Monsieur de La Salle, Monsieur Cavelier, the priest, his brother, Father Anastasius, the recollet, Messieurs Moranget and Cavelier, nephews to Monsieur de La Salle, the Sieurs Duhaut the elder, L'Archeveque, Hiens, Liotot, surgeon, young

explore the country, while waiting for Penalosa's reinforcements which never came, accords with this theory.

Parkman wrote his history of La Salle before the publication of the Margry papers or Shea's "Penalosa." Had this not been the case he would not have stated that Beaujeu refused to transport La Salle back to the mouth of the Mississippi, after it became evident that the fleet had passed it.

*"When Mons. de Beaujeu was gone, we fell to work to make a fort, of the wreck of the ship that had been cast away and many pieces of timber the sea threw up; and during that time several men deserted, which added to Monsieur de La Salle's affliction. A Spaniard and a Frenchman stole away and fled, and were never more heard of. Four or five others followed their example, but Monsieur de La Salle, having timely notice, sent after them, and they were brought back. One of them was condemned to death, and the others to serve the king ten years in that country.

"When our fort was well advanced, Monsieur de La Salle resolved to clear his doubts, and to go up the river where we were, to know whether it was not an arm of the Mississippi, and accordingly ordered fifty men to attend him, of which number were Monsieur Cavelier, his brother, and Monsieur Chedeville, both priests, two recollet friars, and several volunteers, who set out in five canoes we had, with the necessary provisions. There remained in the fort about an hundred and thirty persons, and Monsieur de La Salle gave me the command of it, with orders not to have any commerce with the natives, but to fire at them if they appeared.

"Whilst Monsieur de La Salle was absent, I caused an oven to be built, which was a great help to us, and employed myself in finishing the fort and putting it in a posture to withstand the Indians, who came frequently in the night to range about us, howling like wolves and dogs; but two or three musket shots put them to flight. It happened one night that, having fired

Talon, an Indian,* and a footman belonging to Monsieur de La Salle, etc. We carried along with us part of the best things every man had, and what was thought would be of use, wherewith the five horses were loaded, and we took our leaves with as much tenderness and sorrow as if we had all presaged that we should never see each other more. Father Zenobius was the person who expressed it to me most significantly, saying he had never been so sensibly touched at parting with anybody."

Many a parting adieu was waved to the travelers as they slowly made their way across the extended plain in front of the fort, till the last glimpse of their receding forms was lost in the expanse of wilderness which intervened between them and New France.

La Salle with his men urged their way over the vast plains of Texas, swimming the rivers that crossed their path, subsisting on buffalo meat, and camping nightly on the ground, till they reached the Trinity river. The route thus far had been traveled a few months before by La Salle, in his erratic wanderings in quest of the "fatal river," and having an overstock of provisions at that time, he concealed some beans in a hollow tree for possible future use. Being now encamped hard by, he despatched Liotot, Hiens, Teissier, L'Archeveque, Nika and Saget, to secure them. To their disappointment they found them spoiled; but, on their return, Nika shot two buffalo. Saget was now despatched to the camp of La Salle for horses to bring in the meat, to be cured for use on the way.

The request was gladly complied with by sending two

six or seven shots, Monsieur de La Salle, who was not far from us, heard them, and being in pain about it, he returned with six or seven men, and found all things in a good posture.

"He told us he had found a good country, fit to sow and plant all sorts of grain, abounding in beeves and wild-fowl; that he designed to erect a fort farther up the river, and accordingly he left me orders to square out as much timber as I could get, the sea casting up much upon the shore. He had given the same orders to the men he had left on the spot, seven or eight of whom, detached from the rest, being busy at that work, and seeing a number of the natives, fled, and unadvisably left their tools behind them. Monsieur de La Salle returning thither, found a paper made fast to a reed, which gave him notice of that accident, which he was concerned at, because of the tools, not so much for the value of the loss, as because it was furnishing the natives with such things as they might afterward make use of against us."

*The Indian mentioned by Joutel was Nika. This faithful servant had accompanied La Salle in all his forest marches ever since he first pushed his way into the lake country, and had more than once furnished subsistence to his famishing men by his superior skill in hunting, and had piloted them safely through mysterious portages known only to Indians.

messengers, Moranget and De Marle, to return with Saget with the necessary horses. The meat had already been cut into thin slices and hung out to dry by the usual process; all except some choice bits which Duhaut and his pals had reserved for themselves. This was an acknowledged prerogative of the hunter who killed game, and to Nika only belonged this right; but Moranget, in no mood to respect these distinctions, abusing the whole party in a storm of indignation, seized all the meat by force.

The tragedy that followed is related by Joutel as follows:

"The 16th, in their return, they met with two bullocks, which Monsieur de La Salle's Indian killed, whereupon they sent back his footman, to give him notice of what they had killed, that if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses for it. The 17th, Monsieur de La Salle had the horses taken up, and ordered the Sieurs Moranget and De Marle, his footman, to go for that meat, and send back a horse load immediately, till the rest was dried.

"Monsieur Moranget, when he came thither, found they had smoked both the beeves, though they were not dry enough; and the said Sieurs Liotot, Hiens, Duhaut, and the rest, had laid aside the marrow-bones and others to roast them, as was usual to do. The Sieur Moranget found fault with it; he in a passion seized not only the flesh that was smoked and dried, but also the bones, without giving them anything; but on the contrary, threatening they should not eat so much of it as they had imagined, and that he would manage that flesh after another manner.

"This passionate behavior, so much out of season, and contrary to reason and custom, touched the surgeon Liotot, Hiens and Duhaut to the quick, they having other causes of complaint against Moranget. They withdrew, and resolved together upon a bloody revenge; they agreed upon the manner of it, and concluded they would murder the Sieur Moranget, Monsieur de La Salle's footman, and his Indian, because he was very faithful to him.

"They waited till night, when those unfortunate creatures had supped and were asleep. Liotot, the surgeon, was the inhuman executioner. He took an axe, began by the Sieur Moranget, giving him many strokes

on the head; the same he did by the footman and the Indian, killing them on the spot, whilst his fellow villains, viz.: Duhaut, Hiens, Teissier and L'Archeveque, stood upon their guard, with their arms, to fire upon such as should make any resistance. The Indian and the footman never stirred, but the *Sieur Moranget* had so much vigor as to sit up, but without being able to speak one word, and the assassins obliged the *Sieur De Marle* to make an end of him, though he was not in the conspiracy.

"This slaughter had yet satisfied but one part of the revenge of those murderers. To finish it and secure themselves it was requisite to destroy the commander-in-chief. They consulted about the safest method to effect it, and resolved to go together to *Monsieur de La Salle*, to knock out the brains of the most resolute immediately, and then it would be easier to overcome the rest. But the river, which was between them and us, being much swollen, the difficulty of passing it made them put it off the 18th and 19th. On the other hand, *Monsieur de La Salle* was very uneasy on account of their long stay. His impatience made him resolve to go himself to find out his people, and to know the cause of it.

"This was not done without many previous tokens of concern and apprehension. He seemed to have some presage of his misfortune, inquiring of some whether the *Sieur Liotot*, *Hiens* and *Duhaut* had not expressed some discontent; and not hearing anything of it, he could not forbear setting out the 20th, with *Father Anastasius* and an Indian, leaving me the command in his absence, and charging me from time to time to go the rounds about our camp, to prevent being surprised, and to make a smoke for him to direct his way in case of need. When he came near the dwelling of the murderers, looking out sharp to discover something, he observed eagles fluttering about a spot not far from them, which made him believe they had found some carrion about the mansion, and he fired a shot, which was the signal of his death, and forwarded it.

"The conspirators, hearing the shot, concluded it was *Monsieur de La Salle*, who was come to seek them. They made ready their arms and provided to surprise him. *Duhaut* passed the river. *L'Archeveque*, the first of them, spying *Monsieur de La Salle* at a distance,

as he was coming toward them, advanced and hid himself among the high weeds, to wait his passing by, so that Monsieur de La Salle, suspecting nothing, and having not so much as charged his piece again, saw the aforesaid L'Archeveque at a good distance from him, and immediately asked for his nephew Moranget, to which L'Archeveque answered that he was along the river. At the same time the traitor Duhaut fired his piece and shot Monsieur de La Salle through the head, so that he dropped down dead on the spot, without speaking one word.

"Father Anastasius, who was then by his side, stood stock still in a fright, expecting the same fate, and not knowing whether he should go forward or backward; but the murderer Duhaut put him out of that dread, bidding him not to fear, for no hurt was intended him; that it was despair that had prevailed with him to do what he saw; that he had long desired to be revenged on Moranget, because he had designed to ruin him, and that he was partly the occasion of his uncle's death. This is the exact relation of that murder, as it was presently after told me by Father Anastasius.

"Such was the unfortunate end of Monsieur de La Salle's life, at a time when he might entertain the greatest hopes as the reward of his labors. He had a capacity and talent to make his enterprise successful; his constancy and courage and his extraordinary knowledge of the arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for anything, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death.

"The shot which had killed Monsieur de La Salle was also a signal of the murder to the assassins for them to draw near. They all repaired to the place where the wretched dead corpse lay, which they barbarously stripped to the shirt, and vented their malice in vile and opprobrious language. The surgeon, Liotot, said several times, in scorn and derision, '*There thou liest, great Basha; there thou liest!*' In conclusion, they dragged it naked among the bushes, and left it exposed

to the ravenous wild beasts. So far was it from what a certain author writes, of their having buried him and set up a cross on his grave.

"When those murderers had satiated their rage, they set out to come to us at our camp with the dried flesh, which they had caused to be brought over the river by the Indians, who had been spectators of the murder and of all the inhuman acts that had been committed, with amazement and contempt of us. When they were come to the camp, they found Messieurs Cavelier, the one brother and the other nephew to the murdered commander, whom Father Anastasius acquainted with the dismal end of our chief, and enjoined them silence, which it is easy to imagine was very hard upon them; but it was absolutely necessary.

"However, Monsieur Cavelier, the priest, could not forbear telling them that if they would do the same by him, he would forgive them his murder, and only desired of them to give him a quarter of an hour to prepare himself. They answered they had nothing to say to him; that what they had done was the effect of despair, to be revenged for the ill-usage they had received.

"I was absent at that time; they called L'Archeveque, who, as I have said, was one of the conspirators, had some kindness for me, and knowing they designed to make me away too, if I stood upon my defence, he parted from them, to give me notice of their mischievous resolution. He found me on a little rising ground, where I was looking upon our horses as they grazed in a little adjacent bottom. His intelligence struck me to the heart, not knowing whether I should fly or stay; but at length, having neither powder nor shot nor arms, and the said L'Archeveque giving me assurances of my life, provided I was quiet and said nothing, I committed myself to God's protection, and went to them, without taking any notice of what had been done.

"Duhaut, puffed up with his new-gotten authority, procured him by his villainy, as soon as he saw me, cried out, 'Every man ought to command in his turn,' to which I made no answer; and we were all of us obliged to stifle our resentment, that it might not appear, for our lives depended on it. However, it was easy to judge with what eyes Father Anastasius, Mes-

sieurs Cavelier and I beheld these murderers, to whom we expected every moment to fall sacrifices. It is true we dissembled so well that they were not very suspicious of us, and that the temptation we were under of making them away in revenge for those they had murdered, would have easily prevailed and been put in execution, had not Monsieur Cavelier, the priest, always positively opposed it, alleging that we ought to leave vengeance to God.

"However, the murderers seized upon all the effects, without any opposition, and then we began to talk of proceeding on our journey."

Thus, at the age of only forty-three years, fell the hero of a thousand conflicts against the calumnies of Jesuits,* the envy of rivals, and the untamed forces of Nature herself, against which he had contended for twenty years, in the heart of a savage wilderness. Much of this time the earth had been his couch at night, and his companions the savages whose realms he had entered.

With these he was an unusual favorite, not because he took the least interest in their every-day routine or catered to the narrow-gauge ideas with which the average mind in a state of nature was occupied, but because in him was personified a true nobility of character, which perforce subordinates common grades of intellect, whether savages or civilians, to its will.

He was one of those men whose stamp of genius, in his peculiar sphere, has been left upon his age, where it will remain an indelible record, not only among the forests of America, but among the splendors of Versailles, where his sunburnt face once stood among the effeminate graces of the French court like a giant among pigmies.

Strange that one so gifted should have had his weak points; but this was the case, and many of his misfortunes and his death were traceable to them. His weakness was found in his haughty, cold immobility, which repelled considerate counsels and left him alone in the hermitage of his thoughts when he needed advice.

Bereft of their champion, the situation of the party not in the conspiracy was perilous in the extreme. The

*La Salle never felt friendly to the Jesuits, and always chose priests not belonging to that order to accompany him. The Jesuits in turn opposed him. Hence the unfriendly manner in which Charlevoix speaks of him.

least irritating word from them would have been the signal of death.

Duhaut and Liotot seized upon all the effects of La Salle, even the clothing on his person, leaving his naked body on the spot where he was killed, the flesh to be eaten and the bones tossed about by the wolves, and finally to moulder beneath the grasses of the prairie.

The excuse for this was, that it was but a just remuneration for the losses they had sustained in following his fortunes to the desperate pass to which they were now brought. The appropriation of La Salle's effects aroused the indignation of the other conspirators, but the outbreak destined to finish up the closing scene was postponed.

Fathers of the faith and assassins besmeared with blood composed the company now left, on their way to the realms of civilization. These incongruous extremes, after being several days together, however, are relieved from each other's presence by a stroke of retribution as sudden as the death of La Salle himself. Joutel's relation of it is as follows:

"After we had been some days longer in the same place, Hiens arrived with the two half-savage Frenchmen* and about twenty natives. He went immediately to Duhaut, and, after some discourse, told him he was not for going toward the Mississippi, because it would be of dangerous consequence for them, and therefore demanded his share of the effects he had seized upon. Duhaut refusing to comply, and affirming that all the axes were his own, Hiens, who it is likely had laid the design before to kill him, immediately drew his pistol and fired it upon Duhaut, who staggered about four paces from the place and fell down dead. At the same time, Ruter, who had been with Hiens, fired his piece upon Liotot, the surgeon, and shot him through with three balls.

"These murders committed before us, put me into a terrible consternation; for believing the same was designed for me, I laid hold of my firelock to defend myself; but Hiens cried out to me to fear nothing, to lay down my arms, and assured me he had no design against me, but that he had revenged his master's

*The two savage Frenchmen referred to by Joutel were deserters from La Salle's fort on Matagorda Bay the year before. They had cast their lot with the Indians, and here met their old comrades by chance.

death. He also satisfied Monsieur Cavelier and Father Anastasius, who were as much frightened as myself, declaring he meant them no harm, and that, though he had been in the conspiracy, yet had he been present at the time when Monsieur de La Salle was killed, he would not have consented, but rather have obstructed it.

"Liotot lived some hours after, and had the good fortune to make his confession; after which, the same Ruter put him out of his pain with a pistol-shot. We dug a hole in the earth and buried him in it with Duhaut, doing them more honor than they had done to Monsieur de La Salle and his nephew Moranget, whom they left to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus those murderers met with what they had deserved, dying the same death they had put others to."

It had been apparent to the innocent party, ever since the death of La Salle, that the murderers durst not return to Canada, and it had been a question, not only how to obtain a share of the outfit so necessary for the wilderness tour, but how to part company amicably with these odious associates.

The late death of Duhaut and Liotot settled this question very readily, Hiens, the leader of the outlaws, declaring that he would not risk his neck in Canada, and made an equitable division of the spoils. The travelers then cut loose from the late scenes of bloodshed, bidding adieu to the malcontents, whose lot was now cast with these Indians, less savage than themselves.

The division of the goods and the final parting is best told by Joutel, as follows:

"Accordingly he laid aside, for Father Anastasius, Messieurs Cavelier, the uncle and the nephew, thirty axes, four or five dozen of knives, about thirty pounds of powder and the like quantity of ball. He gave each of the others two axes, two knives, two or three pounds of powder, with as much ball, and kept the rest. As for the horses, he took the best and left us the three least. Monsieur Cavelier asked him for some strings of beads, which he granted, and seized upon all the late Monsieur de La Salle's clothes, baggage, and other effects, besides above a thousand livres in money, which belonged to the late Monsieur Le Gros, who died at our dwelling of St. Louis. Before our departure, it was a sensible affliction to us to see that villain walk about, in

a scarlet coat and gold galloons, which had belonged to the late Monsieur de La Salle, and which, as I have said, he had seized.

"After that, Hiens and his companions withdrew to their own cottage, and we resolved not to put off our departure any longer. Accordingly, we made ready our horses, which much alarmed the natives, and especially the chief of them, who said and did all he could to obstruct our journey, promising us wives, plenty of provisions, representing to us the immense dangers, as well from enemies who surrounded them as from the bad and impassable ways and the many woods and rivers we were to pass. However, we were not to be moved, and only asked one kindness of him, in obtaining of which there were many difficulties, and it was that he would give us guides to conduct us to Cappa; but at length, after much trouble and many promises of a good reward, one was granted, and two others went along with him.

"All things being thus ordered for our departure, we took leave of our hosts, passed by Hiens' cottage, and embraced him and his companions. We asked him for another horse, which he granted. He desired an attestation, in Latin, of Monsieur Cavelier, that he had not been concerned in the murder of Monsieur de La Salle, which was given him, because there was no refusing of it; and we set forward with L'Archeveque and Meunier, who did not keep their word with us, but remained among those barbarians, being infatuated with that course of libertinism they had run themselves into. Thus there were only seven of us that stuck together to return to Canada, viz.: Father Anastasius, Messieurs Cavelier, the uncle and the nephew, the Sieur De Marle, one Teissier, a young man born at Paris, whose name was Bartholomew, and I, with six horses, and the three Indians who were to be our guides; a very small number for so great an enterprise, but we put ourselves, entirely, into the hands of Divine Providence, confiding in God's mercy, which did not forsake us."

While they are laboring through the solitudes of the dreary country, we will follow the adventures of Tonty in his noble attempt to rescue La Salle's colony.

After the news of La Salle's departure, from France, to colonize the Mississippi country had reached Canada and the Illinois settlements, Tonty, who was stationed

at the latter place, was fired with zeal to serve the new colony by every means in his power. Accordingly, he assembled a band of twenty Frenchmen and thirty Indians, and with this force, on the 13th of February, 1686, went down the Mississippi river to its mouth, where he expected to find his old friend La Salle at the head of a flourishing colony; but what was his surprise, and disappointment, when, after searching through the whole region, no trace of it could be found.

After leaving marks of his presence in various places, he wrote a letter to La Salle, and left it with the chief of the Bayagoulas, an Indian tribe on the banks of the Mississippi, who promised to send it to him should he ever learn his whereabouts.

Tonty then started up the river with his men; but when he arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas, he deemed it prudent to build a fort, and leave a force of six men, among whom were Couture and De Launay, here to succor the colony if possible.*

This done, he returned to his post in the Illinois country.

For more than a year these sentinels of the forest remained at their post, holding themselves in readiness for any emergency.

Hard by was a large village of the Arkansas tribe, who enlivened the hermitage of the Frenchmen with the rude amusements of Indian life.

One summer day, while the tedious hours were being measured out with their dull routine, the Frenchmen were startled from their reveries by a French voice across the river, which flowed by their palisaded retreat, and they immediately fired two guns as a signal, which the party across the river answered.

Two canoes were immediately sent across the river, and the tired travelers were soon taken over and conducted into the fort.

The reader scarcely need be told that they were the fugitives from La Salle's unhappy colony in Texas. Cavelier, his brother, was the principal spokesman, and as he related the long train of overwhelming disasters which had befallen the colony, and at last came to the cruel assassination of La Salle, their listeners gave vent to their feelings in tears and sobs.

After a brief rest, the travelers resumed their journey

*Tonty's Memoir, in French's Hist. Coll., vol. 1, p. 68.

for the Illinois country, leaving the lonesome garrison at their post, whose duties were now to establish a representation of French interests in the country.

On the 14th of September they arrived at the old familiar grounds of Ft. St. Louis, on the Illinois river, opposite the present town of Utica; and now comes the strange part of the history.

Tonty, the commander, was absent fighting the Iroquois, and Bellefontaine, his lieutenant, stood in his place. All were eager to get tidings from La Salle, and in response to their inquiries, they were told that he was well when they left, but omitted to state that he had been assassinated on the way—a very questionable way of telling the truth, by establishing a falsehood, the incentive for which, it is but fair to presume, must have been from sinister motives, which supposition is strengthened by the fact, that Cavelier borrowed, in La Salle's name, 4,000 livres from Tonty.

It was the intention of Cavelier and his party to repair immediately to France, and to this end they made haste to take their departure. Arriving at Chicago, which by this time had become famous as a portage, they waited a week for the storm to abate, before daring to venture on the lake with their canoe, when they started, but were soon driven back by the heavy surf.

They now returned to Ft. St. Louis, and quartered under the hospitalities of Tonty, whose friendship for La Salle made him receive the subtle deceivers with welcome.

The next spring the party took advantage of the first mild weather to embark for Canada by the Chicago route; and from thence sailed for France, where they at last unbosomed themselves of their terrible secret at the French court. But, long before this, the withered germ of French power in Texas had fallen under the war-club of the Indians.*

The bones of La Salle lay mouldering beneath the luxuriant grasses of Texas prairie, but his plans for the aggrandizement of New France survived his untimely death, and were soon destined to be renewed by Iberville and Bienville.

In 1699, these intrepid Frenchmen, who were born and nurtured among the excitements of life in Canada,

*The history of its destruction was furnished by the Shawanees, for which see Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 208.

obtained command of a small fleet, and made a French settlement on Dauphin Island, off the Bay of Mobile.

The same year they entered the mouth of the Mississippi river, and sailing up its scroll-shaped turnings, landed in the dominions of Tonty's old friend, the chief of the Bayagoulas. It will be remembered that he had left a letter for La Salle with him, when he went down the river fourteen years previously. This letter had been preserved by him during these years, with pious care, and with commendable discretion he now relieved himself of his responsibility by giving it to Iberville.

A permanent French colony was now established at the mouth of the river, out of which, a few years later, grew the city of New Orleans and the settlements of the famous sugar plantations along the river.

This was the southern extremity of the French settlements in America. Canada was the northern extremity, and Chicago, the most frequented portage, between them.

There were, however, other portages of intercommunication; one by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, another by the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers, both of which had been traveled, the one by Marquette and the other by La Salle, as already related.

The next year after Iberville and Bienville's successful settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia were made, and other thriving French villages sprung up near by them a few years later.

Vincennes, on the Wabash, was settled in 1710, and Ft. Chartres, on the Mississippi, not far from Cahokia, in 1720. It was the strongest inland fortress in America, costing over \$50,000.

A cordon of French forts extended from Canada to New Orleans, at this time, with which to cement the vast extent of New France together, by an unbroken chain.

That one of these forts was built at Chicago there is sufficient evidence, from the fact that mention is made of its existence, by Tonty, while on his way from Canada to the Illinois country in 1685, who uses the following language: "I embarked for the Illinois Oct. 30th, 1685, but, being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and proceed by land. After going 120 leagues, I arrived at Ft. Chicagou, where M. de la Du-

rantaye commanded."* No record remains as to the time of its construction.

There was a missionary station here in 1699, where the gospel was dispensed to the Miamis.† There appears also to have been a French village here at that time, as St. Cosme speaks of a lost boy at the time of his passing through the place, and several Frenchmen turning out to hunt for him among the tall grasses. After thirteen days, the boy returned to the village, spent with hunger and fatigue, and almost insensible.‡

While these events, so auspicious to the French in the interim, were passing, the English colonists were at work, within a very circumscribed compass, along the eastern fringe of the continent.

The Massachusetts colony was composed of Puritans after the Cotton Mather pattern.

The Connecticut and the New Hampshire colonies were also fashioned after the same model.

The Rhode Island colony was modified somewhat by the liberalism of Roger Williams, Wheelright, Vane and Anne Hutchinson.

The Germans, along the Hudson river, were not unlike this same thrifty people of our day.

On the Delaware were the Swedes and Fins, models of frugality and piety.

In Pennsylvania were the English Quakers, under the leadership of the broad-gauge brain of William Penn.

In Virginia was the true type of English chivalry.

The Puritans may justly be called the conscience of the nation, and the Virginians, with equal propriety, the sword of the nation.

In the Carolinas were Huguenots and Quakers, and in Georgia respectable Englishmen, not conspicuous for any tangent points of character, except the ambitious aims indispensable to American emigrants.

No confederation or bond of union existed between these different colonies, but the exploits of the French in the West, were rapidly hastening an issue, bound to unite them together in a bond or union which was the outgrowth of the French and Indian war.

While this issue is maturing, Chicago must slumber in obscurity.

* Tonty's Memoir, published in Hist. Coll. of Lou., vol. 1, p. 67.

† Early Voyages, p. 50, published by Joel Munsel, Albany.

‡ Early Voyages, pp. 56-8.

CHAPTER IV.

First Passage through the Detroit River—A Stone Statue found there—English on the Upper Lakes—Settlement of Detroit—The foxes attack the place—Mission of Father Marquette at Michilimackinac—Cahokia and Kaskaskia settled—Ft. Chartres—Vincennes settled—Comparison of the English with the French colonies—The Paris convention to establish the line between the English and French in America—Convention at Albany—The Ohio company—The French build forts on French Creek—Gov. Dinwiddie sends Washington to warn them out of the country—The Ohio company send Trent to build a fort where Pittsburgh now stands—He is driven away by the French—Washington sent to the frontier—He attacks the French—Retreats—Builds Ft. Necessity—The fort taken by the French—General Braddock arrives in America—Plan of the first campaign—Baron Dieskau reaches Canada—Braddock marches against Ft. Duquesne—His defeat—Expedition to Acadia—Shirley starts to take Ft. Niagara—Johnson's campaign on the shores of Lake George—Defeat of Dieskau.

Detroit stands foremost among the cities of the Northwest, in local historic interest, although the place was unknown to the French, even for some years after Lake Superior had been explored to its western extremity, and missions established along its southern waters.

The Ottawa river of Canada, Lake Nippising and the northern waters of Lake Huron were the channels by which the great West was first reached by the French, and nearly the only ones used till La Salle had secured Lakes Ontario and Erie as a highway from Canada to the West, as told in the previous chapter.

In the autumn of 1669, at the Indian village of Ganastogue, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, two distinguished explorers, La Salle and Joliet, met by chance. Joliet was on his return from a trip to the Upper Lake, as Lake Superior was then called, for the purpose of discovering the copper mines. In reaching this place from Lake Superior, he must have passed down the river, then without a name, now called Detroit river, and first called by the French "The Detroit" (The Straits). It is a matter of record that an old Indian village, called Teuchsa Grondie, stood originally there, but no mention is made of it by Joliet.

The next spring, 1670, two priests, Galinee and Dablon, on their way from Canada to the mission of Sainte Marie, which had been established at the Sault the previous year, landed at or near the present site of Detroit. The first object of interest they beheld was a barbarous piece of stone sculpture in the human form. This was quite sufficient to unbalance the equilibrium of the two fathers, whose zeal had been whetted, into an extravagant pitch, by the hardships they had encountered on their way. With pious indignation they fell upon the "impious device" with their hatchets, broke it in pieces, and hurled the fragments into the river.*

The place would have been brought to light long before but for the Iroquois, who guarded the passage of the lower lakes, with bull-dog tenacity, to preserve their own nation and protect their fur trade.†

That a fort was built at Detroit between this time and 1687 is inferred from Tonty's Memoir,‡ in which, while on the way down the lakes, he says: "The *Seur de la Forest* was already gone with a canoe and thirty Frenchmen, and he was to wait for me at Detroit till the end of May." Farther along he continues: "We came, on the 19th of May (1687), to Ft. Detroit. We made some canoes of elm, and I sent one of them to Ft. St. Joseph."

*Jesuit Relations, 1670.

† Father Paul Raguneau, in the Jesuit Relations of 1650, uses the following language:

[*Translation.*] "All the Algonquin nations who dwell to the west of the ancient country of the Hurons, and where the faith has not yet been able to find its way, are people for whom we cannot have enough compassion. If it be necessary that the name of God be adored, and the cross be planted there, it shall be done in spite of all the rage of hell and the cruelty of the Iroquois, who are worse than the demons of hell."—Pages 30 and 31.

‡ See Hist. Coll. of Lou., vol. 1, p. 69.

During the few years which succeeded Frontenac's recall from the governor's chair of Canada, La Barre and next Denonville supplied his place. Both of their administrations were ushered in with promises of great results, but terminated in utter failures. They had measured their strength against the Iroquois, who proved too much for them, both in the forum and in the field.

Thos. Dougan was then colonial governor of New York, whose vigorous and ambitious policy, assisted by the Iroquois, contemplated the establishment of a trading post at Michilimackinac, for the mutual interests of both, and, in 1687, English agents started up the lakes for that purpose,* under protection of the Iroquois and Foxes.

The latter held supreme sway on those waters at that time, and were more friendly to the English than the French, as the French had, by some misdirection, made enemies of them at their first interview.

After Tonty with his men had left Detroit, as just told in his Memoir, as he was continuing his course along the lake shore toward Canada, he fell in company with Durantaye and Du Lhut, with their commands.

They had in their custody thirty English prisoners, whom they had captured on the shore of Lake Huron.

Farther along in the Memoir, Tonty states that he took thirty more English prisoners, who were on their way to Michilimackinac, under command of Major Gregory—that they had with them several Huron and Ottawa captives, who had been taken by the Iroquois and consigned to their charge—that they also had a “great quantity of brandy” with them, which Tonty congratulated himself for having taken, inasmuch as it would have (in his own words) “gained over our allies, and thus we should have all the savages and the English upon us at once.”

A war was going on at this time, between the Iroquois and the French, of which the English probably took advantage to attempt to gain a foothold on the upper lakes.

Before the war was ended, all Canada was overrun by the Iroquois, Montreal burned, and two hundred persons captured and taken into the wilderness lodges of their conquerors, in the present State of New York.

* Paris Doc. III., published in Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 1, p. 229.

They were treated so kindly, however, that more than half of them refused to return to their home in Montreal, after peace had been made, even though the French king commanded them to return.

The following September, 1689, commissioners from the New York and New England colonies met the Iroquois deputies at Albany in convention, when one of the chiefs congratulated the English colonists, that their chain of friendship was strengthened by their burning of Montreal.

Frontenac was now restored to power in Canada, and under his vigorous administration the Iroquois were obliged to evacuate the French provinces, and the war was transferred to the territory of the English colonists, by the burning of Schenectady and the slaughter of its inhabitants. The original plan of this expedition was to capture Albany, the headquarters from which the English had fitted out their expedition to Michilimackinac,* but on their way they were informed that there was too large a force there for them to encounter, and they attacked Schenectady instead.

Had the English scheme to establish a post at Michilimackinac proved a success, the limits of New France would have been confined to the present limits of Canada; and the whole western country have been opened immediately to English colonization, which must have hastened its settlement; at least a generation. But the whole plan miscarried, if not on account of Tonty's seizure of the brandy, at least owing to the great distance of the post from the English settlements, and to the allied action of the French and western tribes against the Foxes, whose immediate protection was necessary to the English cause on the upper lakes.

This English attempt to gain a foothold in the West, doubtless, stimulated the French to hasten to completion their own designs to accomplish the same purpose.† To this end a council was called at Montreal, a few years later, to which the Canadian and western tribes were invited, nor were their ancient enemies the Iroquois forgotten. The latter now disclaimed any intention to allow either the French or English to erect forts on the upper waters; but the western tribes favored the plan, of course. Meantime the French had already made preparations to establish a post on the Detroit.

* Paris Doc. IV.

† Lanman's Mich., p. 40.

Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Lord of Bouaget and Mountdesert, was on the spot, with a commission from Louis XIV., as commandant of Detroit. He started from Montreal in June, 1701, with one hundred men and all the necessary appliances, both religious and secular, to form a colony, and the next month safely landed, tented upon the spot, built Ft. Pontchartrain, and commenced the settlement of the place.

The settlement was a permanent one, although for many years it was often reduced to the verge of ruin. The aimless character of the settlers was the chief cause of this, but there were other hindrances in the way of progress. The Iroquois looked, with jealous eyes, upon them, but not more so than did the English settlements along the Hudson; and three years after the settlement of Detroit, an Indian convention of the tribes bordering on the lakes was summoned to meet at Albany.*

Here the brains of those vacillating French allies, particularly the Ottawas, were temporarily turned over to the English interest; and on their return they set fire to the town, but the flames were soon extinguished.

A second attempt to burn the place while it was under command of Tonty, met with no better success. Meantime Cadillac succeeded in getting some Indians from Michilimackinac and other places, whose friendship was of a more abiding character, to form a settlement near by, who acted as a sort of picket guard about the place.

These consisted of Ottawas, whose village was on the river, above the town, and the Hurons and Pottawattomies, whose villages were below. Comparative safety thus secured, in 1707 Cadillac parceled out the adjacent lands to his unambitious subjects on the following terms:

"By the conditions of a grant, made by Cadillac, at Detroit, March 10th, 1707, the grantee, François Fafard Delorme was bound to pay a reserved rent of fifteen francs a year to the crown, for ever, in peltries, and to begin to clear and improve the land within three months from the date of the grant. All the timber was reserved to the crown, whenever it might be wanted for fortifications, or for the construction of boats or other vessels. The property of all mines and minerals was reserved to the crown. The privilege of hunting rabbits, hares, partridges, and pheasants was reserved to the grantor.

* Cass' Discourse.

The grantee was bound to plant, or help to plant, a long May-pole before the door of the principal manor-house, on the first day of May in every year. All the grain raised by the grantee was to be carried to the mill of the manor to be ground, paying the tolls sanctioned by the custom of Paris. On every sale of the land a tax was levied; and, before a sale, the grantee was bound to give information to the government, and if the government was willing to take the land at the price offered to the grantee, it was to have precedence as a purchaser. The grantee could not mortgage the land without the consent of the government. For a term of ten years, the grantee was not permitted to work, or cause any person to work, directly or indirectly, at the profession and trade of a blacksmith, locksmith, armorer, or brewer, without a permit. All effects and articles of merchandise, sent to or brought from Montreal, were to be sold by the grantee himself, or other person who, with his family, was a French resident; and not by servants or clerks or foreigners or strangers. The grantee was forbidden to sell or trade spirituous liquors to Indians. He was bound to suffer on his lands such roads as might be thought necessary for public use. He was bound to make his fences in a certain manner, and, when called upon, to assist in making his neighbors' fences."*

As might be supposed, little progress could be made by the inhabitants, shackled as they were by such oppressive restrictions, and environed by the warlike Foxes, liable at the slightest provocation to attack them. In May, 1712, incited by a blood-thirsty spirit or possibly by a promise of a reward from the Iroquois or their patrons, the English colonists, they laid, as they supposed, their secret plans to attack the place.

The occupants of the three friendly Indian villages adjoining were absent, and but for the disclosures of a converted Indian of the Fox nation, the place must have been taken, for there was but a slender garrison to defend it. The savage disciple to the Catholic faith, whose newly-bred conscience impelled him to act the apostate to his own people, obtained an interview with M. Du Buison, the commandant, and revealed the secret to him in time to make preparation for the impending blow.

* Am. State Papers, Public Lands, v. 1, p. 261.

Cadillac was now Intendant of Louisiana and busy with Crozat, in a butterfly chase, after supposed gold mines, and the entire responsibilities rested upon Du Buisson. He immediately sent deputies to the various tribes to the south and west, whose jealousy of the ferocious Foxes made them his ready allies. "Yes, we will come and defend you, and all we ask is, that you cover the bodies of such of us as are slain, with a little earth, to keep the flies away," was their reply.*

The zealous allies came, and were received within the gates of the fort, and on the 13th of May the attack was commenced from an entrenchment hastily thrown up by the determined Foxes, commanding the outworks of the French defences. To drive them from their position, the besieged erected a block-house commanding it.†

The strife soon became desperate. For nineteen days the battle raged, the victory alternating from one side to the other, till the Foxes withdrew under cover of night. They were followed, and the fiercest battle of the war ensued, in which the Foxes were routed and driven from the country to Green Bay.‡

This danger passed, the inhabitants of Detroit basked in the sunshine of peace and security from further alarms, till the French and Indian war had spent its force along the far-off eastern frontier, and an English garrison had taken quiet possession of the town. Then again the desolations of Pontiac's war rolled over their heads fiercer than ever; but till then the peasant habitant of the peace paid his annual rental, cultivated his garden patch, and lived a thoughtless life, like the population of other French towns in the wilderness solitudes of New France.

Michilimackinac was settled more than a quarter of a century before Detroit. Its name is of Indian origin, the language of which is, The Place of the Dancing Spirits.¶ It had a history before the white man ever visited it, of which a volume might be written, from the traditions of the red man. Its first settlement by the

* Monette's Miss. Val.

† Cass' Discourse.

‡ From Green Bay they next emigrated to Rock river, in Illinois, and remained till 1832, the time of the Black Hawk war, at which time the early settlers of Chicago took refuge from them in Fort Dearborn.

¶ This is Schoolcraft's version. Others equally authoritative, say it meant a turtle. The discrepancy probably comes from the word having different significations in different Indian dialects.

French was made about the year 1671, at which time converted Hurons fled to the place as a refuge of safety from their demon-like persecutors, the Iroquois; and here the good Father Marquette followed them, impelled not by any wordly motive, but by the love of God and man, and obedience to the will of his patron saint, "the Blessed Virgin."

For many years the place had no permanent settlers, but served as a transient stopping place for itinerating priests and erratic fur-traders.

Of the little cluster of early French towns in the southern part of the Illinois, Cahokia was settled first, by Father Pinet and St. Cosme, in 1700.* Kaskaskia was settled a few months later. These and other smaller places, close by, soon became thriving French villages; all the more so as they were in no danger of hostile invasion from any quarter.

Ft. Charters was a substantial fortress, built of stone, with bastions and towers. It was finished in 1720, and would have stood for centuries, but for the wearing away of the Mississippi river's east bank, on which it stood, half way between Cahokia and Kaskaskia. As late as 1820, much of it remained, but a few years later the spot on which it stood became the channel of the river.

Vincennes was settled by Father Mermet in 1710.† This was an isolated French post, buried in the depths of the gigantic forests of the lower Wabash. Here the French lived and grew in an atmosphere of Indian social life, till the fires of the American Revolution, kindled afar off, soon came to their doors, as will appear in a succeeding chapter.

Sharp lines of contrast, in religion and government, between the English and French colonies of America, were everywhere visible. The fairest portions of the country were in the hands of the French, and almost the entire Indian population of the vallies of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence were their allies. Throughout this immense territory, including also the entire

*A tract, reprinted by Shea in 1859, entitled "*Relation ou Journal du voyage du R. P. Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus en 1700 de puis le pays des Illinois jusqu'a l'embouchere du Mississippi, Ecrit ou Pere de Lamberville et envoye du fort de Mississippi a 17 lieues de sa decharge dans le Golfe ou Mer Mexique le 16 Fevrier, 1701,*" is the authority from which the above is taken.

†Law's History of Vincennes, p. 12.

lake country, the flag of France waved in security among the confiding natives, without the least apprehension of future danger from its patronage. They cultivated their scanty patches of corn, just enough to keep them in hominy, and in the winter gathered in a rich harvest of furs, wherewith to spread their tents with mats and to barter with the French traders for guns, kettles, knives, hatchets, vermillion with which to paint their faces, and the inevitable whisky.

The fur trade was the great interest of the country, and those engaged in it were men of no ordinary capacity for accomplishing large results with slender means. Their every-day routine was a heavy strain upon their physical as well as mental powers, as far as sharp bargain and sale was concerned. Yet they were but servile instruments in the hands of their superiors. The same might with equal propriety have been said of the entire French population of the country, who lived by industry, if the average of a day's labor in a week could be called such.

Farming was of but secondary interest, and but few of those engaged in it owned the land they tilled, nor had they the least desire to own it.

The French villages in the Illinois country, as well as at most other places, were each under the government of a priest, who, besides attending to their spiritual wants, dispensed justice to them, and from his decisions there was no appeal. Though this authority was absolute, the records of the times show no abuse of it, but, on the contrary, prove that it was always used with paternal care. It could hardly be otherwise in their wilderness isolation, uniting, as it did, the interests of all on one common level. Nevertheless, it was a modified form of feudalism, subordinating everything to the will of the Church and State combined, and could not have been perpetuated, into the maturity of the State, with the same happy results that followed its beginning.

The double power, thus gathering force and keeping pace with the growth of the State, was too transcendent for the varied and multiplied wants of individual enterprise. But the French peasant did not look ahead so far as this. He was contented, because his mind was dwarfed within the narrow compass of present necessities, and his old-fashioned but gaudy attire, as well as his daily bread, came with a small effort. Without

ambition, and almost without temptation to offend against his fellows, he had little to trouble his conscience, or, if he had anything, the burden was readily lifted by his father confessor.*

Turning from this picture to that of the English colonies, is like leaping over an unbridged chasm. Here two positive elements rose into prominence, like indigenous trees in a forest. The most potent of these was the Puritan element. When the Protestant religion was first introduced into England in 1528, its proselytes, though not men of deeper thoughts than those of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Moravia, yet were more demonstrative and aggressive than their German brethren, and, in 1550, the new faith had grown into formidable proportions. In 1563, an open issue was taken with the established church, and from that day, till the Puritans planted their feet on the rock of Plymouth, there was no truce to religious agitation in England. This rock proved a safety-valve for the preservation of the old English Church and State, united as they were into one marvelous tower of strength, in defiance of the Puritan element.

Happy was it for the world, that Plymouth Rock became the retort which concentrated the elastic force of Puritanism, and economised it for the use of America, there to grow up with the new State, modified by the public policy of government, better suited to the wants of the master spirits of that age, because it was one of their own making.

When these fugitives crossed the Atlantic, they brought with them the true philosopher's stone. They represented the elements of national progress, on a grander scale than had ever entered into the imagination of a knight of a baronial castle. Science, literature and exalted ideas of liberty, were everywhere diffused and written upon the immaculate tablet which was opened before them beyond the Atlantic.

The other element of American power was planted at Jamestown. Here the acknowledged representative of the Englishman, supreme in his convictions of propriety, planted his standards, and became the chivalric representative of liberty in its broadest sense.

Both the Jamestown and Plymouth elements rapidly

*Raynal's *Hist. East and West Indies*; Monette's *Miss. Valley*; Martin's *Louisiana*.

grew into power, and, forgetting the old religious issues that had made enemies of their fathers, united together and subordinated the German and the Swedish colonies to their rule. Along the Atlantic coast the various colonies, extending from the New Hampshire colony to the Georgia colony, were under English protection, and held their lands by virtue of English charters, but between each no confederation had ever been thought of.

Up to this time the colonists had manifested but little concern about the interior, except the Virginia colony, who had pushed across the Alleghenies, and founded some trading stations on the head-waters of the Ohio river.

The great question to be settled was, Where should the line be run between New France and the lands of the English colonists in America? From its magnitude, it had already attracted the attention of the powers of Europe, who were on the watch lest their balance of power should be thrown out of equilibrium, by too great a share of the American continent falling into the hands of either France or England. Accordingly, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, which hushed Europe to peace after thirty years of war, it was provided that the line should be established by commissioners appointed by the sovereigns of the two respective nations. In 1752, these commissioners met in Paris, but out of the tangle of old English charters, French forms of possession, etc., no result could be reached which satisfied the ambitious design of both countries, and the question was left to be settled by future destiny. To control this destiny, preparations for war were now made on both sides.

The French strengthened their forts, particularly Louisburg on the coast of cape Breton, Quebec and Crown Point on the west bank of Lake Champlain.*

The English, on their part, called a convention of their thirteen colonies in America, to meet at Albany in June, 1753, for the purpose of concerting measures of defense. Here were assembled the representatives of the crown, sapient and cautious, but not more so

*This fort had been built by the French in 1731. It was within the acknowledged limits of English territory, but had been held ever since by the French, as a standing menace to the Hudson river settlements, aggressive and defiant.

than the deputies of her trans-Atlantic children. The crown representatives refused to acknowledge any united action of the colonies, lest this union might, at some future day become too powerful for the public welfare; while the colonies refused to sign a compact giving the mother country the right to tax them, even for defensive purposes. No logic on either side could break through this dead-lock, and the convention adjourned without accomplishing any result.

Meantime, the issue was hastening to a crisis on the western frontier. As early as 1748, Conrad Weiser (a noted interpreter at Indian treaties) had been on the head-waters of the Ohio river as agent for the Ohio Company, then forming. A trading station at Logstown, eighteen miles below the fork of the Ohio, was then established by this company, which was composed of Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington. Half a million acres of land were granted them by the crown of England, for purposes of colonization. Two other companies were also chartered, for similar purposes the same year.

Soon as the French learned of this, Gallisoniere, Governor of Canada, determined also to assert the French claim to the country along the Ohio, and the next year, 1749, sent Capt. Louis Celeron to the present site of Erie, Pa., with orders to proceed thence to the head of a small creek eighteen miles distant, and follow down its banks to the Allegheny river, and down this stream to the Ohio river; burying leaden plates along the route, as monuments of French possession west of this line. This done, he sent a letter to Gov. Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, to warn the English not to trespass beyond it.

The same year, two more English trading posts were established in the West—one on the Great Miami river, called Loramie's store, and the other on the Maumee.

The succeeding year, 1750, Christopher Gist, an intrepid frontiersman and surveyor, started on a tour of exploration from the head-waters of the Potomac, late in October. Pushing boldly into the savage glooms of the forest west of the fork of the Ohio, he crossed the Scioto and visited the Indian towns on the Miami; but he was not the first Englishman on the disputed ground. George Crogan and Andrew Montour, both

celebrated for frontier accomplishments, were then among the various Indian tribes, to influence them in favor of the English, and secure their trade. Mr. Gist conferred with both these men, who warned him against visiting certain localities where the French interest prevailed. But there was among the Indians a division of sentiment as to whose cause they should espouse in the coming issue,* and never were a people more perplexed to know on which side their interest laid.

While Mr. Gist was making this tour, news came to him of the capture of several Englishmen by the French along the northern waters of the Ohio.

On the Muskingum he made the acquaintance of a white woman who had been captured from the New England States at the age of ten years. She was now over fifty, the wife of an Indian and mother of several children. She had a vivid recollection of her childhood home, of the religious turn of the Puritan mind, and was much astonished at the wickedness she had seen practiced by the white people when they came among the Indians.†

Mr. Gist crossed the Ohio river and returned home, in May, 1751, by the way of the Kentucky river settlements, which were then in their infancy.

Early the next year the French visited the country, in sufficient force to capture the English trading post on the Miami. A desperate defence, however, was made, fourteen of the assailants having been killed. The traders were taken to Canada. Several English families lived at this post, which made it the beginning of a settlement as well as a trading post. The Twightwees or Miamis helped to defend the place, while the Ottawas and Chippewas assisted the French in taking it.

While these acts of hostility were transpiring on the Miami, the Ohio Company were convening a council at Logstown with the Indians, for the purpose of confirming the old treaty of Lancaster, by virtue of which large tracts of land on the Ohio had been ceded to this company by the Six Nations.‡ Through the influence of

*The Miamis or Twightwees were friendly to the English, and portions of the Six Nations and Delawares, who had emigrated to the Ohio country from the East.

†Journal of Gist, published in Pownall's *Topography*, London, 1776.

‡The treaty of Lancaster was a cession of Ohio lands to the English by the Six Nations, by virtue of their conquest of the tribes occupying said lands.

Montour, the treaty was reluctantly, on the part of the Indians, confirmed; but the war which soon followed swept away all these distinctions as to land titles.

The French, meantime, according to their usual practice, early in 1753 commenced building forts in the disputed territory. The first one, named *Presque Isle*, was built where *Erie*, Pa., now stands. From this place they cut a wagon road eighteen miles southwardly, through the forest, to a small lake near the present site of *Waterford*. Here they built another fort, which they named *Le Bœuf*; thence, following down the stream of which this was the fountain-head, to where it empties into the *Allegheny* river, they built a third fort, which they named *Venango*, after an old Indian town on the same spot. These forts were on the same line along which *Capt. Celeron* had buried leaden plates four years previously.

Governor *Dinwiddie*, of the *Virginia* colony, always tenacious in the defence of English rights, beheld these French approaches to the *Ohio* with deep concern. Here was the pivot on which hung the fate of the West and the then limitless interior. To secure at least a foothold in it, he determined to send a messenger to the French, to warn them that the English claimed the country on the head-waters of the *Ohio*, and request them to leave it.

George Washington, then twenty-one years old, was selected for this mission. He had eight attendants, the two principal of whom were *Christopher Gist*, the surveyor already mentioned, and *Jacob Van Braum*, an intelligent German, who afterwards acted as interpreter at the surrender of *Ft. Necessity*. He left *Wills Creek*, the present site of *Cumberland*, on the 15th of November, 1753. At *Logstown* dwelt a famous *Six Nation* chief, named *Half-King*, who was a friend to *Washington*, and whose jealousy of the French made him an ally of the English. Deeming his council, and especially his influence, indispensable to the success of the enterprise, *Washington* proceeded immediately to his headquarters and obtained an interview with him. Whatever else may be the frailties of Indian character, hasty diplomacy is not one of them, as *Washington* learned. Three days of his precious time were consumed in attendance on his majesty. The ceremonials of the council over, *Half-King* entered heartily into

Washington's plans, and, with three other chiefs, accompanied him to Ft. Le Bœuf, the headquarters of M. Le Guarduer St. Pierre, the commander of the French forces.

Their route lay northward, through the forests, to the mouth of Le Bœuf Creek, now called French Creek, thence up its banks to Ft. Le Bœuf. On arriving at the place they met the commander. He was an accomplished and scholarly old knight, and notwithstanding the rustic appearance of the beardless youth before him, who came with a message warning him to leave, he received him with deserved attention; for nobility of character cannot be disguised by a rough exterior, in the estimation of one who possesses it himself. During the two days Washington spent at the place, the hospitalities of the fort were extended to him, with that hearty good-fellowship for which a Frenchman is conspicuous.

As might be supposed, the mission was fruitless of results, for the French commander did not allow himself to lose sight of the interests of France, and, to that end, plied his arts of pleasing to Half-King also.

This was a matter of no small annoyance to Washington, whose apprehensions being aroused that he might win him over to the friendship of the French, by the influence of his free wines, he openly accused him of such an intention; but the complacent diplomat silenced these charges with fresh sallies of politeness, and thus the matter ended.

When Washington was about taking leave, the generous Frenchman presented him a canoe well filled with provisions, among which the wine was not forgotten.

Washington with Gist started down French Creek with the canoe, giving orders to Van Braum to meet him at Venango, its mouth, with the men and horses accompanying the expedition. The canoe was now abandoned, Half-King and the other chiefs wishing to remain here. Washington and his party took leave of them and started down the west bank of the Allegheny river.

The poor horses were so spent with hunger and fatigue, that their progress through the trackless forests was slow, and Washington determined to set on foot in advance with Gist, and leave the emaciated beasts in charge of Van Braum and the rest of the party, to follow as fast as they could travel.

It was now December, and the ground was covered with a sprinkling of snow; but both of the travelers were accustomed to "life in the bush," and, making light of their forest march, slept away each day's fatigue enveloped in their blankets, each night, in the open air of winter.

On their way, at two different times, they encountered a faithless Indian, whose pretended friendships were abruptly broken off by attempts to shoot them. Happily, each time, the ball missed its aim, though at one of these treacherous attacks only fifteen paces intervened between the savage and Gist, his intended victim. This danger passed, they soon arrived at the place where they wished to cross the Allegheny river. Here they worked all day to make a raft, having only "a very poor hatchet," says Washington, in his journal, to make it with. Just before dark they launched it and started for the opposite shore; but when the current was reached heavy masses of ice came floating down stream with such force as to threaten to sink their frail bark. To prevent this, Washington thrust out a setting pole against the moving masses of ice, when, by some mis-directed strain, he was hurled into the water. He soon regained the raft, half-paralyzed by his wintry bath; and now the problem was, how to gain the opposite shore. This was impossible, and they floated down with the current, till an island, desolate but merciful, caught them from the dangerous toils of the Allegheny. Here they spent the night. The cold was so intense that Gist's feet were frozen in the morning, and he could hardly walk. A solid bridge of ice had formed, over which they passed to the eastern shore, and the river was crossed.

Washington now assisted his disabled companion along the rugged way, till the trading establishment of a Mr. Frazier was reached, a few miles below, and here they rested three days. Thence Washington proceeded to the settlements, reaching Wills Creek January 6th, 1754.

The message he brought from the French commander, refusing to leave the country unless ordered to do so by the Marquis Du Quesne, Governor of Canada, was handed to Governor Dinwiddie.

The latter had not been idle during the interval of suspense. He had appealed to Governor Hamilton, of

the Pennsylvania colony, who in turn used his utmost exertions to awaken his constituents to the importance of the subject, and to this end summoned an extra session of the Assembly at Philadelphia; but this body were divided in opinion as to whether the French were invading the country belonging to the English crown, and, under the inspiration of the teachings of William Penn and the Quaker doctrines of peace, suggested that the country in question belonged to neither the English nor the French, but to the Indians. This was the underlying sentiment by which supplies were withheld.

The New York colony though more remote from the scene, voted five thousand pounds.

With the advice of the British Secretary of State, Governor Dinwiddie now determined to take decisive steps to secure a foothold on the Ohio by building a fort at the fork where Pittsburg now stands.

It was proposed to raise two companies for this purpose, as volunteers, one of which was to be raised by Washington, and the other by a Mr. Trent, a noted frontier ranger.

In the spring of 1754, the French line from Presque Isle to the mouth of Le Bœuf Creek (French Creek) became a bustling thoroughfare, along which French scouts, with their tawny allies, were constantly passing. Ft. Venango was finished at the confluence of this creek with the Allegheny river early in April; but while these forest wilds gleamed with the glitter of French bayonets and echoed with war-whoops, a quieter and more enduring force was gathering to the rescue, from the Virginia frontier.

Already the Ohio Company had sent a number of men to make a fort and settlement at the fork, among whom were a few families.

This advance, consisting of a caravan of forty-one men and seventeen horses, loaded to their utmost capacity, had been met by Washington on his return. Meanwhile, the military spirit gathered force, as the issue appeared to approach a crisis, and it was determined to raise six companies instead of two, and to give the chief command to Joshua Fry, an able officer, while Washington was to hold the second.

Thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder had been received from the king of England, for the defense of western forts. All haste was now made to send for-

ward the forces in time to succor the little band who had gone before them, under Trent; but the heavy roads of spring and the Allegheny mountains, were barriers which bade defiance to speed; and, while these preparations were on foot, a heavy French force, under Contrecoeur, glided down French Creek and the Allegheny river, arriving at the strategic spot on the 17th April.

Here he found the Virginians scarring the leaf-clad soil with the foundations for a fort. Trent had returned east to hurry forward reinforcements, and ensign Ward stood in his place. The little band obeyed Contrecoeur's summons to leave, backed up as it was by nearly a thousand bayonets. The men gathered up their camp equipage, during which preparation for their retreat Ward took supper with the French commander, by special invitation. This over, the Virginians soon buried themselves in the Forest depths, taking their course up the banks of the Monongahela, and left the French masters of the situation. The latter immediately commenced the erection of a fort, which they named Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

Washington was now at the head of a small band of backwoodsmen, armed with axes, about to hew a path through the forest for the artillery to follow. The news of the surrender of Ward's company reached him at Wills Creek. Continuing to press forward, he reached Great Meadows, a place about fifty miles east of the new French fort at the fork, on the 27th of May.

A few miles west of this place, Mr. Gist had settled, the year before, with the intention of making it a permanent home, and still maintained his position amidst the clamors of impending war. Hearing of the arrival of Washington, he visited his camp and gave him information of a body of French under Jumonville, stationed on the waters of Red Sandstone Creek, hard by.

Half-King, the still faithful old Iroquois chief, at the head of a few braves, also came and offered their services to Washington. He was now far advanced into the wilds, with the Allegheny mountains between him and any hope of reinforcements or subsistence, with an enemy four times outnumbering his force ready to attack him; but he hesitated not to commence the attack. Half-King led the way, and he surprised Jumonville, under cover of night, and took twenty-one prisoners

after killing ten men, among whom was Jumonville himself. Washington lost one man killed.

As might be supposed, this opening of hostilities inflamed the resentment of the French to the last degree; as the first acts of positive hostilities always are made the most of, to tone up the vindictive spirit of the soldiery on both sides, in any impending war. The French called the killing of Jumonville assassination.

Washington now held his advanced position, contenting himself with watching the movements of the French, till the 28th of June. At this time, he was in Gist's house, and learning that a heavy French force were advancing against him, he commenced a retreat. Having reached Great Meadows, July 1st, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, he concluded to intrench himself and await an attack. On the 3d, the advance of the French were seen at 11 o'clock a. m., nine hundred strong.

The positions of the assailants were quickly taken, and a destructive fire was opened upon Ft. Necessity (the name Washington had given his hastily-built stockade). The fire was returned with all the obstinate courage of backwoodsmen, but their besiegers were beyond its reach, and the only effect it produced was to win the admiration of the foe.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, while a heavy rain was pouring down, the firing ceased, and a signal for a parley was sent to the beleaguered camp from De Villiers, the French commander. Many of Washington's men were wounded and he was out of provisions. Surrender was therefore his only recourse left. The terms were generous and worthy the gallantry of a French captain.* Washington was allowed to depart with drums beating, with the honors of war, taking everything with them except the artillery. He was to give up the prisoners taken May 28th, and no more fortifications were to be erected west of the mountains. Captain Jacob Van Braum and Robert Stobo were to be given up to the French, as hostages to secure the fulfillment of the conditions. The campaign had miscarried and the French were now in heavy force on the headwaters of the Ohio.

*De Villiers, who was brother of the slain Jumonville, said that, on beholding the wretched condition of Washington's men, after so desperate a defence, pity disarmed his feelings of resentment.

The following is the English translation of the articles, as published by the French Government in the memoir justifying its Conduct.

In a publication of these articles made, in this country, from a copy retained by Washington, no such preamble or introduction appears; article first being the beginning.

In Washington's copy, at the end of the sixth article, the words "pendant une annee a Compter de ce jour," mean, "during one year, counting from this day," appear.

How these discrepancies arose, it would be useless now to inquire.

NOTE:—Capitulation granted by M.de Villiers, Captain and Commander of his Majesty's troops, to those English troops actually in Fort Necessity.

July the 3d, 1754, at 8 o'clock at night as our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and good harmony subsisting between the two Princes in Amity, but only to revenge the assassination committed on one of our officers, bearer of a Summon, as also on his Escort, and to hinder any establishment on the lands of the dominions of the King, my Master, upon these considerations, we are willing to show favor to all the English who are in the said fort, on the following conditions:

ARTICLE I.

We grant leave to the English Commander to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insult from us, French, and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the Indians that are with us.

ARTICLE II.

It shall be permitted him to go out, and carry with him all that belongs to them; except the Artillery, which we reserve.

ARTICLE III.

That we will allow them the honors of war, that they march out with drums beating, and one swivel gun, being willing thereby to convince them, that we treat them as friends.

ARTICLE IV.

That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, the English colors shall be struck.

Article V.

That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French shall go, and make the Garrison file off, and take possession of the fort.

ARTICLE VI.

As the English have but few oxen or horses left, they are at liberty to hide their effects, and come again and search for them, when they have a number of horses sufficient to carry them off, and that for this end they may have what guards they please; on condition that they give their word of honor, to work no more on any building in this place, or any part on this side of mountains.

ARTICLE VII.

And as the English have in their power one officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made at their assassination of M. de Jumonville, and promise to send them back, with a safe guard, to Fort Du Quesne, situate on the Ohio; for surety of performing this article as well as this treaty, M. Jacob Vanbraam and Robert Stobo, both Captains, shall be delivered to us as hostages, till the arrival of our French and Canadians above mentioned. We oblige ourselves on our side, to give an escort to return these two officers in safety; and expect to have our French in two months and a half at farthest. A duplicate of this being fixed upon one of the posts of our blockhouse, the day and year above mentioned.

Signed, Messrs.

JAMES MACKAYE,
G. WASHINGTON,
COULON VILLIERS.

On the 4th of July succeeding, 1754, another convention was called at Albany, and commissioners, from each of the thirteen colonies, agreed among themselves on a general plan of defence, the Connecticut colony alone dissenting. Benjamin Franklin was the moving spirit of this convention, and proposed to carry the war into the interior with a vigorous hand. But nothing could be done to rescue the country, occupied by the French, till the mother country had declared her policy, by substantial aid to help beat back the French.

Conscious that this would be done in season for the next year's campaign, Gov. Dinwiddie took no immediate steps to recover the lost ground on the Ohio, and, as a prudential measure to prevent rivalry, as to rank, among the officers already commissioned, when new volunteers should enlist, he reorganized the companies in service, so as to leave no officer in command of a higher rank than captain. Washington now sent in his resignation and returned to his home at Mount Vernon.

The Ohio frontier was now quiet. The Assembly of Pennsylvania were still firm in their policy of peace, but in the New England and New York colonies, a plan was proposed to seize upon Crown Point, but not attempted; but the line of Kennebec, east of which was the French settlement of Acadia, was fortified.

No declaration of war had yet been made. On the contrary, the English and French courts were, to all outward appearances, on the most friendly terms; but both countries were preparing for war.

January, 1755, opened with peace proposals from France, by which she offered, as an ultimatum, that the French should retire west of the Ohio, and the English east of the Alleghenies.

This offer was considered by England till the 7th of March, when she agreed to accept it on condition that the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches. The French, after twenty days, refused to do this.* But while the fruitless negotiations were pending, both sides were sending soldiers to America.

*Plain facts, p. 52.

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO, IN 1753.

WITH NOTES BY JOHN G. SHEA.

The following diary of young Washington, on his tour to the headwaters of the Ohio, has never before been published in a form available to the book-buyers of the West, and is here inserted as an interesting historical document, well worthy a place in Northwestern History, all the more valuable for Mr. Shea's Notes and Introduction accompanying it.

INTRODUCTION.

The earliest of Washington's diaries, printed almost as soon as its last page was written, possesses uncommon interest, from the fullness with which he describes the events of his journey, a fullness for which we are indebted to the instructions of Governor Dinwiddie.

Washington was then twenty-one, but already a "person of distinction." Adjutant General of the colonial troops, with the rank of Major, to him was committed the northern division of the colony. His earlier exploration as surveyor had brought him into contact with the Indians, and none seemed better to know and understand them; while his early maturity, dignity and judgment fitted him for any important undertaking that did not require the experience of years.

Affairs had reached a crisis. France had colonized Canada, Illinois and Louisiana, and connected them by detached posts, but the possession of the Ohio, so necessary to the safety of her wide provincial power, was soon to fall into the hands of her rival by the rapid progress of English colonization. To set a barrier to its westward progress, France determined to run a line of forts from Niagara to the fork of the Ohio, and down that river.

The Indians first took the alarm. When the tidings reached the Ohio that a French force was on its way to erect this line of forts, a council of the wandering tribes, Mingoes, Shawnees and Delawares, met at Logstown, and in April, 1753, dispatched an envoy to Niagara to protest against the action of the French. The protest was unheeded. Tanacharisson then went to Fort Presque Isle to meet Marin, and reported to Washington, as we shall see, the result of his fruitless mission.

Pennsylvania then took the alarm, and Governor Hamilton in vain urged his assembly to check the French invasion of their frontiers, yet they appointed Norris, their speaker, and Franklin, to meet at Carlisle a deputation from the tribes. There the Indian declared his will. The land was theirs. They wished neither English nor French to intrude. Yet, as danger from the latter seemed more imminent, they were willing to help the English to expel the French. They did not see that it was but a change of masters, and if, in the event, English garrisons replaced the French, the power of the latter was scarcely prostrated, when, in 1763, the long-smothered wrath of the baffled red man swept the English from Forts Erie, Le Boeuf and Nenango, and burst in its might on Fort Pitt.

Virginia, too moved, and Washington, from his official position and his knowledge of the Indians, was selected by Governor Dinwiddie to proceed to the Ohio, demand the withdrawal of the French and examine the condition of their forces. The following letter, recently come to light, and one

of the few of that period of his career known, shows how he was engaged when chosen for the mission to the Ohio :

WINCHESTER, Oct, 17, 1753.

HONORABLE SIR:—Last night, by return of the express who went to Captain Montour, I received the inclosed from Mr. Harris, at Susquehanna. I think no means should be neglected to preserve what few Indians still remain in our interest, for which reason I shall send Mr. Gist, as soon as he arrives, which I expect will be to-day, to Harris' Ferry, in hopes of engaging and bringing with him the Belt of Wampum and other Indians at that place; and I shall further desire him to send an Indian express to Andrew Montour, to try if he can be brought along with him. In however trifling light the French attempting to alienate the affections of our southern Indians, may at first sight appear, I must look upon it as a thing of the utmost consequence, that requires our greatest and most immediate attention. I have often wondered at not hearing that this was attempted before, and had it noted, among other memoranda, to acquaint your honor of when I should come down. The French policy in treating with Indians is so prevalent that I should not be in the least surprised were they to engage the Cherokees, Cuttabas, &c., unless timely and vigorous measures are taken to prevent it. A pusillanimous behavior would ill suit the times, and trusting for traders and common interpreters (who will sell their integrity to the highest bidder) may prove the destruction of these affairs. I therefore think that if a person of distinction, acquainted with their language, is to be found, his price should be come to at any rate; if no such can be had, a man of sense and character, to conduct the Indians to any council that may be had, or to superintend any other matters, will be extremely necessary.

It is impertinent, I own, in me to offer my opinions on these matters when better judges may direct; but my steady and hearty zeal in the cause and the great impositions I have known practiced by the traders, &c., upon these occasions, would not suffer me to be quite silent. I have heard, from undoubted authority, that some of the Cherokees that have been introduced as sachems and princes by the interpreters (who share their presents and profits), have been no others than common hunters and blood-thirsty villains. We have no accounts yet of the militia from Fairfax, &c. This day I march with about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland. Yesterday, by an express, I was informed of the arrival of eighty odd recruits to Fredericksburg, which I have ordered to proceed to this place, but for want of the regularity being observed by which I should know where every officer, &c., ought to be, my orders are only conditional and always confused. Whatever necessities your honor gets below, I should be glad to have them sent to Alexandria, from whence they come much more handy than from Fredericksburg; besides, as provisions are lodged there, and none at the other place, it will be best for the men to be all sent there that is in any ways convenient, for we have met with insuperable difficulty at Fredericksburg in our march from here, by the neglect of the Com., who is at this time greatly wanted here. Therefore I hope your honor will order him up immediately.

I am, honorable sir, your most ebedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

But before this could have reached the governor and been acted upon, came his commission, with these

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Whereas I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the River Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river, within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign, the king of Great Britain; these are therefore to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown, on the said River Ohio, and having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place, and being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty, to demand an answer thereto.

On your arrival at Logstown, you are to address yourself to the Half-King to Monacatoocha, and to the other sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further direction.

You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio and the adjacent country, how they are likely to be assisted from Canada, and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication and the time required for it.

You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other and from Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French, how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return as you may judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

Wishing you success in your negotiation and a safe and speedy return, I am, &c.,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

WILLIAMSBURG, October 30, 1753

With these instructions Washington proceeded to the Ohio, to demand the withdrawal of the French from the soil claimed as English territory. This act opened a series of struggles, in the course of which English, French and Americans changed their relative positions, and which closed thirty years after, with the gaze of mankind riveted on the august form of him whom we here behold the stripling.

By that series of Struggles America alone profited. The mighty Genius directing her destiny seems to have used the power of England to drive France from the north and west and south, and then used baffled France to drive the English power within that line of lakes which Dongan, a century before, marked as our boundary; used France, too, at a later day, to add to the American limits that Louisiana which she could not hold herself, so that ere the century succeeding the events here described had reached its close, a mighty republic, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, reverts, perpetuates and exalts the name of Washington.

J. G. S.

OCTOBER 31, 1753.

I was commissioned and appointed by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor of Virginia,¹ to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day (October 31, 1753); the next I arrived at Fredericksburg and engaged Mr. Jacob Van Braam² to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, &c., and from thence we pursued the new road to Will's Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist³ to pilot us out, and also hired four others as^s servitors, Barnaby Curran and John M'Quire, Indian traders; Henry Steward and William Jenkins; and in company with those persons left the inhabitants the next day.

NOVEMBER 22.

The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen prevented our reaching Mr. Frasier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on Monongahela River, until Thursday, the 22nd. We were informed here that expresses had been sent a few days before, to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French general's death,⁴ and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters.

1 Robert Dinwiddie, a native of Scotland, had been a clerk to a collector in a West India custom-house, and gained the favor of government by exposing the frauds of that officer. For this he was, in 1741, made surveyor of the customs of the colonies, and having, in that capacity, been obnoxious to the Virginia aristocracy, was made Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in 1752. His administration was like that of most colonial governors. Campbell thus describes its close in his "History of Virginia," p. 497: "In January, 1758, Robert Dinwiddie, after an arduous and disturbed administration of five years, worn out with vexation and age, sailed from Virginia, not much regretted except by his particular friends."

2 Jacob Van Braam had served under Lawrence Washington, in Vernon's expedition against Carthage, and had been fencing master, as he was now interpreter, to George Washington. In the subsequent campaign, when Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity, Van Braam, acting as translator, made Washington admit that he had assassinated De Jumonville. After that affair, he was left, with Stobo, as hostage, in the hands of the French.

3 Christopher Gist was an early settler in those parts, and Washington, in recommending his appointment as Indian agent, thus writes to John Robinson, speaker of the House of Burgesses, May 30, 1757: "I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as the bearer, Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with the Indians, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, indefatigable and patient—most excellent qualities where Indians are concerned. As to his capacity, honesty and zeal, I dare venture to engage.—*Writings*, vol. ii, p. 236.

4 This French general was Pierre Paul, Sieur de Marin, a brave and intelligent officer, one of the best in Du Quesne's force, and high in the esteem of that reformer of discipline. Du Quesne had dispatched him to the Ohio, to found the fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela. The register of Fort Duquesne has the following entry: "In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty three, the 29th of October, died, at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, in the fort of Riviere aux Bœufs, under the title of St. Peter, Monsieur Pierre Paul, Esq., Sieur de Marin,

The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward down the Monongahela with our baggage, to meet us at the fork of the Ohio, about ten miles, there to cross the Alleghany.

As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers.⁵ The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water, and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles. Alleghany bearing northeast and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift-running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares.⁶ We called upon him, to invite him to counsel at the Logstown.

As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or advantages, especially the latter; for a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, and it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other places.

Knight of the Military and Royal Order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry and Commandant General of the Army of the Ohio, after having received the sacraments of penance, extreme unction, and the viaticum, aged sixty-three years. His body was interred in the cemetery of said fort by us, Recollect priest, Chaplain of said fort, and, during the campaign, of the River Ohio. Were present at his interment, Monsieur de Repentigny, Commandant of said army and Captain of Infantry; Messieurs du Muys, Lieutenant of Infantry; Benois, Lieutenant of Infantry; de Simblin, Major at said fort; Laforce, Commissary of the Stores: who have signed with us.

"LE GARDEUR DE REPENTIGNY,

"LAFORCE—BENOIS—DU MUYS,

"J. DEPERE SIMBLIN,

"PRIAR DENIS BARON,

Recollect priest, Chaplain."

Marin had just erected Forts Presque Isle and Le Bœuf. Du Quesne, in his letter to M. De Rouille, August 20, 1753, says: "Sieur Marin writes me on the 3d inst., that the fort at Presque Isle is entirely finished; that the Portage Road, which is six leagues in length, is also ready for carriages; that the store, which was necessary to be built halfway across the portage, is in a condition to receive the supplies, and that the second fort, which is located at the mouth of the Riviere au Bœuf, will soon be completed."—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, x., 256.

5 This choice, says Dussieux, proves the accurate glance and excellent judgment of the young major. But at the moment of his making the report, the French were already erecting Fort Duquesne on the spot.—*Le Canada sous la Domination Francaise*, p. 61.

6 Shingiss had been the terror of the English frontiers, but had now warmly espoused the cause of the English.

Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defense; but the hill whereon it must stand, being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself cut away; otherwise the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort.

Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sun setting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. We traveled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

As soon as I came into town, I went to Monacatoocha (as the Half-King⁷ was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned.

According to the best observations I could make, Mr. Gist's new settlement (which we passed by) bears about west northwest seventy miles from Will's creek; Shannopins, or the fork, north by west, or north northwest, about fifty miles from that; and from thence to the Logstown the course is nearly west about eighteen or twenty miles; so that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, is at least one hundred and thirty-five or one hundred and forty miles from our back inhabitants.

NOVEMBER 25.

Came to town, four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas,⁸ which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them: They were sent from New Orleans with a hundred men and eight canoe loads of provisions, to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convoy them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers, and what forts they had built. They informed me that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands,⁹ gar-

7 Half-King. Tanacharisson, a shrewd Seneca, was called the Half-King, as his authority was subject to that of the Five Nations. *Campbell's History of Virginia*, p. 461; Sargent's *Braddock*, p. 54. He was with Washington in the affair with Jumonville, and died in October, 1754.

8 Kuskuskas was, it is said, an Indian town on Big Beaver Creek, Pennsylvania, but it is more likely that the French post of Kaskaskia is intended.

9 Black Islands. Washington was here evidently misled by the sound, and mistook Illinois for Isles Noires, that is, Black Islands. There was no French post called Black Islands, but the name Illinois, now so familiar to us, was then upheard in the British colonies. The Miamis and Illinois were known as Chicktaghicks and Twigtwies, and both together frequently under the last, the more common term.

risoned with about thirty or forty men and a few small pieces in each; that at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort, mounting eight carriage guns, and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with six guns. The Black Islands are about a hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about three hundred and fifty above New Orleans. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Obaish,¹⁰ about sixty leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. These deserters came up from the lower Shannoah¹¹ town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

About three o'clock this evening the Half-King came to town. I went up and invited him, with Davidson, privately, to my tent, and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandant, and of his reception there; also to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me that the nearest and levellest way was now impassable by reason of many large, miry savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango,¹² and should not get to the near fort in less than five or six night's sleep, good traveling. When he went to the fort, he said he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander, who asked him very abruptly what he had come about, and to declare his business, which he said he did in the following speech:

"Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches, what your own mouths have declared.

"Fathers, you, in former days, set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it; to eat in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another; and that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me, as well as others.

"Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

"Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land.

10 Obaish, Wabash; in French, Ouabache. This name was given by Marquette, La Salle, and other early explorers, to the Ohio, but finally became that of a branch, while the Iroquois name, Ohio, or Beautiful River, was applied to the main stream. The fort alluded to was probably Vincennes.

11 Shawanoe, or, as now written, Shawnee. They were called, by the French, Chawanon. They were the most restless of the Algonquin tribes, having been, for a longer or shorter period, in almost all the Atlantic colonies, from Florida to New York, and bands of them accompanied La Salle and Tonti up and down the Mississippi, one of them even sharing the death of the great explorer.

12 Venango. Fort Venango was at the confluence of French Creek and the Alleghany, on the left, and another French fort, Machault, lay on the right. The ruins of Fort Venango cover a space of about four hundred feet, and the ramparts are eight feet high.

I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land, and not yours.

"Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civilness; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land, and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.

"Fathers, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between; therefore the land belongs to neither one nor the other; but the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers the English have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you, for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land."

This he said, was the substance of what he spoke to the general, who made this reply:

"Now, my child, I have heard your speech. You spoke first, but it is my time to speak now. Where is my wampum that you took away with the marks of towns on it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with; but you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those. I tell you, down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances, for my force is as the sand upon the seashore; therefore here is your wampum; I sling it at you. Child, you talk foolish. You say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. I saw that land sooner than you did; before the Shannoahs and you were at war. Lead was the man who went down and took possession of that river. It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up for or say against it. I will buy and sell with the English (mockingly). If people will be ruled by me, they may expect kindness, but not else."

The Half-King told me he had inquired of the general after two Englishmen who were made prisoners, and received this answer:

"Child, you think it a very great hardship that I made prisoners of those two people at Venango. Don't you concern yourself with it. We took and carried them to Canada, to get intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia."

He informed me that they had built two forts, one on Lake Erie¹³ and another on French Creek, near a small lake,¹⁴ about fifteen miles asunder, and a large wagon-road between. They are both built after the same model, but different in size; that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them of his own drawing.

The Indians inquired very particularly after their brothers in Carolina goal.

They also asked what sort of a boy it was who was taken from the South Branch; for they were told by some Indians that a party of French Indians had carried a white boy by Kuskuska town, towards the lakes.

NOVEMBER 26.

We met in council at the long-house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows;

"Brothers, I have called you together in council by order of your brother, the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent with all possible dispatch to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers, the English; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the Governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"His Honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way, and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because his Honor, our Governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum."

After they had considered for some time on the above discourse the Half-King got up and spoke:

"Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother the Governor had desired of me, I return you this answer:

"I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

"Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech-belt is not here; I have to go for it to my hunting-cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"I intend to send the guard of Mingoes,¹³ Shannoahs and Delawares,¹⁴ that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them."

13 Fort Presque Isle lay near the site of the present Erie, and extensive earthworks can still be seen.

14 Fort Le Bœuf, or Fort de la Rivière aux Bœufs. See Washington's description of it under date of December 13. It stood on the banks of Lake Le Bœuf, about fourteen miles southeast of Erie, near the present village of Waterford, where its ruins are still to be seen.

15 Mingoes. The Mengwe, Minquas, or Mingoes, were properly the Andastes or Gandastogues, the Indians of Conestoga, on the Susquehanna, known by the former name to the Algonquins and their allies, the Dutch and Swedes, and by the former to the Five Nations and the English of New York. The Marylanders knew them as the Susquehannas. Upon their reduction by the Five Nations, in 1672, after a long war, the Andastes were to a great extent mingled with their conquerors, and a party removing to the Ohio, commonly called Mingoes, was thus made up of Iroquois and

As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the time he had appointed, and told me that he could not consent to our going without a guard, for fear some accident should befall us and draw a reflection upon him. Besides, said he, this is a matter of no small moment, and must not be entered into without due consideration; for I intend to deliver up the French speech-belt and make the Shannoahs and Delawares do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to King Shingiss, who was present, to attend on Wednesday night with the wampum, and two men of their nation to be in readiness to set out with us the next morning. As I found it was impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a string of wampum which I met with at Mr. Frazier's, and which they sent, with a speech, to his Honor, the Governor, to inform him that three nations of French Indians, namely, Chippewas,¹⁷ Ottawas¹⁸ and Orundaks,¹⁹ had taken up the hatchet against the English, and desired them to repeat it over again. But this they postponed doing until they met in full council with the Shannoah and Delaware chiefs.

NOVEMBER 27.

Runners were dispatched very early for the Shannoah chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the French speech-belt from his hunting-cabin.

Mingoes. The celebrated Logan was a real Andaste. Many treat Mingo as synonymous with Mohawk or Iroquois, but erroneously.

16 Delawares. This well-known tribe was a small Algonquin nation, calling itself Lenni Lenape. They were early subdued by the Five Nations, and seemed to have acquired the considerable historic place they occupy more from the fertility of their traditinary mind than from important deeds in war or peace. In our earlier histories they assume gigantic importance, and their migrations and wars are detailed at length. These are, however, very doubtful. That they are a branch of the Illinois, emigrating to the east, seems probable.

17 The Chippewas were first known to the French, as Otchiboués, answering to the modern form Ojibway, or Otchipwa. They are an Algonquin tribe, whose residence was at Sault Ste. Marie, whence the later French call them Sauteux, men of the Sault. Their language, traditions and customs have been more thoroughly studied than those of any other of our Indian Tribes.

18 The Ottawas were another Algonquin tribe, found on Lake Ontario. They formed, when first known, two branches, the Kiskakons and Sinagoes, and were remarkably errant. Their fires were lighted at different times, from Chagoimegon to Detroit. They are now chiefly on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Their language bears a very close resemblance of the Ojibwa.

19 The Orundaks are evidently the Adirondacks of New York writers, the Algonquin of the French. Adirondack is a Mohawk term, meaning "they eat trees," from karonta, "tree," and iraks, "he eats." A small village of them still exists at the Lake of the Two Mountains, Canada East. They were hereditary enemiss of the Five Nations, and their alliance with the Hurons drew the latter into a war in which both were utterly prostrated by the great confederation of New York.

NOVEMBER 28.

He returned this evening, and came with Monacatoocha and two other sachems to my tent, and begged (as they had complied with his Honor the Governor's request, in providing men, &c.) to know on what business we were going to the French. This was a question I had all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory answers as I could; which allayed their curiosity a little.

Monacatoocha informed me that an Indian from Venango brought news a few days ago that the French had called all the Mingoes, Delawares, &c., together at that place, and told them that they intended to have been down the river this fall, but the waters were growing cold and the winter advancing, which obliged them to go into quarters; but that they might assuredly expect them in the spring with a far greater number; and desired that they might be quite passive and not intermeddle unless they had a mind to draw all their force upon them; for that they expected to fight the English three years, (as they supposed there would be some attempts made to stop them), in which time they should conquer; but that if they should prove equally strong, they and the English would join to cut them all off and divide the land between them; that though they had lost their general, and some few of their soldiers, yet there were men enough to reinforce them and make them masters of the Ohio.

This speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain Joncaire,²⁰ their interpreter-in-chief, living at Venango, and a man of note in the army.

NOVEMBER 29.

The Half-King and Monacatoocha came very early and begged me to stay one day more, for notwithstanding they had used all the diligence in their power, the Shannoah chiefs had not brought the wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in to-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. When I found them so pressing in their request, and knew that the returning of wampum was the abolishing of agreements, and giving this up was shaking off all dependence upon the French, I consented to stay, as I believed an offence offered at this crisis might be attended with greater ill consequence than another day's delay. They also informed me that Shingiss could not get in his men, and was prevented from coming himself by his wife's sickness, (I believe by fear of the French), but that the wampum of that nation was lodged with Kustalogo, one of their chiefs, at Venango.

²⁰ No name figures more extensively in our border history than the Sieur de Joncaire, father and son, of whom, however, comparatively little is known. The former had been a prisoner in the hands of the Senecas, and adopted by them as early as 1700, and in that year they asked that he should go to their canton to arrange terms of peace, which he did with success. In all subsequent transactions with the Iroquois he plays a conspicuous part, his Indian naturalization making it impossible for the English authorities to obtain his expulsion. Charlevoix, *Hist. Nouvelle France*, ii., 244-365. He was apparently the first European who examined the oil springs recently rendered so profitable. His son, the Joncaire of this diary, continued his father's influence among the Senecas till Shirley, then at Oswego, in 1755, induced them to order him to depart.—Smith's *New York* (ed. 1830), i., 275.

In the evening, late, they came again and acquainted me that the Shannoahs were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the prosecution of our journey. He delivered in my hearing the speech that was to be made to the French by Jeskakake, one of their old chiefs, which was giving up the belt the late commandant had asked for and repeating nearly the same speech he himself had done before.

He also delivered a string of wampum to this chief, which was sent by King Shingiss, to be given to Kustalogo, with orders to repair to the French and deliver up the wampum.

He likewise gave a very large string of black and white wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations if the French refused to quit the land at this warning, which was the third and last time, and was the right of this Jeskakake to deliver.

NOVEMBER 30.

Last night the great men assembled at their council-house to consult further about this journey and who were to go; the result of which was that only three of their chiefs, with one of their best hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the 26th, was that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design and cause them to be treated rudely, but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

We set out about nine o'clock, with the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter, and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on the Ohio, and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frasier, and English subject. I immediately repaired to it to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio, but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it, for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle²¹ sixty years ago, and the rise of this expedition is to prevent

21 La Salle. Robert Cavalier de La Salle, it is known, followed up the discovery of Marquette and Joliet, and in 1682 descended the Mississippi to its mouth, which he reached on the 9th of April. He planted the arms of France and took possession of the river and all the country watered by it and its branches. This extended the French claim to the head waters of

our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side Ontario Lake, but upon the death of the general all were recalled, to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty or thereabout in each. The first of them is on French Creek,²² near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie,²³ where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other; from this it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place, at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort,²⁴ at which they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario Lake.²⁵ Between this fort and Montreal there are three others, the first of which²⁶ is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks' voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels, so that they may cross the lake; but if they come in canoes it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

DECEMBER 5.

Rained excessively all day, which prevented our traveling. Captain Joncaire sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general; but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company; I knew that he was an interpreter and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

When they came in there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents, and applied liquor so fast that there were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.²⁷

the Alleghany and Monongahela. See "The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," and narrative there given. Previous to this and apparently about 1670-71, La Salle had reached the Ohio from the Seneca country, and descended it to the falls at Louisville. No narrative of this voyage is extant, but he claims to have done so in some documents, and maps drawn by Joliet recognize his claim, and these French officers maintain it.

22 Fort Le Bœuf.

23 Fort Presque Isle.

24 Fort Niagara.

25 Fort Toronto.

26 Fort Frontenac.

27 Gist, in his journal, here notes: "Our Indians were in council with the Delawares, who lived under the French colors, and ordered them to deliver up to the French the belt with the marks of the four towns, according to the desire of King Shingiss. But the chief of these Delawares said: 'It was true, King Shingess was a great man, but he had sent no speech, and,' said he, 'I cannot pretend to make a speech for a king.' So our Indians could not prevail with them to deliver their belt, but the Half King did deliver his belt as he had determined."

DECEMBER 6.

The Half-King came to my tent quite sober and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the French. I fain would have prevented him from speaking anything until he came to the commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this place a council fire was kindled, where all their business with these people was to be transacted, and that the management of the Indian affairs was left solely to Monsieur Joncaire. As I was desirous of knowing the issue of this, I agreed to stay; but sent our horses a little way up French Creek, to raft over and encamp, which I knew would make it near night.

About ten o'clock they met in council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the General, and offered the French speech-belt which had before been demanded, with the marks of four towns on it, which Monsieur Joncaire refused to receive, but desired him to carry it to the fort to the commander.

DECEMBER 7.

Monsieur La Force, Commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson (the Indian interpreter), whom I had brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could not get them over to my tent; for they had some business with Kustalogo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech-belt which he had in keeping; but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over to-day to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps. These we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich meadows, one of which, I believe, was nearly four miles in length and considerably wide in some places.

DECEMBER 12.

I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business and offered him my commission and letter, both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

This commander is a Knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named *Le Gardeur de St. Pierre*.²⁸ He is an elderly gentleman and has

²⁸ *Le Gardeur de St. Pierre*. The family of *Le Gardeur de Repentigny* descended from *Pierre Le Gardeur, Sieur de Repentigny*, one of the earliest settlers near Quebec. Mr. Ferland, in his "Notes on the Register of Quebec," p. 53 remarks that members of this family and that of *Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly* took part in every war of New France, from Louisiana to Acadia and Newfoundland. He adds, on page 57, that both have completely

much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late General, and arrived here about seven days before me.

At two o'clock the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c., again, which they received and adjourned into a private apartment for the Captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter, to peruse and correct it, which I did.

DECEMBER 13.

The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort and making what observations I could.

It is situated on the south or west fork of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the Commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c.

I could get no certain account of the number of men here, but according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me to take an exact account of the canoes, which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and reported fifty of birch bark and a hundred and seventy of pine, besides many others which were blocked out in readiness for being made.

DECEMBER 14.

As the snow increased very fast and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shanopin's Town, at the fork of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Alleghany, intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indian's business and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored, all that lay in my power, to

disappeared from Canada. The officer who succeeded Marin signs in the Register, *Le Gardeur de Repentigny*, but in the letter to Dinwiddie, *Le Gardeur de St. Pierre*, and is apparently the one known as *M. de St. Pierre*, who was killed at Bloody Pond. The younger one styled *M. de Repentigny*, would seem, however, to be intended by the *M. Reparti* of Washington's Diary.

frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me that he offered the wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which, he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer with them; and what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the Commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters, and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio or the waters of it.

I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past, and that the Indians had two or three white men's scalps, (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight), but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours as they were carrying him past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James M'Clocklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with all their goods. They told me that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

This evening I received an answer to his Honor the Governor's letter from the Commandant.

DECEMBER 15.

The Commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provision to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure—presents, rewards and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practiced to win the Half-King to their interest, and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms to go. He told me that the Commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the Commandant and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay, though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns if they would wait until the morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

DECEMBER 16.

The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the present, they then endeavored to try the power of liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his word that he refrained, and set off with us, as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had liked to have been staved against rocks, and many times were obliged, all hands, to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water; we were therefore obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d, where we met with our horses.

This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles, to follow the meanders.

DECEMBER 23.

When I got things ready to set off I sent for the Half-King, to know whether he intended to go with us or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much and was sick and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favor, and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the fork with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, &c., if wanted.

Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking-dress and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day, the cold increased very fast, and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. Van Braam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

DECEMBER 26.

I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat: Then, with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th.²⁹ The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's Town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody and kept him till about nine o'clock at night, then let him ago, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from the shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off; but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice in such manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet of water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

29 Gist opposed Washington's attempting this journey on foot, and his journal here being more full and explicit as to his (Washington's) sufferings than his own diary, an extract will not be uninteresting: "I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, we set out with our packs, like Indians, and traveled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold. All the small runs were frozen, so that we could hardly get water to drink.

"Thursday, 27th.—We rose early in the morning and set out about two o'clock. Got to Murdering Town, on the southeast fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on traveling the nearest way to the forks of the Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We traveled very briskly for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew sore and he very weary; and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly.

"The Major desired to encamp, on which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods,

The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen; and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the Island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war, but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair), they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottawa nation who did it.

As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Youghiogany, to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

TUESDAY, THE FIRST OF JANUARY.

We left Mr. Frazier's house and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela,³⁰ the 2d, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the fork of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Will's Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st day of December to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly;

and that they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But soon he mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy; and then he said that two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further. Then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water we came to a clear meadow. It was very light and there was snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop and turned about. The Major saw him point his gun toward us and fire. Said the Major, are you shot? 'No,' said I. Upon this the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak and went to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me to kill him.

"We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball. Then we took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns. We made the Indian make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there." I said to the Major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night.' Upon this I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost and fired your gun.' He said he knew the way to his cabin, and that it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home, and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him and listened until he was fairly out of the way. Then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass and fixed our course, and traveled all night. In the morning we were at the head of Piney Creek."

30 Monongahela, said to be from the Shawnee Mehmonawangehelak, falling in-bark River. Alleghany, the name of the other branch of the Ohio, is Iroquois, and signifies "cold water."

and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest, and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his Honor the Governor with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honor satisfied with my conduct, for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE, OF VIRGINIA TO THE FRENCH
COMMANDANT ON THE OHIO.

SIR:—The lands upon the River Ohio, in the western parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to me to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of hostility lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the king, my master, the bearer thereof, George Washington, Esq., one of the adjutants-general of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations and the treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. If these facts be true, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me by whose authority and instructions you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories in the manner complained of, that, according to the purpose and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably so the commission I am honored with from the king, my master. However, sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure, and that you will forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding which his majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian king, &c.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

REPLY OF LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE DE REPENTIGNY, COMMANDER OF
THE FRENCH FORCES ON THE OHIO, TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE, OF
VIRGINIA.

SIR:—As I have the honor of commanding here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the letter which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I should have been glad that you had given him orders, or that he had been inclined, to proceed to Canada to see our general, to whom it better belongs than to me to set forth the evidence and the reality of the

rights of the king, my master, to the lands situated along the River Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the king of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis Du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me. And if he shall order me to communicate it to you, sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith to you. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general, and I intreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign, anything has passed which can be reputed an act of hostility, or that is contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two crowns, the continuation whereof as much interesteth and is as pleasing to us as to the English. Had you been pleased, sir, to have descended to particularize the facts which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honor of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, in the most satisfactory manner, &c.

LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE.

From the fort sur la Rivière au Bœuf,
December 15, 1753.

The spring of 1755 opened with warlike preparations on a grand scale. Gen. Braddock had landed in Virginia on the 20th of February with two regiments, numbering 500 each. Alexandria was his headquarters, and here gathered the leading military spirits of the various colonies, prominent among whom were Dinwiddie of Virginia, Shirley of Massachusetts, Johnson of New York (afterward Sir William Johnson), and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. The approaching campaign was soon planned out.

The first and most important thing to be done was to take Ft. Duquesne. This work Braddock assigned to himself. Gen. Johnson was to attack the French posts on Lake Champlain, and to Gen. Shirley was charged the reduction of Ft. Niagara, at the outlet of Niagara river, on Lake Ontario, while Gen. Monckton was to invade French Acadia, in Nova Scotia. The three latter expeditions were to be composed of provincial troops, except a few British marines destined to co-operate with the land forces in the invasion of Acadia.

The French had not been tardy in preparations for the war. Early in the spring, their forces, under command of Baron Dieskau, reached Canada, and began to lay plans to defend the far-off wilderness posts which guarded the portals to New France.

Braddock had distinguished himself as a tactician in

English warfare, but his machine-like way of manœuvring armies in Europe proved ineffectual in the scouting style of warfare which the savages of America had, long since, taught both the French and the Anglo frontiers.

At the first onset his captiousness was aroused by the difficulties in the way of getting transportation for the army, and, had not Benjamin Franklin come to the rescue, he might not have been able to begin his march till midsummer. The place of rendezvous was the present site of Cumberland, where his army was gathered about the middle of May. Besides his own regiments, he was reinforced by two independent companies from New York, under command of Capt. Gates—the destined hero of Saratoga—and the Virginia regiments, originally under command of Joshua Fry (now deceased). Washington, who had retired to private life at the close of the campaign of the previous year, was invited to take a position on his staff, and accepted it, under the title of colonel.*

They crossed the Alleghenies by the road which the Ohio Company had made two years before, and on the 8th of July reached the Monongahela river, at a point but fifteen miles from Ft. Duquesne. This was the advance of the main body, consisting of the two English regiments and a part of the Virginia forces, the lesser part of the army following after, by slow marches, with the heavy baggage, under command of Col. Dunbar.

Contrecoeur, the commander of Ft. Duquesne, had been apprised of his approach by means of his Indian scouts, and, alarmed at the formidable appearance and number of the invaders, thought only of flight, and for that purpose ordered out the boats, in readiness to descend the Ohio river. But, during this trepidation, a bold counselor came to his relief, named Beaujeu,† asking consent to waylay the English while yet in the thickets of the Monongahela. It was granted; but to induce the Indians to enlist in the desperate enterprise

*Said Benjamin Franklin to Braddock, on the eve of his march, "The only danger I apprehend, of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians." "He smiled at my ignorance," continued Franklin, "and replied: 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw militia, but upon the king's regular troops, sir, it is impossible they should make an impression.'"—*Autobiography of Franklin*.

†Nephew to him who, in 1685, had conducted La Salle's colony to the coast of Texas.



Washington at the Head of the Virginia Provincials Covering the Retreat of Braddock.

(From Lossing's History of the United States, published by the Harpers.)

required consummate skill in savage war practice. At first they flatly refused, but appealing to their chivalry by saying he would go alone, they all followed him with a yell of admiration that toned up their confidence to the required pitch.

Taking their course up the Monogahela, they soon drew near the locality of the destined ambuscade, when, with noiseless footstep, each proceeded to his separate place of concealment beside the road over which Braddock was soon to pass. At one o'clock, his advance, led by Col. Gage (afterward Gen. Gage, of Boston memory), came within close range, when the silence of the forest was broken by a murderous fire into his ranks. It was returned with the usual courage of British soldiers, and not without effect, for Beaujeu was killed on the spot.

Dumas, the second in command, now took his place. A tempest of bullets met the English in front and flank. Gage fell back, and although Braddock, with the courage of a lion, dashed to the front, commanding order, confusion was inevitable. Three horses were shot under him in his fruitless labor. No attempt was made by him to charge into the thicket which concealed the foe, but Washington, at the head of a few of his backwoods comrades, left their ranks, and fought from covert positions; till a panic had seized upon the English soldiers, and they fled in confusion.

Here young Washington won his first laurels. Ever in the front, he had two horses shot under him and some shots fired through his clothes, but at the head of his Virginia bush fighters, he covered the retreat of the British with admirable skill, holding the savage victors back in their pursuit of the routed invaders. Braddock was mortally wounded; Lossing says, by a shot from one of Washington's soldiers, named Thomas Fancet, in revenge, for having cut down his brother for seeking a covert position contrary to his orders; 36 British officers were killed and 37 wounded, among whom was Col. Gage; 715 privates were killed or wounded. The French and Indian loss, all told, was less than 50. The fugitives made all haste to Dunbar's camp, a small post to keep communication open with the settlements, where a day of turmoil was spent in arranging for their long retreat. The baggage was set fire to, after reserv-

ing provisions enough to last them on their way back, and the discomfitted soldiers resumed their retreat to Virginia, there to tell the tale of their humiliation. Six days later Braddock died while on the retreat and was buried 53 miles west of Cumberland, where an humble monument marks the spot beside the National road built there; Washington read the funeral service over his grave by torch light, July 15th, 1755.

While this disastrous attempt to wrest the portals to the West from the French was in progress; far in the East, on the bleak coast of Nova Scotia, the New England plow-boys were striking a fatal blow against the French possessions in Acadia. This settlement had been made in 1604, three years before that of Jamestown. In 1613 it had been invaded by Argall, of the Jamestown colony, and, from that day forward, an almost unceasing border warfare had existed between the English colonists and the Acadians, to detail which would fill a volume.

The fleet entrusted with this expedition sailed from Boston on the 20th of May, under the command of Gen. Monckton, as proposed; but the provincials, 2,000 in number, designed as land forces, had been raised by John Winslow, of Massachusetts, and insisted on being led by him, which request was granted by Gov. Shirley.

The whole country belonged to the English by treaty stipulations, except Cape Breton island, but the Acadians had erected several forts within its boundaries, under the impression that it would ultimately fall into the lap of France. These forts were easily taken by the invaders, and Acadia became a conquered province. Now came the perplexing question, what to do with the inhabitants.

Says Haliburton, "They were not British subjects, inasmuch as they had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and therefore could scarcely be considered rebels. They were not prisoners of war, because they had been suffered for nearly half a century to retain their possessions, and their neutrality had been accepted in lieu of their allegiance." With all, however, they were an offense to the New Englanders.

Their civilization had been made of more elastic materials than the tight-twisted woof of Puritanism. Indeed, no great chasm need be bridged over between

them and their red allies, the Indians, whom they had armed to fight the English colonists, to bring them together on a plane of equality. The colonists were full of bitterness against them on account of old scores, and now their day of vengeance had come.

A proclamation was issued for them to assemble in their churches—men, women and children. The mandate was obeyed. A solid phalanx of soldiers invironed them, and thence they were marched between two rows of fixed bayonets on board the English transports. The sails were spread, and the last sight of their evergreen shores soon vanished forever from their view, amid the smoke of their burning houses.

The number thus taken was 7,000. They were distributed among the English colonists, where most of them died from disease, but the last remnant of them, assisted by the Quakers, crossed the Alleghenies after the war was over, and floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on barges, to the French settlements of New Orleans.

Never were pilgrims treated with more compassion than they were, by the generous inhabitants of the place. A tract of land was given them on the river bank, now known on maps as the Acadian coast, on which they settled, and some of their descendants still live there.* Whatever may be the apology for this harsh decree, the maxim follows that—it is dangerous to be neutral on great issues.

As might be supposed, the laurels earned by this invasion, tarnished as they were by its closing scenes, had no weight in the question at issue. The French held the West and every avenue to it with a firm grip.

After the Acadian expedition had got under way, Gen. Shirley, in accordance with the original design of Braddock, set himself about raising new troops to operate against Ft. Niagara. It was late in the season before his army was ready to start, and by the time they had made their way up the Mohawk valley and across the wilds to the mouth of the Oswego river, it was late in the autumn.

His route from this point was to be taken along the the southern shore of Lake Ontario, by whale boats,

*Charlevoix, Raynal and Haliburton are the authorities from which this account is taken.

but the lake was too boisterous for this. Here he waited thirteen days for the storm to abate, during which time his Indian allies, on whom he had placed great dependence for success, deserted, and the lake was yet too rough for safe navigation. The season was now so far advanced that he wisely deemed it imprudent to advance farther on a mission so dangerous, especially as the French and Indians were so elated with their victory over Braddock, that a countless host of savages would rally around their standard at Niagara.

Before returning, he planned the construction of two forts to be erected at the mouth of the river, and left a part of his command, under Gen. Mercer, to build and garrison them.

We come now to the last of the four expeditions planned for the first year's campaign in the war, of which Gen. Johnson had the charge.

At the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, a narrow but deep and almost currentless strait invites the boatman along its rugged curves, till he finds himself, after a few miles' rowing, on the shining waters of Lake George. Its fern-clad headlands, now the study of landscape sketchers and the inspiration of poets, have in times past been slippery with human blood, and every cove indenting its shore has been the hiding-place of war parties crouching for their prey. For a century, the war-whoop, the crack of the rifle, and the groan of the victim, were the oft-repeated sounds that rung from shore to shore over its placid waters. At the head of this lake Gen. Johnson's army lay encamped, leisurely making preparations to attack Crown Point, on the west bank of Lake Champlain.

Baron Dieskau had already formed a plan to make a descent on Oswego, but, learning of Johnson's intentions, he changed this plan and made a hasty march from the waters of Lake Champlain, through the forests which environ its south-eastern banks, with a view of surprising him. On the 7th of September, news came to Johnson that the French were approaching the fort where Col. Blanchard lay encamped with his New Hampshire militia, on the banks of the Hudson, about thirty miles distant. The anxious hours wore on till midnight, when a message came in breathless haste, and informed Johnson that Dieskau was advancing

upon his camp instead of Blanchard's. A council of war was immediately held, and it was determined to send a force of 1,200 men, among whom were 200 Iroquois Indians, to meet him in the forests and check his advance, till fortifications could be erected.

Early the next morning they took up their march, under Col. Williams, leader of the provincials, and Hendricks, chief of the Mohawks, leader of the Indians. An hour passed, and the sound of fire-arms, muffled through the forest foliage, came to the ears of Johnson and his men. It suddenly grew louder, which showed that the French were driving this advance before them. Another force, of 300 men, were sent to cover their retreat. At 11 o'clock, the defeated provincials began to return and gather within the frail defenses of Johnson's camp.

Unfortunately they had been waylaid, and many of their number killed at the first fire of the ambushed enemy. But, not losing their discretion, they sent back many a fatal shot into the ranks of their pursuers, as they fell back. The Indians, in particular, had distinguished themselves. Forty of their number had been slain, among whom was Hendricks, their distinguished chief. Col. Williams was also among the killed.

Except about 300 Indians, the whole of Johnson's army was made up of troops from the New England States and the State of New York, quite unaccustomed to the dexterous art of fighting, while Dieskau's command was composed of French regulars, disciplined into measured evolutions by service on the Continent. Added to these, also, was the usual complement of Canadian Indians, whose war-whoop had often echoed through the forests of Canada to repel Iroquois invasion, or startled the lonesome borderers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, on scalping excursions.

Before 12 o'clock, the gleam of French bayonets threw its hostile glare into the open spot in the forest where Ft. Henry stood. So little time had been given for its construction, that its walls, which were made of logs, were scarce three feet high; and to accommodate themselves to these incomplete defenses, the whole army prostrated themselves on the ground, none of them daring to stand erect lest he should be a target for French bullets.

Dieskau approached the place with a caution, unusual to the dash of Frenchmen, and opened fire on it at a respectful distance. This style of attack was well suited to the undisciplined soldiers of Johnson, inasmuch as it gave them time to tone up their courage. The attack was kept up till 4 o'clock, with severe loss to the French and but trifling to the besieged. Dieskau's Indians had been startled from their lurking places behind such trees as still remained within range of the fort, by some well-directed cannon shots, and the fire of the French was weakening.

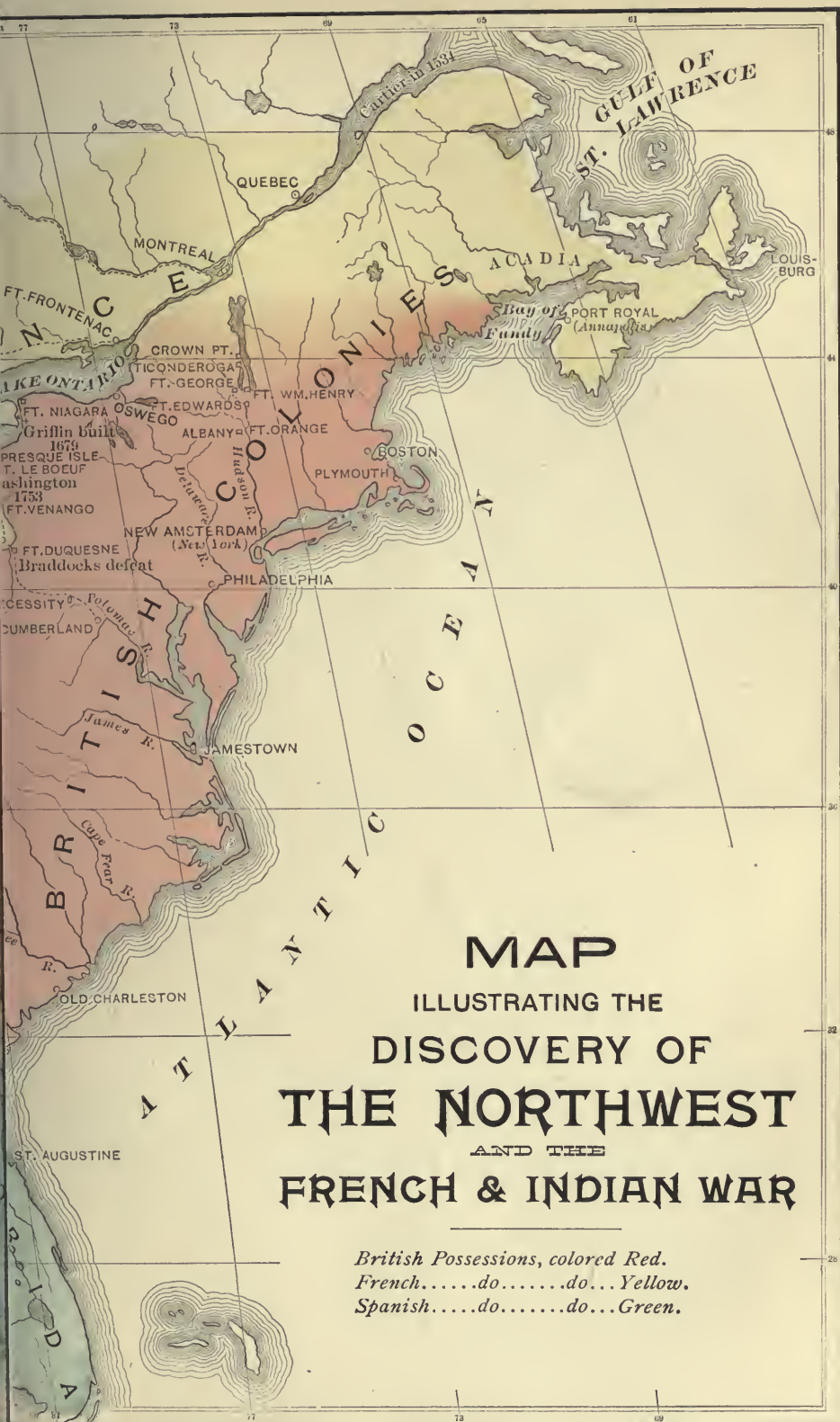
At this juncture, Johnson's men rose to their feet, and dashed against the French with an impetuosity which would do honor to veterans. The enemy fled in broken ranks, and Dieskau was severely wounded in the vain attempt to rally them.

Unable to follow his defeated soldiers, he was taken a prisoner into the American camp. Johnson had also been wounded painfully, but not dangerously, and, while his wound was being dressed, Dieskau was brought into his presence. The shadows of evening were lengthening as the French fled into the forest by the way they had come. Johnson's men did not follow them, and the retreaters traveled along the well-known way toward the banks of Wood Creek, where they were to embark for Lake Champlain and return to Canada.*

*Johnson was baroneted and further rewarded with a gift of £5,000 by the English court. He was now Sir William Johnson.







MAP
ILLUSTRATING THE
**DISCOVERY OF
THE NORTHWEST**
AND THE
FRENCH & INDIAN WAR

*British Possessions, colored Red.
French.....do.....do... Yellow.
Spanish.....do.....do... Green.*

CHAPTER V.

Lord Loudon appointed Commander-in-Chief of the English forces — Gen. Montcalm appointed to command the French forces — English and French policy and diplomacy — Montcalm takes Oswego — Loudon's expedition starts to attack Louisburg — Ft. William Henry taken by Montcalm — Loudon recalled and Gen. Abercrombie put in his place — Louisburg taken by Admiral Boscawen — Gen. Abercrombie attacks Ticonderoga — Gen. Bradstreet takes Ft. Frontenac — Gen. Forbes' expedition against Ft. Duquesne — Mission of Christian Frederic Post — Ft. Duquesne evacuated and taken possession of by Forbes — Gen. Abercrombie recalled and Gen. Amherst put in his place — Ft. Niagara taken by Gen. Johnson — Ticonderoga and Crown Point evacuated — Quebec taken by Gen. Wolfe — Canada and the West given up to the English.

While the battle at Ft. Henry was going on, a small band of scouts, consisting of 80 men from Col. Blanchard's New Hampshire regiment and 40 men from the New York regiment, left Ft. Edwards and followed the track of the French army, as it had advanced in the morning toward Ft. Henry. At 4 o'clock the scouts came upon a camp in the forest, where the stores of the French army had been left under a small guard. These were easily dispersed, and the camp stores taken. Flushed with this success, the scouts now determined to meet the entire French army on their retreat, and accordingly ambushed themselves in their path.

In the gray of the evening, the retreating Frenchmen came up, but they were in no condition to renew a battle. They had been under fire since morning, while their new enemy was fresh, although but a handful,

and they sent from their covert a storm of bullets into the ranks of the already defeated fugitives, as they painfully toiled along the treacherous forest path, over which they had passed, in the morning, in confident zeal. A large number of the jaded Frenchmen were killed in the nocturnal fight, and their whole army fled in the utmost confusion. The Americans lost but six men.* The number engaged in the three battles were about 2,000 on each side. The loss of the Americans was about 300, and that of the French double that number. This brilliant feat of arms, closed the campaign of 1755, which had opened with the appalling defeat of Braddock on the Monongahela.

While the provincial troops were winning the first laurels of the war, the shattered remnant of Braddock's army, instead of remaining near the frontier to hold the Indians in check, had gone into winter quarters in Philadelphia, greatly to the disgust of the border settlers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who were now exposed to the savage raiders, whose council-fires blazed under the French flag in the Ohio country.

Early in the spring of 1756, Lord Loudon was appointed Governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of all the English and provincial forces in America. Gen. Abercrombie was appointed second in command. He arrived in America on the 25th of June, bringing two regiments with him, and made his headquarters at Albany, where a respectable force of provincials from New York and the New England States were ready for his service. Loudon did not arrive till the 29th of the succeeding month.

Gen. Montcalm had been appointed to take the chief command of the French forces, and had already arrived in the St. Lawrence with fresh recruits for the approaching campaign.

Incredible as it may seem, no declaration of war had yet been made by either England or France, but both nations had been plying their seductive arts of diplomacy, never so sweetly, to secure alliance. France had positive purposes at which she aimed, the chief one of which was to preserve her American possessions, and the means to be used in the achievement of this end were definitely settled upon, which, in brief, were to attack the allies of England on the Continent, by which

*Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

diversion New France in America was to be made invulnerable against her rival, whose strength must be largely occupied on the defensive at home.

The ultimatum of England was not less clearly defined than that of France, but the means by which it was to be brought about were more complicated. The tenacity with which the American colonists had clung to their political rights at the Albany convention of 1754, as well as the able statesmanship of the Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania Assemblies, not always in harmony with the crown, had awakened a sense of caution in the English court, in their dealings with their trans-Atlantic children, and the question came to the surface whether it was better to drive France entirely out of America, or allow her to retain enough there to become a rival to the English colonists, and thereby insure their loyalty through their obligations for assistance in defending themselves from the French. King George II. shared these apprehensions, while William Pitt had always been in favor of pushing the war in America without fear of adverse consequences.

England and Russia had long been friends, and, as soon as war with France appeared inevitable, she made a treaty with the empress of Russia, by the condition of which Hanover (England's ally) was to be protected by Russian troops in the event of a European war, for which service England was to pay her. This treaty bore date of September 13th, 1755. A few months later both France and Prussia manifested dispositions to invade portions of Germany, the French incentive to which was to keep England busy at home, while she (France) made her American possessions secure, as already stated.

Russia was now alarmed lest she might be attacked by Prussia, and, conscious of her inability to fulfill her treaty stipulations with England, as to the protection of Hanover, she applied to France for the preservation of the neutrality of that electorate.

These accumulating evidences of the rising power of Frederic stimulated England to make an alliance with him, which was done January 16th, 1756, although by this treaty the interests of Russia, as well as those of Hanover, were left unprotected.* The effect was to

*Smollet's Hist. of England, vol. 4, p. 178.

unite the interests of Russia with France, and also those of Austria with the same power, although the two had long been enemies.

All this plotting and counter-plotting, which, by a paradoxical combination, transposed the friendships and enmities of the great powers of Europe, grew out of the issue between England and France, as to which should take possession of the Upper Ohio country, although the fortunes of war ultimately brought, into question, the patent to the title of Canada itself.

It began in a land speculation of the Ohio Company, whose regal title to lands on the Ohio river was not honored by the French court. The issue broadened as the war progressed, and after it closed, a new theatre, unexpectedly, opened before the world, that justified the arming of Europe to take a hand in its settlement. A new nation grew out of it, and ultimately Chicago grew out of it as the central force in this nation.

England was the first to throw off the plastic but already blood-stained shield of diplomacy, and make an open declaration of war, which she did on the 18th of May, 1756. France retorted in kind the succeeding month.

While Gen. Abercrombie was wasting his time at Albany, in the summer of 1756, Montcalm gathered a force of 3,000 French soldiers, with a band of Indians, and made a descent on Oswego in August. His heavy artillery soon made the place untenable, and Col. Mercer, its commander, secured a retreat from it across the river, into another fort. Here he was again attacked, but he defended the place with exemplary courage till a fatal shot killed him.

His garrison attempted a retreat to another fort four miles up the river, under command of Gen. Schuyler; but the wary Montcalm flanked this movement with too formidable a force to make it possible, and the whole command of 1,400 men were obliged to give themselves up as prisoners, together with a large quantity of military stores, among which, however, there was no powder, for the garrison had spent it in their defense.

It had not been burnt in vain, as the loss of the French was a proof. Among the killed were 20 Indians, and, to placate their surviving friends, as many American friends were given them to be killed, by the unscrupulous, not to say inhuman, leader of the French.

The sick and wounded, among whom was Lieut. de La Court, were scalped by the Indians, notwithstanding the terms of the surrender guaranteed their protection.

This closed the campaign of 1756, with a decided advantage to the French and a prodigal waste of military force on the part of the English, which was attributable to the suspense which then hung over the political affairs of the English court. By this time, the popular feeling in England was in favor of pushing the war in America with vigor, and, against his hitherto declared convictions, the king now saw the necessity of adopting the policy of Pitt. Accordingly, this eminent statesman was appointed premier.

Even at this early period, one of the foundation stones of American liberty was laid. The landed proprietaries, under the original Penn grant, objected to have their estates taxed for the support of the war, and their influence was so great in the Assembly that Denny, the governor, dared not oppose them. On this account, Benjamin Franklin refused any political favors from him, but, on the contrary, wrote caustic articles against the sordid injustice of the proprietors.

The policy of Franklin prevailed. The estates in question had to bear their share of the taxation. Denny was recalled by Pitt, and Franklin began to be looked upon, even in England, as a statesman of no ordinary capacity. In America, a universal applause greeted him. The Assemblies of Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, appointed him as their agent at the English court, and presented him five thousand pounds. Arriving in London, he sought an interview with Pitt, but that tenacious statesman forebore to let down the dignity of the British nation by holding a colloquy with an American postmaster. Through his secretary, however, he counseled with him in terms of high respect.

Lord Loudon was at this time making himself conspicuous, in America, for his caustic criticisms of the provincial soldiers, while he was exhausting his resources, not in fighting the enemy, but in planning expeditions never destined to be executed.*

Under his direction, the campaign of 1757 was opened

*A Philadelphian said of him, "He reminds me of St. George on a sign-board, always on horseback and never advancing." In a speech he made at Boston, he attributed all the ill success of the English in America to the inefficiency of the provincial troops.—*Graham's Col. Hist.*, vol. IV., p. 2.

by embarking from New York with a heavy force, to take Louisburg, which place he did not even attack, although his fleet came in sight of it, and contented themselves by giving its garrison a scare.

While this untimely scheme was in progress, the vigilant Montcalm appeared before Ft. William Henry, an important defense which had been built at the southern extremity of Lake George, near the spot where Dieskau had been defeated two years before. He had 10,000 men, consisting of regulars, Canadians and Indians.

About 2,300 troops were all that could be opposed to this overwhelming force, 1,500 of whom had just been sent by Col. Webb from Ft. Edwards on the Hudson river. While this reinforcement was marching into the fort, Montcalm's advance was seen approaching along the sunlit coast of Lake George, their burnished arms sending its flickering streaks of light before them, while the welkin resounded with a din of yells, from his Indians, gaudy with feathers and darkened with war-paint. Col. Monroe held command of the fort, to whom Montcalm sent a summons to surrender, offering him honorable terms; but Monroe, aware of the importance of the position, determined to defend it. The attack commenced on the 3d of August and lasted till the 9th. The guns of the fort had nearly all been burst in their desperate efforts to repel their numerous assailants. Hemmed in on every side, his messengers, sent to seek relief from Ft. Edwards, had been captured, and his weakness thereby made known to Montcalm. To hold the place longer was impossible, and he surrendered.

The garrison marched out with the honors of war, and were not to appear again in arms against France under eighteen months unless exchanged. They were to be protected against violence from Montcalm's Indians by a suitable escort of French soldiers, on their way to Ft. Edwards, the place to which they had been permitted to retire by the terms of the surrender.

No sooner had they left the fort than the Indians began to gather around them with no good intent. First they commenced robbing the sick and wounded, and next the shining coats of the British regulars attracted their attention. These were pulled from their backs, and whatever of value could be found about their persons was taken. A carnival of blood followed, and

several hundred of the unprotected captives fell victims. Jonathan Carver was among the prisoners, but escaped, as if by a miracle, with the loss of his coat and covered with wounds. He says that, during the maddening career of butchery, the French soldiers and officers walked about outside of the bloody arena in careless unconcern, without attempting to stay the hands of the destroyers.*

Not long after this atrocity, says the same author, the smallpox broke out among these Indians, who, tormented into delirium, threw themselves into the water to assuage the burning irritation. Death followed in almost every case, and a few mottled-faced savages were the only survivors of this tragedy which sent a pang of grief throughout New England and New York. In justice to the Canadians, it should not be omitted that some of them refused to celebrate the unhallowed victory.

The fugitives, who escaped the slaughter, gathered within the walls of Ft. Edwards, and thence made their way to their homes, there to tell the tale of treachery and murder that had stained the French faith, and a recoil of righteous indignation arose throughout the country.

The statesmanship of Pitt had already infused its vigor into the heart of England, and now its vitalizing influence was about to cross the Atlantic. He recalled Loudon, and to Gen. Abercrombie was given the chief command.† Next in rank was Major Gen. Amherst, and an additional force of 5,000 men was put in the field, with which to open the campaign of 1758.

Gen. Amherst, assisted by Admiral Boscawen, was to attack Louisburg; Gen. Forbes was to march against Ft. Duquesne; while Gen. Abercrombie took upon himself the task of driving the French out of Lake Champlain by an attack on Ticonderoga.

On the 28th of May, the expedition against Louisburg, consisting of 12,000 British regulars and 157 vessels, direct from England, embarked from Halifax, the place of rendezvous, on the coast of Nova Scotia. The fleet soon arrived at the tangent point of land on the Island of Cape Breton, where the fort stood, amidst the

* See Carver's *Travels*, pp. 295 to 308.

† The reason assigned by Pitt for this step was that he could never ascertain what Loudon was doing.—*Graham*.

desolation of the winds and waves, like a polar bear disputing possession of an iceberg.* The entrance to its harbor was obstructed by sunken vessels, while, far along the wave-beaten shore the tri-colored flag of France waved in defiance from bastion and tower.

In the face of these, the troops must make a landing and fight their way to the rear of the town, over uneven ground affording shelter to its defenders. The charge of this difficult task was given to Gen. Wolfe, the same who, the next year, led the British troops up the Heights of Abraham. The soldiers threw themselves into their yawls, and labored at the oar through the surf to gain the shore, amidst a tempest of shot from its defenders. Many were thrown into the sea by the breakers, but the hardihood of the sailors finally prevailed, and a landing in force was made at the mouth of Cormoran Creek, a few miles north of the place.

Louisburg was now soon environed with heavy artillery, which poured hot shot into the town, and even set fire to the French war vessels in the harbor, burning all except two. To destroy these, Admiral Boscawen set on foot an adventure, which for daring has few equals in the annals of heroic warfare. Capt. Cook, the same whose wonderful voyages, subsequently made, excited universal attention, was the one to whose charge the enterprise was confided. Under cover of night, at the head of 600 men, he silently rowed into the harbor, set fire to one of the vessels, and towed the other away.

The English fleet now entered the harbor, and the town being at its mercy, Drucourt, its commander, capitulated on the 27th of July, and once more the key to the St. Lawrence was given up to the English.† Five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, 221 cannon, 18 mortars, and large quantities of ammunition, were the results of this victory. The war prisoners were sent to England, and the inhabitants of the town, 4,000 in number, were, by the inexorable laws of war in those days, torn from their homes and sent to France on English transports. The defenses of the town were

*This fortress was the great French depot for supplies, from which to reinforce the inland ports of New France, and its harbor was a convenient refuge for French war vessels.

†An expedition had been planned against the place by Gov. Shirley ten years before the war, when it was taken by New England troops, but restored again to France at the peace of Aix la Chapelle; since which time the French had laid out thirty million livres in strengthening it.

then demolished, and the place was left without a solitary inhabitant to mourn over its destruction.

The Island of St. John shared the fate of Cape Breton Island, both of which fell under the flag of England at the reduction of Louisburg. This was a grievous blow to the French of the St. Lawrence, as it was from here that they largely drew their supplies to feed their soldiers, both beef and corn being exported from the fertile fields of St. John's Island, even in that early day.

While the siege of Louisburg was in full tide, Gen. Abercrombie was marshaling his forces to attack Montcalm, who had strongly intrenched himself within the walls of Ticonderoga. Early in July, he embarked his troops on Lake George, consisting of 7,000 British regulars, a part of whom were Highlanders, 10,000 provincials, and a few companies of Indians. No less than 900 batteaux and 135 whale-boats were required for their transportation. Arriving within a few miles of the fort, the army disembarked on the wooded shore and commenced their circuitous route over hills and valleys shaded by a dense canopy of evergreen foliage.

They soon arrived at an outpost of Ticonderoga, which the French evacuated in hot haste and disappeared among the trees. The English kept on their course, but soon their guides became bewildered within the toils of the thicket, when suddenly they came in contact with the company of French soldiers who had just before abandoned their post at the approach of the English. They, too, were lost in the woody mazes, and, after a sharp skirmish, surrendered themselves as prisoners. From them Gen. Abercrombie learned that Montcalm had but 6,000 troops at the fort, he having lately sent away a detachment of 3,000 men to invade the country on the Mohawk river, but that this force had just been ordered back to assist in his defense.

Abercrombie now resolved to assault the fort before their return. Accordingly, the regulars were ordered to charge against the works, which they did with an exalted courage seldom witnessed. The place stood on a spit of land extending into the lake, the approach to which was over a neck of springy soil covered with trees. These had been felled with the tops pointing away from the fort, and covered the ground, over which the assailants had to pass, with a tangle of brush. One thousand eight hundred of these brave soldiers were

shot in the attempt to force their way through this abattis, when the retreat was sounded by the rash commander, and he returned to his camp on Lake George.

Before marching on this disastrous expedition, Col. Bradstreet had been sent with a force of 3,000 provincials, on a heroic adventure far within the enemy's territory, on their main line. It will not be forgotten with how much zeal Ft. Frontenac had been pushed to completion, in the early and ambitious days of La Salle. Located at the point where the St. Lawrence outlets the waters of Lake Ontario, it commanded the communication along the great thoroughfare between Canada and the French posts of Ft. Niagara, Ft. Duquesne, and the Illinois country.

If this place could be taken, Ft. Duquesne, toward which an expedition was now renewed by the English, could not be reinforced from Canada. Crossing the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, Bradstreet came upon the unsuspecting tenants of the fort, where a feeble garrison was reveling in a treacherous security behind its walls of stone. They surrendered without attempting a defense, and 60 cannon, 16 mortars, a bountiful store of merchandise and ammunition, to supply the necessities of the forts to the west, were the direct spoils of the victors, but 18 French war vessels on the lake were soon added to the list. Bradstreet destroyed the fort and returned with his force to Oswego, which place Montcalm had evacuated soon after his victory over Mercer.

During the whole season, while the movements against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Ft. Frontenac, had been going on, preparations for an attack on Ft. Duquesne had been in progress, but, ere it could be brought about, prodigious barriers of nature had to be overcome in crossing the mountains.

The Pennsylvanians, more intent on their interests than the public weal, availed themselves of the opportunity to get a road cut from their frontiers to the west, at the expense of the military exchequer. While Washington and the Virginians urged the advantages of the old road made by the Ohio Company six years before, and greatly improved by Braddock's engineers two years later, Gen. Forbes, who was the commander of the expedition, was prostrate on a bed of sickness, and to Col. Boquet, second in command, was given authority

to decide on the choice of routes. His decision was in favor of the Pennsylvania route, and on this line the army took up its march late in July. Washington, who held a colonel's commission, now entered cordially into the work, and, as usual, took the front.

While the axe is chopping a new path to the Ohio country for the bayonet to follow, we will take a glance at its tenants.

The Delawares, whose home was originally on the Susquehanna, had ever been at peace with the whites, till the outbreak of the war. William Penn, their loving father, had long been in his grave, and his mantle of charity not having fallen upon his successors, the Delawares had been compelled to give up the fairest portion of their lands.* But in the autumn of 1756, after more than a year of warfare between the whites and the Delawares, who still remained on the Susquehanna, some Quakers, whose broad-brims secured them a safe interview, succeeded in restoring the old chain of friendship. This renewed league, however, did not bind the Delawares who had been driven to the Ohio. These, with the Shawanese, Mingoes, and many other tribes, had been on the best of terms with the French ever since the war had begun. But since the late English successes, the possibility of winning their friendship was considered by the English, and friendly messages were sent to them by the eastern Delawares.

The French, meantime, began to send emissaries to the eastern Delawares, inviting them to join their brothers in the Ohio country, under protection of the lilies of France. Autumn was now at hand, and the army of Forbes was still toiling among the mountains toward the fatal fort, liable at any time to be attacked by a host of Indians, and the success of his expedition seemed doubtful. In this emergency, it was deemed all-important to send an able messenger to the hostile tribes of the Ohio, to induce them, if possible, to forsake the waning fortunes of the French.

Prominent among the Moravian (United Brethren) missionaries was a heroic apostle of their ancient faith, named Christian Frederic Post. This remarkable people dated their order back to John Huss, who preceded Luther a century. In 1732, they established a missionary station in the island of St. Thomas. The next year

* Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. II., p. 740.

they are found among the icebergs of Greenland, and the next in Georgia, teaching the savages the elements of Christianity. In 1730, they came to Pennsylvania and set up a tabernacle among the Delawares. So successful had they been here in converting the Indians, that the jealousy of the borderers was aroused lest the Bible and hymn-book should rival the whisky-jug.

Post was one of the foremost workers in the missionary cause, and consequently became an object of great aversion to the border ruffians. He was thrown into prison on false charges, and, when liberated for want of evidence, was set upon by a mob, and narrowly escaped with his life.* He it was who volunteered to be the bearer of an English message to the hostile Indians on the Ohio.

He started from Philadelphia on the 15th of July. A broad belt of debatable territory had to be crossed, which had been traveled only by scalping parties since Braddock's defeat. On the 7th of August, he passed the French post of Venango unharmed, as if a spell had been put upon its tenants. Arriving at the Indian town of Kushkushkee, he met 200 warriors, to whom he made proposals of peace. Their reply was as follows:

"Why do you not fight your battles at home or on the high seas? Your heart is good—you speak sincerely—but there is a large number among you who wish to be rich. We do not wish to be rich and take away what others have. The white people think we have no brains. But remember, when you hunt a rattle-snake, perhaps it will bite you before you see it."†

Passing on to Sunkonk, the Indians at first surrounded him with drawn knives, and the French offered a reward for his scalp; but, fortunately, there were some Delawares present who had listened to his preaching, and, through their influence, a reaction soon began to be manifest, insomuch that they asked him to read his message. While reading it, a French messenger came in from Ft. Duquesne with a belt. The English message had already won over the vacillating Indians, and they refused to receive the French token, but kicked it about as if it had been a snake, says Post's journal.

A council was now proposed to be held. Accordingly, on the 24th it met, and the place chosen for it was across

*Heckewelder.

†Post's Journal.

the river from Ft. Duquesne, within the reach of its guns. Eight different tribes attended and made peaceful promises to the English, the French not daring to disturb the grave deliberations, though they dissolved their alliance with all the Indian tribes except the Shawanese and a few others. Post remained till the 9th of September, when he started on his return.

He reached Philadelphia in safety, and his journal was printed. All the while, Forbes' army was slowly advancing on the fort. On the 21st of September, a strong reconnoitering force was sent forward under Major Grant. Arriving near the fort, they were defeated with a loss of 200 men.

While Forbes' army lay encamped at midnight, but a few miles from the place, a deep sound came quivering along the ground. "Ft. Duquesne is blown up!" exclaimed the sentinels, as the distant explosion broke the wild silence around them. The army pressed forward with the first peep of day, when three deserters from the French soon met them and confirmed the suspicion, and without further opposition the smouldering ruins of the fort were taken possession of on the 25th of November, 1758. Its garrison, deserted by the Indians, had fled, thanks to the hardihood of Post. A new fort was immediately built and named Ft. Pitt, in honor of the great premier, and 200 Virginians were left here to stand guard over the English flag, which now waved in triumph for the first time in the West.

Among both the English and provincial troops composing Forbes' army were surviving relatives of distinguished persons slain in Braddock's defeat, and a desire to visit his battle-field and pay the last honors to their mouldering relics was manifest. Gen. Forbes, though an invalid and carried on a litter, entered heartily into the pious research, and gave the necessary orders for its execution under the charge of Capt. West, brother to the celebrated painter, Benjamin West. Besides his own company, a band of Indians, lately won over to the English interests by Post, were assigned to his command. Among these were several who had assisted in the slaughter of Braddock's army.

Major Sir Peter Halket, a member of Forbes' staff, had lost a father and a brother there, and from his description of their appearance to the Indians, one of them assured him that he could point to the spot where they

fell, near a remarkable tree. The expedition took up its march along the path through the forest that led to the fatal field, and the Indians, who were deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, led the way with reverential footstep.

When the field was reached, the search began around its environs. Skeletons were found lying across the trunks of fallen trees, a proof, in their imaginations, that they had died here in the lingering torments of mortal wounds and starvation combined. In other places, disjointed bones were scattered around, giving evidence that the wolves of the forest had claimed them as their share of the spoils. Following the Indians to the spot where Halket's father and brother were supposed to have fallen, the Indian who saw them fall pointed out the crouching-place he had occupied during the battle and the tree under which they had fallen. Large masses of leaves covered the ground, which the wind had drifted over their bones. These were removed, and two skeletons lay together, one across the other. Tenderly the Indians raised them from the ground, when Sir Peter Halket said, "My father had an artificial tooth; examine his jaw." This was done, and there was the tooth. Sir Peter then exclaimed, "This is my father!" and fell insensible into the arms of his companions.

A grave was dug on the spot; the bones of father and son were placed in it; a Highland plaid was spread over them; they were covered with earth, and a salute was fired over their wilderness sepulcher. The Indian who pointed them out was not asked who was their executioner.*

We come now to the most interesting part of the war. Even as the whirlwind gathers force as it travels, so did the magnitude of the issue in America enlarge as well as the national ambition to circumvent the French. Whatever misgivings had ever existed in the English court as to the policy of driving the French out of Canada, now vanished in the broad path of national grandeur, and it was determined to attack Quebec itself, to bring about what both England and America demanded, the complete expulsion of the French.

In consequence of the reverse of Gen. Abercrombie before the walls of Ticonderoga, it was deemed expedi-

*Galt's Life of West.

ent to supply his place with another general whose hold upon the public confidence had not been impaired by defeat. Gen. Amherst possessed these qualifications, and was promptly appointed by Pitt to succeed him. Under his guidance, the colonial States put forth renewed exertions to end the war by one more decisive campaign. Connecticut raised 5,000 men, among whom was Israel Putnam, destined to a lasting revolutionary fame. Massachusetts raised 6,500, and New Hampshire 1,000. The numbers raised by the other States were smaller; but all the English forces in the field numbered fully 50,000, about half of whom were British regulars and the balance provincials, any and all of whom had mettle and endurance not to be questioned.

Ere the campaign of 1759 could be opened, a wintry truce must intervene, chaining the hostile arms of both nations with icy fetters, while their respective armies shivered in their barracks, at safe distances from each other, by fitful turns killing the tedious hours with boisterous hilarity or thoughts of home, of which none can think more tenderly than the volunteer soldier fresh from the cornfield.

The English held the inside of the circle, or rather its segment commencing at Ft. Pitt, where a little band of Virginians stood sentinels at the outer edge of the immense plains of the Mississippi valley. At Oswego, the army of Gen. Bradstreet were reposing on their laurels, after their brilliant feat of taking Ft. Frontenac. At the head of Lake George rested the main body of the English and provincial soldiers. North of them were formidable bodies of French and Canadians entrenched, in confident security, within the walls of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Ft. Niagara was a post of great importance, and a respectable contingent of French soldiers now garrisoned its walls. The small stockades along French Creek had never been anything more than resting places for the French on their way to Ft. Duquesne; and, as this place was now in the hands of the English, the French only held them with the hope of retaking this strategic point.

While at these various places the armies of the two nations confronted each other during the winter, the salons of Quebec and Montreal were gay with Parisian elegance. The Frenchmen who could crowd the thea-

ters of Paris during the throes of the French Revolution subsequent to this, were of the same spirit as these volatile Canadians, undisturbed as they were by the shadows of an English invasion hovering around their southern border. All the while, visions of future grandeur rose before the eyes of the English, and a rare combination of fortuitous events was destined to verify them.

Gen. Amherst was to attack the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Gen. James Wolfe was to lay siege to Quebec, and Gen. Prideaux, with Gen. Johnson as second in command, was to march against Niagara. This expedition started from Oswego early in July, 1759, making its way in boats along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, where they landed without opposition at the mouth of Niagara on the 6th. The fort originally built here by La Salle, in 1678, had been abandoned by the French in 1688, and again rebuilt by them in 1726, since which time it had been a menace to the Iroquois; but to the western tribes it was a haven of promise, on which rested an assurance of protection from their traditional enemies.

To the French it was second in importance only to Quebec, commanding as it did the channels of commerce, which was then carried on by canoes only, along the entire chain of lakes. No sooner had Gen. Pouchot, the commander of the fort, learned of the approach of the invaders, than he summoned to his aid all the spare French troops from Detroit, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango, and as many Indian allies as could be induced to take up arms for the declining fortunes of the French.

The number of French thus raised from the distant forts and the Indians combined was 1,500; but, ere they could gather within the walls of the fort, Johnson intercepted their path, and they were obliged to fight his army on an equal footing, in the open field.

This battle took place not far from Niagara Falls, on the east bank. D'Aubrey, the leader of the French, dashed against Johnson's well-trained army of provincials and Indians, with desperate resolution; but the fire they met was so fierce that it was like the surprise of an ambuscade. D'Aubrey himself, with seventeen officers, were taken prisoners, and many of the French soldiers, while their red allies fled into their native forests to

brood over their misfortunes. Gen. Prideaux was pushing the siege all the while, but was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a gun, when the command fell upon Johnson, who, after his victory, summoned Gen. Pouchot to surrender. The summons was obeyed, and 607 officers and privates became prisoners. A large quantity of scalping-knives were among the military stores taken. The prisoners were sent to New York, leaving behind them many a romantic reminiscence of a spot in which nature was so prodigal with her gifts, among which the dusky beauty of the forest was not the soonest to be forgotten by the gay French lieutenants.

This blow effectually severed the line of communication between Canada and the Mississippi valley; but since the French had been driven from Ft. Duquesne, little remained which could offer any serious resistance to the English, scattered as the forts were from Detroit to the far-distant post of New Orleans.

While Johnson had been dictating terms to the French at Niagara, Amherst massed his forces at Albany, crossed Lake George with 12,000 men, and appeared before Ticonderoga on the 22d of July. He immediately began to plant his batteries; but, before the place was environed, the French evacuated, blowing up their magazine behind them, and took refuge within the walls of Crown Point on the 27th. Gen. Amherst promptly followed them to their new retreat; but, at his approach, they again fled down the lake, and entrenched themselves on the island of Aux Noix. The season was now too far advanced to continue operations, and after some skirmishing, in which two French vessels were captured, Gen. Amherst went into winter quarters at Crown Point.

Gen. Wolfe was now before the walls of Quebec. Early in June, he had sailed up the St. Lawrence with 8,000 men, and made a landing on the island of Orleans, just below the city. He found the city planted on the summit of a headland of rock, at the base of which the St. Lawrence, a mile wide, rolled along the surplus waters of the great lakes. Below, the St. Charles and Montmorenci, tributaries from the north, cleft to its base the adamantine bank on which it stood. Entrenched behind earthworks, on the bluffs of these streams, rested the left wing of its defenders, the right extending to the city. Heavy forests extended far to

the north in the rear, affording additional protection. Above the city, the same bank held its undiminished height for miles along the river. Montcalm himself stood behind these defenses with 14,000 soldiers. Before going on with the progress of Wolfe, let us turn back to the days of Ft. Necessity.

When Col. Washington gave up this fort, five years before, it will not be forgotten that Major Robert Stobo was one of the hostages delivered into the hands of the French. He was taken to Ft. Duquesne, where his ready adaption to his situation as prisoner soon won favor among the French soldiers, who have ever been conspicuous in history for their magnanimity toward a fallen foe. Among the Indians who came and went to the fort without ceremony, was one named Delaware George, who had been a disciple of Post* on the Delaware river. Something in his companionship won the confidence of Stobo, and he sent the converted Delaware through the forests with a letter to Virginia, containing important information. Delaware George quietly left the place without exciting suspicion, and delivered the message. At Braddock's defeat, the document, with all other papers of Braddock's, fell into the hands of the French; but as no one at the fort could translate English, it was sent to Paris. Meantime, Stobo had been sent to Canada, and here the evidence of his spying message overtook him, on the 28th of November, 1756. He was tried and sentenced to be hung, but the numerous friends he had made in Canada, particularly among the fascinating women of Quebec, came to his rescue, and his pardon was applied for at the French court. The king gave it, and once more Stobo was an honored hostage, though a prisoner. He soon afterward made his escape, but a reward of 6,000 livres brought about his capture, which was effected on the banks of the Montmorenci, while he was looking for a boat in which to cross the St. Lawrence. This river crossed, he intended to pierce the hostile forests which intervened between Canada and the English frontier. After his unsuccessful attempt to escape, his confinement became more strict and his health gave way. This misfortune redoubled the tenderness of his fair patron who had long befriended him. This true-hearted heroine now used her influence with Vaudreuil, the gov-

*See Heckewelder.

ernor, to mitigate the severity of Stobo's confinement. Her plea was successful, and he was allowed to exercise on the ramparts, anywhere within the lines of the sentinels. Here he soon made the acquaintance of a Mr. Stephenson, a native of New Hampshire, who had been captured from the daring band of Rogers' Rangers. He was a ship carpenter, and being at work for the French in the shipyard, knew all the possible avenues of escape by boat. A plan was soon made up by the two to effect this, and, the first favorable opportunity, it was put in execution, by seizing a yawl and going down the St. Lawrence. Soon as his flight had been discovered, a reward was again offered for him; but the rapid current of the river had left behind all danger of capture.

One stricken heart was also left behind, to whom his empty cell was a painful memorial of unrequited love.

The adventurers, after great privations, reached Louisburg while Gen. Wolfe was there, joined his army, and were with him at the siege of Quebec. While this was in progress, Wolfe wished to communicate with Gen. Amherst, and Stobo volunteered to take the message to him, across the country, which he succeeded in delivering at his winter quarters at Crown Point. This done, the hero proceeded to his old home in Virginia, where, on November 19th, 1759, the House of Burgesses voted him a bonus of £1,000, besides full pay for his services during his eventful captivity.*

The first place attacked by Wolfe, after landing, was the Heights of Point Levi, across the river from Quebec. This he carried with ease, and erected a battery on the spot, from which he opened fire upon the town, reducing the lower portions of it to ashes. Montcalm, trying in vain to dislodge the English from this point, conceived the idea of burning their fleet as it lay anchored below the city. A number of fire-ships were set afloat from above, to accomplish this design; but the English sailors, by great exertion, managed to turn them aside, and they harmlessly consumed below. Wolfe in turn made a direct attack on the left wing of Montcalm's army, as it lay entrenched on the banks of the Mont-

*Until 1854, the British Museum was the custodian of Stobo's letters and manuscript memoirs, and it was from Hume's letter to Smollet that the editor who first published the substance of them, became aware of their importance. The narrative was at that time published in Pittsburgh, from which this account is taken.

morenci. A strong detachment of Highlanders and provincials crossed the river in small boats, under cover of a fire from the ships, and, clambering up the steep bank of the river, made an impetuous attack on the French lines, but they were defeated, with a loss of 500 men.

Up to this time, no tidings had come from either Johnson or Amherst, although the French were well informed of what had transpired in the various theaters of the war, and an event soon took place which brought this information to Wolfe. At Chambaud, a short distance up the river, the French had a magazine, defended by a small body of soldiers. Gen. Murray was sent to capture it, which being effected, the prisoners taken gave the first news to Wolfe of the success of the English arms at Niagara and Lake Champlain. The season, however, was so far advanced that no hopes could be entertained of assistance from either Amherst or Johnson, and, smarting under the sting of defeat on the banks of the Montmorenci, he wrote to the Secretary of State, informing him of his defeat and of the difficulties in the way of taking Quebec.

A council of war was called on the 3d of September, and by its deliberations it was resolved to transfer the operations against Quebec from the Montmorenci to the banks of the river above the town. The ill success which had thus far attended the enterprise had wrought upon the mind of Wolfe till he was prostrate on a bed of sickness; and, while in this situation, Generals Murray, Monckton and Townsend, whom he had asked to propose some new plan of operations, suggested an attack from the Heights of Abraham,* in the rear of the city, possession of which was to be gained under cover of night. Wolfe consented, though difficulties, apparently insurmountable, stood in the way. The ascent up the rugged bluffs was almost perpendicular and their summits guarded by French sentinels; yet the desperate character of the enterprise, by dispelling suspicion from the French, might assure success, and orders were given for its execution.

On the 12th of September, the English fleet moved up the river, several miles above the spot where the river bank was to be ascended. At midnight the small boats were lowered, 5,000 soldiers stepped into them

*Graham's Colonial History, vol. IV., p. 49.

from the vessels, and silently floated down the current, lying close to the north bank. Several French sentinels had to be passed, but fortunately a Scotch officer among them understood the French language, and, when challenged, disarmed their suspicions by appropriate replies in good French. To the last challenge thus made, the Scotch officer's ingenuity in his reply was fully up to the demands of the critical occasion, he having cut off further inquiry by enjoining silence lest the English should overhear them. By the last packet which came from England, a copy of Gray's *Elegy*, which had recently been published, was sent to Wolfe. Deeply impressed with its poetic beauty, while silently floating down stream to the cove* from which the army were to scale the bank, he repeated to his companions one of its lines—

"The path of glory leads but to the grave."

"Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec," said he. "Perhaps the noblest tribute ever paid by arms to letters, since that heroic era when hostile fury and havoc were remedied or intercepted by respect for the genius of Aristotle, and for the poetry of Pindar and Euripides."† About an hour before daybreak, Wolfe was among the first to leap ashore, when, turning his eyes upward to the shelving bank, he observed to an officer near him: "I doubt if you can get up, but you must do what you can." Col. Howe, brother to him killed at Ticonderoga, led the way at the head of the Highlanders, and the whole army followed by a narrow path up the cliff, sometimes laying hold of the young shrubbery to facilitate the steep ascent. When the entire army had reached the summit, it was broad daylight.

The astonished French sentinels quickly conveyed the information to Montcalm. At first, he would not believe it, but supposed the movement to be only a feint to distract his attention from the banks of the Montmorenci, where the real attack was to be made, as he thought. Farther observation, however, soon dispelled this illusion, and he quit his camp, crossed the St. Charles, and boldly advanced to meet Wolfe, and decide the fate of New France on the battle-field.

At nine o'clock, on the 13th of September, 1759,

*This has ever since been called Wolfe's Cove.

†Graham.

13,000 French soldiers stood on an elevated plateau, facing 5,000 English soldiers. Not a ditch—not a ravine—not a hill, valley or tree was there between them, to intercept the mortal tornado about to roll into the unprotected ranks of both armies.

No human vision could pierce the future, and bring to light the issue depending on the result of the battle. If the French arms had triumphed, the English must have fallen into their hands as prisoners, and, Quebec have been reinforced long before the armies of Amherst and Johnson could have reached the place, and the French would have retained the valley of the Mississippi.

On the other hand, the triumph of the English arms was destined to lead to events which, if then foreseen, would have distracted the English army between contending emotions of loyalty and self-protection; for on the result of this battle hung the destiny of a nation yet in her germ-cell—America.

Montcalm advanced to the conflict and commenced the fire. The English waited till but forty rods intervened between themselves and the advancing French; the order to fire was then given, and from their whole front a tempest of shot flew into the ranks of the French, directed by the aim of veterans. The French never recovered from the shock. It was impossible to fill up the gaps made in their front ranks. They attempted to rally, but their lines wavered before the deadly aim of the English, till they fled from the field, pursued by the Highlanders with broadswords.

Early in the action, Wolfe had been wounded in the arm, but bandaged it with his handkerchief. Soon afterward he received a shot in his groin, but, concealing the wound, still pushed on his men, when a third shot brought him down. The command now fell on Monckton, who soon fell wounded, when Gen. Townsend took his place.

Montcalm was mortally wounded, and nearly a thousand of his men had fallen, either killed or wounded. Death spared Wolfe till the shouts of victory ran through his lines—"They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried the dying man. "The French!" replied the officer on whose breast he was leaning. "Then I die happy!" said Wolfe, and ceased to breathe.

Montcalm died the next day. The two commanders

were buried beside each other, on the field where they had fought one of the decisive battles of the world.

A third of Quebec had been burned by the fire of the English fleet. Gaiety and wretchedness were indiscriminately huddled together in squalid tenements; but still they must pack closer yet. The 5,000 English soldiers, less the fifty killed in the battle, must have room, and the 500 wounded soldiers must have lint and gruel prepared for them. These knotty problems were soon solved by the stern decrees of war, by which the city had been given up to the English. A recoil from the harshness of these decrees, however, now spread a luster over the scene.

A mutual spirit of conciliation was moulded in every face. English and French vied with each other to assuage the calamities of war. The priests no longer prayed for the success of the French, or, if they did, the English cared little as long as the ensign of St. George waved from the watch-towers, and the utmost freedom in religious matters was granted—mere trifles in the estimation of the conquerors compared to the great question at issue.

The fugitives of Montcalm's army had fled to Montreal, where a force fully 10,000 strong represented the forlorn hope of New France.

Spring came. The snowdrifts of the St. Lawrence had melted into its turbulent current, bearing along its swollen waters released gorges of ice. While gazing at these, one day, the English sailors espied a man lying prostrate on one of them. The yawl was lowered, and the victim rescued from his perilous position, almost insensible from exhaustion and cold. When restored, he informed his new friends that he had fallen overboard from the French fleet, and, when questioned as to their movements, he gave such information as gave Gen. Murray no room to doubt that the French were about to make a descent on Quebec.*

Preparations were immediately made to meet the unexpected blow. One thousand of Murray's men had died with the scurvy, as many more were in the hospital, and he had but 3,000 left. The attack soon came, 10,000 strong. A battle ensued, in which the English were partially defeated, but managed to retain their position till news came that an English fleet was sailing

* Raynal, vol. VII., p. 124.

up the St. Lawrence, when the French retreated. By a chance, this English fleet gained the mouth of the river ahead of a French fleet destined for the same theater. A few months later, the English armies, under Gen. Amherst and Gen. Haviland, appeared before Montreal. The place surrendered, and Vaudreuil, the governor, gave up Canada and the West to the English, September 8th, 1760. The war still raged on the Continent, and it was not till February 10th, 1763, that the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris. By its stipulations, everything east of the Mississippi river, as far south as the 31st Parallel, was ceded to the English.

The boundary line, between the two Countries, continued along this parallel Eastwardly to the Pearl River, thence South along this river to the Gulf of Mexico.

The next year France ceded all her American possessions to Spain, which, latter Power, already owning Florida, limited on the North by the 31st parallel and on the West by the Perdido river, made her a neighbor, as formidably as she afterwards proved to be captious. In 1800, Spain retroceded Louisiana to France, by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, which, when made known the next year, caused a sensation both in England and America. The next year, 1801, England declared war against France, which, latter power, under the rising Star of Napoleon, awakened grave apprehensions in the minds of the Americans, the relief to which will be told in future pages.



Death of General Wolfe on the Battlefield.

(From Lossing's History of the United States, published by the Harpers.)

CHAPTER VI.

Rogers sent by Gen. Amherst to take possession of Detroit—He meets Pontiac on the way—Holds a parley with him—Detroit garrisoned by the English, under Capt. Campbell—Discontent of the Indians—Alexander Henry arrives at Michilimackinac—Conspiracy to drive the English out of the country—Detroit saved from massacre by an Ojibway girl—Is besieged—Massacre at Michilimackinac—Narrow escape of Alexander Henry—St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami and Sandusky taken by the Indians—Capture of the Batteau Fleet sent to succor Detroit—Horrible massacre of the soldiers—Detroit relieved—Arrival of Capt. Dalzell—His disastrous sortie—Desperate defense of a vessel loaded with supplies—Pontiac retires to the Maumee Rapids.

The French and Indian war began on the question as to who should own a bit of wild land drained by the tributary sources of the Ohio.

The English went into it with tardiness, and the Americans, with the exception of the Virginia colony, with apathy; not from any indisposition to sustain the national honor, for there was no such issue in the question. Each colony held its own respective territory, and could hardly be expected to fight for more, not knowing who might possess the prize if won.

What had given the Virginia colony so deep an interest in the question, was the munificent donations of the lands on the Ohio to her subjects from the king. The recipients of these favors were the Ohio Company, prominent among whom were the Washington brothers, and this company had taken the first steps in the war by commencing the little fort at the fork of the Ohio, under Trent.

George Washington struck the first hostile blow when

he attacked Jumonville. Never in the records of nations did a greater result grow out of an issue so apparently small. The magnitude of the prize was an elephant on the hands of the victors.

To the west were the forests north of the Ohio river, enriched by a thousand autumnal dressings of leaf mold, through which unnumbered rivers and streamlets took their courses along valleys of alluvium. Beyond these were oceans of prairie, luxuriant in grasses harvested each year only by the annual fires that swept over them.

With the exception of the few French settlements mentioned in previous chapters, this immense country was a majestic waste, tenanted by perhaps one hundred thousand Indians. Most of these had always been the allies of the French, but such as were not had been forced into their friendship by the war. Now everything was changed. To the English they must look for a supply of such goods as the elements of civilization had taught them the use of, and without which it was difficult to subsist. The trade in these articles, with furs in exchange, was now to go into the hands of the English; but the first thing to be done was to take possession of such French forts as had not been taken by force during the war.

These were Detroit, Sandusky, Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, Green Bay, the cluster of French villages in the Southern Illinois country, Vincennes and Ouatanon on the Wabash, and Ft. Miami on the Maumee, close by the spot where Ft. Wayne was subsequently built; the whole containing a population not exceeding 6,000 French inhabitants.

On the 13th of September, 1760, three days after the surrender of Montreal, Major Robert Rogers was dispatched by Gen. Amherst on this mission,* with a force of 200 chosen men, in fifteen whale boats. His orders

*Rogers had served during the war in the capacity of a ranger. His field had been on the frontier between Albany and the French forts on Lake Champlain, where his daring exploits at the head of his chosen band of New Hampshire provincials, were the admiration of both friend and foe. He kept a journal of his adventures and wrote a book entitled "Concise Account of North America," published in London in 1765, which forms the basis of this account.

were to proceed to Ft. Niagara, where Maj. Walters, the commander, was to deliver into his custody a Mr. Gamelin,* a French prisoner taken at the surrender of that post. He was then to proceed to Presque Isle, and from thence, with a small force, across the country to Ft. Pitt, then under the command of Gen. Monckton. From him he was to receive such assistance as was necessary in the execution of the work before him, which was to take possession of the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. This done, he was to return with his force to Albany, or wherever the headquarters of the commanding general might be at that time. Arriving at Presque Isle on the 8th of October, in accordance with these instructions, he left his command, and, with only three companions, pursued the well known French trail to Ft. Pitt, where he was reinforced by a detachment of Royal Americans, under Capt. Campbell. Returning to Presque Isle, he received forty oxen from Col. Bryant, under charge of Capt. Monter, who, with the assistance of twenty Indians, was to drive them to Detroit, for the subsistence of the soldiers. About the 1st of November, the whole command embarked in their boats from Presque Isle. It was an English delegation, composed of Americans, whose superior qualifications for such a dangerous adventure were apparent to Gen. Amherst.

The western Indians had never before seen any other than Frenchmen unless perchance some of them had been in battle array against them on the bloody fields of the late war. As yet, the English flag had been saluted with yells of approbation by all the Indians they had met; but these first ebullitions of applause from the red frontierers might prove but a snare to lull them into a fatal security when the interior was reached. But Rogers, bred among the wilds of frontier warfare, had measured its depths of dissimulation, and he was ready for any emergency.

*Mr. Gamelin subsequently became a resident of Vincennes, and acted as mediator between the Americans and Indians.

While he was penetrating the country along the southern shore of Lake Erie in his little fleet of whale boats, in his advanced path a savage hero lay, ruminating in his mind how to receive him.

This was Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas. He was yet in the heyday of youth and strength, but a veteran in bush fighting warfare. He had made himself conspicuous among the subtle spirits who had overwhelmed Braddock on the Monongahela. He had ever since been in the van of the war path against the English, and his achievements had won for him a singular distinction, which, by common consent, made him the acknowledged chief, not only of his own tribe, but of all the surrounding tribes, who looked up to him as their Moses. His summer residence was on Pechu Island, eight miles above Detroit, and in the winter he lodged in the Ottawa village opposite on the Canadian shore.* As soon as he heard of the advance of the English into the country, he hastened, with a few of his attendants, to meet them. The first interview was held November 7th, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at its western extremity. Here Rogers, having entered the mouth of a small stream, moored his boats and encamped.

An Indian deputation soon waited on him, requesting him to proceed no farther till Pontiac, the king of the country, came up. Shortly afterward he came, and, at the first salutation, demanded how he dared to enter the country without his permission. In reply, Rogers informed him (with naïve respect and dignity combined) that he had come, not to injure the Indians, but to remove the French soldiers of the country, who had hitherto been an obstacle to peace between the Indians and the English.

The answer disarmed the chief and modified his demeanor at once. Rogers next proceeded to inform him of the surrender of Canada to the English, which was news to Pontiac, though perhaps not unexpected, from the ill success of the French since the fall of Niagara and Quebec several months before.

On leaving, he told Rogers that if he needed anything

*Lanman's Hist. of Mich., p. 91.

his country could supply, he would send his warriors for it. He then took his leave, requesting Rogers not to advance farther till a council should be held the next morning. This opened as proposed—the peace-pipe was smoked, and Pontiac promised to protect Rogers on his way to Detroit. This promise he kept in good faith. Had he not done this, Rogers could not have reached the place without a battle with the Indians, who, in heavy force, stood guard at the mouth of the river to prevent his passage.

To these Pontiac gave orders to let the English pass unmolested, and, at the same time, ordered some of his men to assist Capt. Brewer along with the oxen driven from Presque Isle. Besides this act of courtesy, he manifested a disposition to learn the elements of civilization, asking Rogers about the English method of disciplining their forces, and even inquired how cloth and iron were made, and offered to give him a part of the country if he would take him to England on a visit. This offer was accompanied with the conciliatory proposal of paying an annual tribute to the king of England and calling him his uncle. These were the terms on which the English might be permitted to settle in the country and remain as long as they treated the Indians with respect. If they failed to do this, he should drive them out and “shut up the door.”*

Rogers now resumed his march toward Detroit, taking care to send Lieut. Brheme, a French war prisoner, in advance, with the following letter to Capt. Bellestre, the French commander:

“To Capt. Bellestre, or the Officer Commanding at Detroit:

“SIR.—That you may not be alarmed at the approach of the English troops under my command when I come to Detroit, I send forward this by Lieut. Brheme, to acquaint you that I have Gen. Amherst’s orders to take possession of Detroit and such other posts as are in that district; which by capitulation, agreed to and signed by Marquis de Vaudreuil and Gen. Amherst, the 8th of September last, now belong to Great Britain. I have with me the Marquis de Vaudreuil’s letters to

*Concise Account.

you, directed for your guidance on this occasion ; which letters I shall deliver to you when I am at or near your post, and shall encamp the troops I have with me at some distance from the fort, till you have reasonable time to be made acquainted with the Marquis de Vaudreuil's instructions and the capitulation, a copy of which I have with me likewise. I am, sir,

“Your humble servant,

“ROBERT ROGERS.”

Continuing to advance, Rogers met a squad of Hurons, from whom he learned that Bellestre had detained the messenger sent with his letter, and intended to oppose his entrance into the town.

In order to arouse a spirit of resistance among the Indians, he had erected on a pole an effigy of Rogers, with a crow pecking his eyes out, as an emblem of the fate in store for him if he attempted to enter Detroit ; but the Indians were skeptical as to such a result, and, notwithstanding the shallow device, accepted the wampum belt from Rogers, who represented, in their estimation—and correctly, too—the rising star of power, to whom they must now look for favors.

The impossibility of holding the town against the English soon became evident to the French commander, and he began to conciliate. First, he dispatched a messenger to Rogers with a letter, to inform him that he had put the inhabitants, and particularly the Indians, on their guard to prevent being plundered by the Indians who had joined the standard of the English, and also to preserve the English themselves from a like disaster when the government of the town should change from French to English hands. Rogers replied as follows :

“SIR.—I acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, both of which were delivered to me on yesterday. Mr. Brheme has not yet returned. The inclosed letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil will inform you of the surrender of all Canada to the king of Great Britain, and of the great indulgence granted to the inhabitants ; as also of the terms granted to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty. Capt. Campbell, whom I have sent forward with this letter, will show you the capitulation. I desire

you will not detain him, as I am determined, agreeable to my instructions from General Amherst, speedily to relieve your post. I shall stop the troops I have with me at the hither end of the town till four o'clock, by which time I expect your answer. Your inhabitants will not surprise me; as yet I have seen no other in that position but savages waiting for my orders. I can assure you, sir, the inhabitants of Detroit shall not be molested—they and you complying with the capitulation—but be protected in the quiet and peaceable possession of their estates; neither shall they be pillaged by my Indians, nor by yours that have joined me. I am, etc.,

“R. ROGERS.

“*To Capt. Bellestre, Commanding at Detroit.*”

Having dispatched this letter, without awaiting a reply, Rogers pushed his boats up the river, and landed within half a mile of the place. Here a messenger soon came to him from Bellestre, with his compliments, signifying that he awaited his orders. Lieuts. Lefflie and McCormick were now sent with thirty-six American troops to take possession of Detroit.

The first item in the formula was to lower the French flag, and elevate the English flag in its place. This was done, and a burst of riotous applause rent the air from the guttural voices of 700 Indians, while the French beheld the humiliation with silent and painful emotions, such as have never yet been felt in the breast of an American citizen.

It was now the 29th of November, and Rogers, with his accustomed promptness, set about the execution of his still unfinished work. The French militia were disarmed and the oath of allegiance administered to them. The regular soldiers, with their commander, Bellestre, were sent as prisoners of war to Philadelphia, under the escort of Lieut. Holmes and thirty men.

A party of twenty men were sent to take possession of the posts of Ouatanon,* on the head waters of the Wabash and Miami, at the bend of the Maumee. These had been the extremes of canoe navigation on the two rivers—a portage connecting them by a well fre-

*Rogers called this *Gatanois* in his Journal, p. 229.

quented Indian trail, which had been in existence from time immemorial. After the French had settled at Vincennes, this thoroughfare to the lakes became an important one to them; hence the erection of the post of Ouatanon, at the head of canoe navigation on this stream. Ft. Miami was also designed to facilitate the same end,* and its early possession by the English was necessary, in order to command the respect of the Indians and establish the fur trade among them along their highway to the lakes.

Capt. Campbell was now left in command of Detroit, while Rogers, with a small force, started toward Michilimackinac to establish the English standard at that important post. After a vain attempt to force his way along the icy and boisterous shore of Lake Huron, he was obliged to return to Detroit, and, on the 21st of December, started with a few attendants across the country to Ft. Pitt, arriving there on the 23d of January, 1761. He passed through Sandusky on his way, says Perkins' *Western Annals* (p. 111), but does not inform us whether he left a garrison there or not. The next summer, Michilimackinac, Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior, Green Bay and St. Joseph, were taken peaceable possession of by a detachment sent from Detroit by Capt. Campbell.

The French towns of Southern Illinois and Vincennes, on the Wabash, had hitherto been disturbed only by war's alarms from afar. Their country had changed from French to English rule, but distance had yet and was still destined to give them a few more years under the lilies of France, though severed from the parent stem by the tornado of war, like a limb of a tree broken from the trunk.

The Indians had always loved the French, because they met them on terms of social equality. Their ideas of chivalry were well suited to the savage imagination.

*According to Brice's *History of Ft. Wayne*, p. 12, Ft. Miami was built in 1733. Volney in his researches dates the building of Vincennes in 1735; but Law's date of 1710 is more consistent with 1733 as the date of Miami. Ft. Ouatanon probably bears a similar date. Late researches by H. W. Beckwith, of Danville, Ill., show that it was built on the west side of the Wabash, instead of the east, as indicated by the current histories. It is pronounced We-au-ta-non.

Both were dashing and impetuous. A liberal sprinkling of blanched cheeks, whose mothers were the honored wives of Frenchmen, were so many pledges of that friendship which forest life had charmed into being. Before the Anglo-Americans and English had set foot into the great West, the French had been there a century, and, instead of attempting to deprive them of their lands, had often held out inducements to them to amalgamate the two races and inherit the country



together. This course made any especial promise of friendship unnecessary, or, if made, gave it consistency.

During the French and Indian war, both sides had vied with each other in their excess of zeal to preserve the rights of the Indians. Unhappily for them, the side they had taken had been beaten, and now their first care was to set themselves right before the conquerors, which accounts for Pontiac's assistance to Rogers in conducting him safely to Detroit. But beneath this

friendly exterior there lurked, at least, doubt and mis-giving, if not feelings of deadly hate.

The English, on their part, had formed too low an estimate of the ability of the Indians to oppose them, in the event of hostilities. They had conquered them and the French combined, and the savage, single-handed, was but a pigmy in their estimation.

Under this impression, the English fur traders hastened forward among the lodges of the wilderness, to renew the trade begun before the war, and appropriate that which the French had hitherto held exclusively along the lakes. With this intent, Alexander Henry started for Michilimackinac early in the spring succeeding the English possession of Detroit. Ere he had reached Detroit, he witnessed abundant signs of discontent among the Indians.

No pains had been taken by the English or Americans to win their favor by means of presents or those fulsome professions of good fellowship so essential to fill the measure of savage etiquette. But these omissions were not the greatest cause of complaint. Blows had been inflicted on some of the Ottawas at a trading station, by some indiscreet traders,* for which indignity retaliation was only deferred. In consequence of these causes of disaffection, Henry was obliged to make his way from Detroit to Michilimackinac in the disguise of French costume. Having reached his destination, he was soon waited upon by a tenacious advocate of Indian rights, supposed to be Pontiac himself, who addressed him the following terse words :

“Englishmen, you know that the French king is our father. He promised to be such, and we in return promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

“Englishmen, it is you that have made war with this our father. You are his enemy; and how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

“Englishmen, we are informed that our father the king of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he has

*Cass' Discourse; Rogers' Account.

fallen asleep. During this sleep, you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring and inquiring for his children the Indians; and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly.

“Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, are left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef; but you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains.

“Englishmen, our father, the king of France, employed our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare many of them have been killed, and it is our custom to retaliate until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways: the first is, by the spilling the blood of the nation by which they fell; the other, by covering the bodies of the dead, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

“Englishmen, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us; wherefore he and we are still at war; and until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father or friend among the white men than the king of France. But for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured among us in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war. You come in peace to trade with us, and supply us with the necessities of which we are in much want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippewas. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe to smoke.”*

* Henry, p. 43.

Matters went on during the next two years with increased dissatisfaction. Frequent ominous rumors of Indian uprising had been current ; but little importance had been attached to them, especially by Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who still held military command of the whole country.

During all this time, no definitive treaty of peace had been negotiated between England and France, and, through some dreamy illusion of the Indians, a pleasing theory had obtained currency that the king of France had been asleep, and the English had taken advantage of his slumbers to conquer the country—that he would soon awaken and utterly destroy the English. Fortified by their faith in this visionary hope, the Indians throughout the country north of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi, conspired with Pontiac to bring about this desired result.*

After these alliances had been secured, he plied his seductive arts of diplomacy to the different tribes of the Iroquois, and won over the Senecas to his cause ; but the other five tribes, owing to the influence of Sir William Johnson, remained true to the English.

Some of the French residents, either through national pique to the English or personal attachment to the Indians, were fast friends to the latter, although the better portion preserved a neutrality, at least, by mental reservation, as they would not have dared to oppose the schemes of Pontiac, had they been informed of them.

The French population of Detroit at that time occupied about 100 houses in town and 50 farm houses

* Carver relates a phenomenon which among the timorous-minded habitants of Detroit, foretold the Indian outbreak. It is worth recording for its meteorological merits, if not its supernatural. It runs as follows: "In the year 1762, in the month of July, it rained on this town and the parts adjacent, a sulphurous water of the color and consistence of ink; some of which being collected into bottles and written with, appeared perfectly intelligible on the paper, and answered every purpose of that useful liquid. Soon after, the Indian wars, already spoken of, broke out in these parts. I mean not to say that this incident was ominous of them, notwithstanding it is well known that innumerable well attested instances of extraordinary phenomena happening before extraordinary events, have been recorded in almost every age by historians of veracity; I only relate the circumstance as a fact of which I was informed by many persons of undoubted probity, and leave my readers, as I have hitherto done, to draw their own conclusions from it."

along the river, above or below it.* The walls of these were built with logs and the roofs covered with bark or thatched straw. Their fences were constructed with pickets. Wheat was sowed in drills and cultivated by hand. They had no potatoes till the English brought the seed. Their horses had been obtained from Ft. Duquesne, descended from the English stock captured from Braddock's defeated army.† The Ottawas, Wyandots and Pottowattomies had villages close by, which, with the French population, gave to the place a metropolitan character, to which no other spot in the whole country could be compared; consequently, its conquest was undertaken by Pontiac himself.

But, before the first blow was to be struck, a council was convened. This was summoned to meet early in the spring, on the banks of a small stream near Detroit. Here were assembled chiefs from all the principal tribes of the country,‡ each supposing himself to be sapient in the savage policy of the times; but at that moment, could they have known the real power of the English colonists, they would have kicked the war belt from their midst and flung themselves at the feet of the English, claiming their friendship with the eloquence of savage metaphor. Of this, however, they had no conception, and entertained no doubt that they could kill off the English garrisons in the entire country, and bar the door against the entrance of any more.

This was the aim of Pontiac, and it met the approval of his red brethren, without a dissenting voice in the council. Plans were laid to attack each English fort in the country, at a coming change of the moon, in the month of May.§

* Lanman's Mich. p. 98.

† Manuscript Doc. of J. R. Williams; see Lanman's Mich., p. 99.

‡ The Ottawas, Miamis, Chippewas, Wyandots, Pottowattomies, Shawanese, Outagamies and Winnebagoes, composed the council; but there were other tribes from remote places, as well as smaller tribes near by, who were friendly to Pontiac's cause, while it is evident that a few deliberate thinkers had not full faith in his schemes.

§ These consisted of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Ste. Marie, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami, Ft. Pitt, Venango, Le Boeuf, Presque Isle and Sandusky. Ft. Niagara was not to be attacked, its great strength and remoteness being looked upon as insurmountable obstacles to be overcome.

True to the time honored custom of Indian warfare, treachery was the chief instrument to be used in taking them. In the attack of Detroit, Pontiac's plan was to gain admittance to the fort with a chosen band of his warriors, under the semblance of friendship, and, at a given signal, fall upon the unsuspecting garrison with their weapons, which were to be concealed under their blankets, and kill them before they had time to seize their arms. The success of this undertaking required preparation. Their guns had to be shortened by several inches being taken from the muzzles, in order to reduce them in length sufficiently for concealment under their blankets.* This was done with files and saws borrowed from the French inhabitants, who lent them these tools in ignorance of the purpose for which they were to be used.

While this was going on, the Indians kept up their friendly visits to the fort as usual; but one afternoon there came in a young Ojibway girl who had previously been employed to make a pair of Indian shoes for Major Gladwin, the commander. She delivered them to him, and the major was so pleased with the neatness with which they were made, that he proposed to her to make more of the same kind, and for that purpose gave her the remainder of the elk skin from which the first pair had been made. This done, he paid her for making the pair delivered, and dismissed her. Instead of directly leaving, the girl lingered about in a dreamy air of sadness, till she attracted the attention of the sentinels, who asked her the cause; but she was silent. Meantime, her pensive mood did not escape the observation of Gladwin. She was recalled to his presence, and revealed to him the plans of Pontiac, under a promise of secrecy.†

* A French citizen named M. Beaufait had been shown a shortened gun and informed of the plot, in advance. He afterward assisted Pontiac by his counsel.

† Carver, who visited Detroit in 1766, only three years after the siege, is the authority for this tradition of the Ojibway girl. Parkman quotes other traditions, attributing the disclosure of Pontiac's treacherous designs to others, but certainly with less plausibility; for who would be so likely to turn apostate to their own people as a young girl whose eyes might be dazzled with the glitter of epaulets? Recent

The next morning was the appointed time for the culmination of the treachery, and Gladwin set himself about the work of preparation to meet it. The strength of the garrison was about 300, while double that number of Indians hovered around them, hungry for their blood. Every man was immediately placed under arms, in readiness for the expected visit; and, in addition to these precautions, says Carver, "he sent round to all the traders to inform them that, as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel every attempt of that kind."

At an early hour the next morning, an unusual stir was apparent among the Indians, and, at ten o'clock, Pontiac himself, at the head of sixty chiefs, with wooden-clad immobility stamped upon their faces, approached the fort. The gates were thrown open and they entered; but what was Pontiac's astonishment to see the entire garrison armed with swords and pistols! He saw at once that his plot had been discovered, but with complete composure, concealed the emotions that were inwardly consuming him, and made a speech. The scene that followed is best described by Carver, whose words are here quoted:

"The governor in his turn made a speech; but, instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and, as a proof that they were well acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped toward the Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside his blanket discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

"He then continued to tell them that, as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience,

authorities with iconoclastic assurance denounce the whole story as a passionate romance; but true or false, it represents naïve conditions of civil and savage life blended together in those early days.

that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces. Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him."

Thus baffled in their attempt, Pontiac and his band left, and with a full appreciation of the courage of Gladwin, as well as a conviction that treachery could play no part in taking the fort. The next day, the first attack was made with great fury, but was repulsed by the well directed fire of the garrison. The post was soon completely environed, and while the besieged are economizing their stinted resources to hold it against the audacious foe, the fate of the other English forts in the western wilderness will be told.

The style of warfare practiced by the Indians, though sanguinary, was defective, inasmuch as they were ignorant of any method by which to abridge private rights, even for the public good. Every one was his own master, amenable to no tribunal except public opinion. Against the French they cherished no resentments, and at first, with considerate charity, allowed them to take a neutral position; nor did they object to visiting the English forts, for the rights of neutrals, about which England and America have lately drawn hair splitting theories, were a sealed book to their barbarous subtleties. This slipshod military practice gave the French who were favorably disposed toward the English an opportunity to do much to assist them.

After the siege of Detroit had progressed a month, there came to the place a reverend Father from Michilimackinac, named Jonois, who presided over a mission among the Ottawas at that place. On his arrival, he first paid his respects to Pontiac, and the next day rapped at the gate of the fort. He was admitted; but he bore unwelcome news. Major Etherington, the

commander of Michilimackinac, had intrusted him with a letter to Gladwin, which he delivered. From it, as well as from the worthy Father himself, who had been an eye witness, Gladwin learned of the sad fate of Michilimackinac.

The Indians had taken the post by stratagem, a game of ball being the instrumental means. First they obtained permission for a number of their squaws to enter the fort. These had weapons concealed under their blankets. The ball was then batted over the palisades of the fort, as if by chance, and permission being granted to go inside after it, a pack of savages rushed in at the opening of the gate. The squaws quickly acted their part in the bloody work, by passing their concealed weapons over to the warriors, and the butchery inside the fort began. At the same moment, the attack on the soldiers outside was made, where about half the garrison were watching the treacherous game.

The whole number of the garrison was ninety-three, all told. About seventy were killed, and, vengeance being sated, the remainder became subjects of savage mercy. Major Etherington, the commander, some months before had been admonished of danger by a French resident of the place, named Laurent Ducharm, but, instead of heeding the timely warning, he snubbed the informant tartly, and threatened to send the next officious bearer of such a message to Detroit as prisoner.* The self-reliant major was among the few spared, but his soldiers paid dearly for his impervious resolution.

Alexander Henry, the trader already mentioned, then a resident of the place, had been warned the year before of the uprising, by Wawatam, a Chippewa chief, who had conceived a strong friendship for him as the result of some favor. This "spiritual seer" had received a message from the happy land, urging him to protect Henry and adopt him as a brother. He informed him of the revelation, and made him a generous present. Henry accepted the fraternal tie, gave him a present in return, and the chief departed for his winter hunt.

* Smith's Wis., vol. I, p. 134.

On the 2d of June, two days before the massacre, he returned and urged Henry to go with him and his family to the Sault. Henry graciously declined the invitation, when Wawatam left, with his family, a few tears dropping from his eyes as he took his leave.* On the 4th of June, two days afterward, Henry beheld from the window of his trading station, his comrades shrieking under the strokes of the scalping knife, at the revelry of blood of which Wawatam had warned him, when he fled from the place and took refuge in the house of a Frenchman named Langlade. An inoffensive Pawnee slave, unbeknown to the owner, secreted him in a garret.

The infuriated Indians soon entered the very room he was in, but in their delirious excitement failed to discover him, packed away as he was among a pile of bark vessels; but the mistress of the household, on learning of his presence, feared the consequences of concealing him, and when she thought of her children she no longer hesitated, but led the savages to the place of Henry's concealment. The wretched man was dragged out by a painted demon, who raised his weapon to kill him, but hesitated, and finally sent him away with a portion of the other captives.

The ultimate fate of all of them was yet subject to many capricious conditions, all of which are related in Henry's Travels.† Through the influence of Wawatam, Henry was saved with the rest, partly through the instrumentality of Indian eloquence and partly by means of presents; but grave counsels were held as to the fate of the whole, and at last it was determined to send them to the French at Montreal, where they arrived in the succeeding August, together with seventeen captives from Green Bay, with Lieut. Gorrell, their commander.‡

Ere this, St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami and Sandusky had all been taken by the Indians, but, to the

* Smith's Wis.

† This interesting pamphlet has been reprinted in several of the early histories of the country.

‡ Owing to the good offices of the Indians around the place, the whole garrison had been spared, they merely evacuating the post and joining Etherington in his captivity. The fort at Ste. Marie had been evacuated previous to the massacre at Michilimackinac, whither the fugitives had taken refuge, and perished at the massacre.

credit of the captors be it said, with less atrocity than had been practiced at Michilimackinac. From Sandusky, the commander, Ensign Pauly, was taken to Detroit, where his manly form attracted the attention of a squaw whose husband had been slain in battle. In him the bereaved widow beheld her consolation, and saved his life by marrying him—but he proved a faithless lover. Through the medium of a Frenchman, he soon sent a letter to Gladwin, and a few weeks later found means to desert his bride and take refuge in the fort.

After the fall of Michilimackinac and Sandusky, Pontiac received reinforcements, and the situation of the garrison at Detroit became daily more critical, and the place must have fallen into the hands of the infuriated bands of Pontiac if some of the French inhabitants had not secretly, under cover of night, sent supplies to the fort to prevent starvation, which was now more to be feared than the attacks of the enemy. The fort was only a wooden stockade, made of piles driven into the ground, and lest it might be set fire to by the besiegers, Gladwin had, by means of hot shot, burned every hut near it which might conceal an Indian. Pontiac, destitute of anything but small arms with which to breach its walls, again had recourse to treachery to gain it.

When Rogers left Detroit in 1760, Major Campbell assumed the command, and retained it most of the time till Gladwin had been appointed to the chief command, while he held the second. During Campbell's administration, he had won the esteem of both the French and the Indians, and Pontiac sent him a message requesting him to come to his camp, and terminate the war by a friendly council. The message was brought by two estimable French citizens, who, deceived by the fair exterior of Pontiac, advised the granting of the interview. Gladwin's consent was reluctantly obtained by the too confiding Campbell, who was willing to go; and, not without misgiving on the part of Gladwin, he went, accompanied by Lieut. McDougall. He was received with courtesy by Pontiac, but, contrary to his pledges, was not allowed to return except on

condition that the fort should be given up.* McDougall made his escape, but the unfortunate Major Campbell, more closely guarded, was reserved for a cruel test of warring emotions, against which the world has put the seal of abhorrence.

The time was now near at hand when the annual supplies for the western forts were due from Ft. Niagara, and Gladwin, in order to hurry them along, on the 21st of May sent the smallest of the two vessels which lay in the river beside the fort to meet them. Ere she had reached the mouth of the river, while lying becalmed, a fleet of canoes, filled with Indians, rapidly approached the vessel, intending to board her and kill the crew. Lashed to the bow of the foremost was the unhappy captive, Major Campbell, who had been put there under an impression that the English would not fire on them, for fear of killing their own countryman. "*Do your duty!*" commanded the brave old officer,† whose whitened locks lent pathos to the last order he ever gave to his soldiers.

At that moment, a breeze filled the sails of the vessel, and she sped away, lifting a heavy burden from the hearts of the gunners, but reserving the noble captive for a crueller fate. Balked of their prey, the savages returned with their prisoner; but he was soon afterward tomahawked by an Ottawa savage, in revenge for the death of an uncle killed at Michilimackinac. Pontiac was enraged at this base act, and the miscreant who did it fled to Saginaw to escape his vengeance.‡

Unremitting watchfulness on the ramparts, on the part of the inmates of the fort, and eccentric spasms of vengeance on the part of the Indians, continued till the 30th of May, when a sentinel shouted forth tidings that the expected supplies were in sight coming up the river. All eyes were turned in that direction, where the batteaux were visible in the distance, and a burst of exultation rent the air. As the batteau fleet drew nearer, the forms of the men became more visible. The

* Lanman's Mich., p. 110.

† Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I, p. 261.

‡ Lanman, p. 111.

rowers toiled along in silence, till a closer view revealed the painful situation. Lordly Indians stood erect in the boats while the English soldiers were rowing.

In the foremost were three savages, armed with tomahawks, and four captives. Nearing the vessels beside the fort, they called out to the sailors for aid, and the three Indians who guarded them leaped into the water, one of them dragging a soldier with him, both of whom were drowned in their grapples with each other, The three remaining soldiers in the batteau escaped to the shore under a hot fire from the Indians, both from the Canada shore and the batteaux, wounding one of them.* All the while, the vessel discharged her cannon at the savages in the batteau fleet, and drove them back; but they landed on the east side of the river, and took their captives, over sixty in number, to their camp above. The escaped captives, now within the walls of the fort, told the tale of disaster which had befallen them.

Early in May, Lieut. Cuyler, with a detachment of Green's Rangers, numbering 97 men, with twenty batteaux, embarked from Ft. Schlosser† with the annual supplies for Detroit. Taking his course along the northern shore of Lake Erie, they arrived at Point Pelee, just east of the mouth of the Detroit river. Unconscious of danger, they landed to gather fuel, when a band of Wyandots in the service of Pontiac attacked them so suddenly that all but thirty, who escaped in their boats, were taken prisoners.

To the inmates of the fort at Detroit the fate of the thirty soldiers was uncertain, but a well grounded hope consoled them that they would reach Niagara, the place from whence they had started, and give information of the catastrophe by which their attempt to bring relief had miscarried. Fortunately this was the case.

They arrived safely at Ft. Schlosser, the place where the vessel lay at anchor which had been sent to meet

* Of the various versions of this encounter, the one bearing the strongest marks of consistency has been chosen. Cass is the authority for it. See Lanman's Mich., p. 111.

† Ft. Schlosser was only a sub-post of Ft. Niagara—a kind of starting place above the Falls, for supplies taken from Ft. Niagara by a portage around the Falls.

them, but, passing them unobserved, had kept on her course. All haste was now made by Major Wilkins, the commander of Ft. Niagara, to send succor to the beleaguered garrison. Thirty soldiers were added to the thirty fugitives, and the whole embarked under command of Cuyler, who was one of those who had escaped. While they are pressing sail for Detroit, let us take a view of the situation there.

The appalling spectacle of over sixty English soldiers being dragged by the fort, by the hands of the savages, was the darkest hour of the siege. Yells of delight burst from their throats as they gathered them into their camp, determined to make the most of them in the way of revenge. First, they were stripped naked, and set up for target practice with their arrows, in which the warriors indulged to their hearts' content. But the women and children must have a chance at them before the vital spark became extinct, and their flesh was punctured with the ends of burning sticks by these ingenious tormentors. The tomahawk and scalping knife finished up the unhallowed work. Their blood was drank as it ran in warm streams from their lacerated veins. Parts of their flesh were made into soup and eaten, and their bodies thrown into the river.

The summer twilight had died away and the sentinels were pacing their nightly vigils, when two French inhabitants came to the fort and brought tidings of this massacre. The silence of death pervaded the place, at its recital, till it was broken by speculations as to the time when relief could come. The next day the bodies of their tortured fellow-soldiers came floating down the river, revealing the awful fate of the victims.

Eighteen days of suspense now hung over the garrison, when a rumor came that a sail had been descried. This was June 19th. On the 23d the news was confirmed by M. Baby, a French inhabitant of Detroit, whose discreet friendship had already rendered essential service to the garrison, without compromising his influence with Pontiac. The vessel did not arrive till the 30th, so great was the caution of Cuyler, the commander, to avoid the toils and ambuscades of the

Indians along the channel of the river, as it curled among the cluster of islands just above its mouth. Notwithstanding his caution, however, an attempt was made by them to board his vessel as she lay at anchor in the night, but an unexpected discharge of cannon and musketry made them pay dearly for their temerity, and he safely arrived at the beleaguered place.

The fort now recruited with an ample store of provisions and sixty men, they could breathe freer.

On the 23d of the previous month, Pontiac summoned a convention for the purpose of enlisting the French in his cause. According to the usual custom, mats were spread on the green for the accommodation of the notables, who had been invited to take places of honor at the grave sitting. Said Pontiac, in his speech :

“Until now, I have avoided urging you this subject, in the hope that, if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe you would take part with them. You will say you are not with them. I know it; but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You will tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English we declare war against you.”

To this argument the French replied that their king had tied their hands against injuring the English, when he made peace with them, and, as a proof, produced a copy of the capitulation. “Untie this knot and we will join you.” The perplexed orator was silent, but his unconquerable will won a few private recruits from the savage transcendentalism that always exists in border life, and constitutes a class defiant and aggressive, as it is regardless of consequences. These neophytes in savage warfare were received with appropriate honors by Pontiac, who patronizingly extended his hand to them, and presented the pipe with gravity, and the council was dismissed.

Pontiac next conceived the design of burning the two English vessels that lay beside the fort, by means of fire rafts, and to this end tore down some stables belonging to the French, for materials out of which to make them. The rafts were freighted with a plentiful supply of tar and pitch, fired, and started afloat above the vessels, under cover of a dark night. When the blazing crafts came toward the vessels they turned aside and passed harmlessly down the river, thanks to the preparations Gladwin had made for their not unexpected visit.

On the 29th of July, a fresh arrival came to the fort. It consisted of twenty-two barges and 280 men, commanded by Capt. Dalzell, an able officer who had been a companion of Israel Putnam.* Major Rogers was also one of the officers of the reinforcement, who commanded a few veteran Rangers, for which service he had attained a high reputation. Capt. Dalzell was for immediately taking the offensive, and an expedition was planned to march against Pontiac's camp and strike a decisive and unexpected blow.

The following account of the unlucky sortie is copied from Lanman's Michigan :

"On the morning of the 31st of July, about two o'clock, Capt. Dalzell, with a force of 247 men, marched up the Detroit river, toward Pontiac's camp; while two gun-boats in the river were pushed against the stream to cover the retreat and take off the wounded and dead. Information of this contemplated attack had been in some mode communicated to the Indians, and they removed their women and children, and prepared for the reception of the British troops.

"A party of warriors was stationed behind the pickets upon a neighboring farm,† and another at Bloody Run, which is about a mile and a half from Detroit on the main road. Here they were concealed in the high grass behind pickets and heaps of cord wood.‡ The British party had reached the bridge, when a sudden and

* Parkman's conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I, p. 308.

† That of Mr. Dequindre.

‡ Consult Cass, Drake and Thatcher.

destructive fire was poured upon them from the cord-wood and the grass. This threw them into the utmost confusion. At the first fire Dalzell fell. The British fought with desperation, but were attacked on all sides, and a vigorous charge was made by the bayonet upon the positions of the Indians; but a scattering fire was kept up by the savages from every place that could furnish them a cover. At length, finding that their situation was perilous, the British were ordered to retire, which was effected without serious loss, under the direction of Capt. Grant, aided by Major Rogers.* This retreat was covered on the shore of the Detroit river by the armed gun-boats, and the whole party arrived at the fort about 8 o'clock. It was effected by driving the Indians from house to house and field to field, until a line of defense could be made toward the fort. In this action, according to the official returns, there were nineteen killed and forty-two wounded. The place of its occurrence is called Bloody Run."

Pontiac lost no time in sending the news of this victory to his allies far and near, to rekindle the war spirit afresh, and new recruits soon came in, sufficient to supply the places of such as had deserted. Gladwin was therefore still forced to maintain a heroic defense, without the least relaxation of discipline. They were ever on the watch, for but a brief cessation of their vigils might bring destruction to the entire garrison.

As autumn drew near, Gladwin sent one of his vessels to Niagara for supplies for the winter; and on her return, while lying one night in the river, only nine miles below the fort, a large body of Indians approached her in their canoes, and so dark was the night that they were close by before they were seen, although a vigilant watch was kept up. The order to fire was immediately given, which was obeyed; but the next moment the Indians were in the act of boarding the vessel. The crew, only ten in number, assailed them with hatchets and spears,

* A bottle of brandy was at one time sent to Pontiac by Col. Rogers, and his warriors cautioned him not to taste it, lest it might be poisoned, Pontiac, however, rejected their advice. "He cannot take my life," said the Ottawa chief; "I have saved his."

killing them as fast as their heads appeared above the railing. Still the Indians, with desperate resolution, pressed against the deck of the little schooner with increased force, apparently determined to capture her at any sacrifice.

Some of them had now clambered over the railing, and already gained the deck, when the captain, wisely choosing death from explosion, to Indian torture, called out: "Blow up the vessel!" Startled at this desperate resort, the Indians leaped into the river, diving under the water as a screen from the expected flying missiles of the exploded vessel, while those in the canoes by her side pulled away in hot haste. The Indians, not caring to be blown to pieces, made no farther attempts to capture the vessel, and she reached the fort the next morning. The captain and one of the crew were killed and four others wounded. The six uninjured survivors, among whom was Jacobs, the mate, as they appeared before Gladwin to relate the circumstances of the encounter, bore the marks of its fierceness on their garments, sprinkled as they were with the blood of their foes, while their spears and hatchets were stained like butchers' tools.*

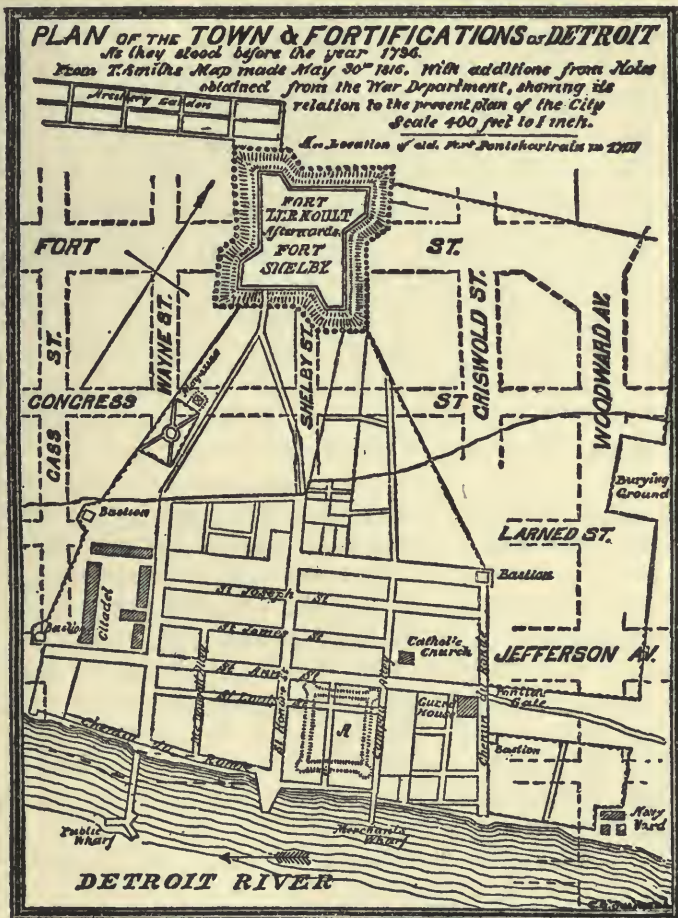
The season was now so far advanced that no farther supplies or reinforcements could be expected till the next summer, and the garrison must make the most of the provisions just brought them by the heroic crew, though barely sufficient to sustain them through the winter. Meantime the Indians began to run short of provisions, as well as ammunition, and of the new recruits who had recently swelled the ranks of Pontiac none remained through the winter, while most of those who had borne the brunt in besieging the place from the first, were compelled by necessity to take to the distant forests for subsistence. Some of these sent in treacherous peace proposals to Gladwin, who accepted them for what they were worth, but placed no confidence in their stability. Even Pontiac broke through the line of his incarnate hatred to the English, sent a peace message to Gladwin, and retired to the Maumee rapids

* Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I, pp. 320, 321.

to spend the winter. Comparative quiet thus restored, the garrison rested while they watched through the succeeding winter.

DETROIT AS IT WAS WHEN EVACUATED BY THE
ENGLISH IN 1796.

It shows the location of Fort Pontchartrain, built by Cadillac in 1701, on the site of which, or near it, was Gladwin's stockade, spoken of in future pages.



Taken from Farmer's History of Detroit.

CHAPTER VII.

Ft. Pitt Besieged by the Indians—Fate of Fts. Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango—Col. Bouquet Marches to the Relief of Ft. Pitt—Battle of Bushy Run—Gen. Amherst Resigns His Position as Commander-in-Chief, and Gen. Gage is Appointed His Successor—Sir Wm. Johnson Calls an Indian Convention at Niagara—Gen. Bradstreet Marches to the Relief of Detroit—Col. Bouquet Invades the Indian Country on the Muskingum River—Holds a Council with the Indians—Demands the Rendition of Captives—Passionate Emotions of Forest Life—Preliminaries of Peace—The Army Returns to the Frontier Settlements in Pennsylvania with 206 Returned Captives.

On the head waters of the Ohio the French and Indian war began. It terminated in Canada, as far as the French issue was concerned; but the overthrow of the French armies brought the Anglo-Americans into close relations with the Indians of the interior, and on the head-waters of the Ohio the two rival elements met each other. Here stood Ft. Pitt, amid the desolations of savage warfare. To the west, a continent spread out its vast extent, yet unknown; and even to the east, for one hundred and fifty miles, the savage foe had ranged the country in triumph, and killed or led into captivity the hapless settlers along the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. More than a thousand families had fled before these merciless invaders, to save themselves from the fate of the first victims of their vengeance.

Capt. Simeon Ecuyer, an able officer, of Swiss nationality, held command of Ft. Pitt. Its garrison numbered 300 men. During the interval between the close of the French and Indian war and Pontiac's renewal of war on savage account, twenty or thirty families had settled around the fort, under protection of its guns; but as soon as the war-whoop again rang through the forests, the few Indian traders of the Ohio country who had escaped the tomahawk, took refuge within its walls, and with them the families adjacent.*

On the 22d of June, the first attack was made, but was evidently premature in its conception. The fire was kept up throughout the day and the succeeding night, killing two men in the fort. The next morning, a parley ensued, in which a Delaware chief, under the guise of friendship, told Ecuyer that all the western forts had been taken, and if he wished to save the lives of his soldiers, as well as his women and children, he must leave the fort at once and retreat to the English settlements; otherwise they would all be killed by the great army of Indians who were marching against the place.

Ecuyer thanked the chief for his good intentions, to which he also retorted that as a friend he would advise him to instantly retreat into the forests, as a large English army were on their way to the place. This information, gravely told as it was, nonplussed the chief, and the Indians betook themselves to the forest, thinking it might be true.

Four days after this riddance, there came to the fort a fugitive from Presque Isle, bringing the first positive tidings of the progress of the war. The place had been taken, and all but himself killed, was the news he

*Loskiel, the Moravian historian, a co-worker of Heckewelder and Post, on page 99, relates a plot of the Indians to capture the traders in the vicinity of Sandusky, which challenges a parallel for audacity. The traders were told that the tribes to the west were about to make war on the English, with the determination to kill every one of them. This fate could be averted if the traders would become their prisoners, by which condition they could claim protection. Of course, their arms must be given up; and, to make the deception complete, they had better be bound. The credulous traders consented, submitted their muscular limbs to the thongs of the savages, when they were killed with little ceremony, and their goods taken.

brought.* The same day, eight soldiers, almost dead with hunger, came in from Ft. Le Bœuf. The whole number of their garrison was but thirteen, under charge of Capt. Price. They had defended the place with heroic valor till its walls were half consumed by the flames, when, by a secret exit, they made their escape under cover of night, unbeknown to the savages. Pushing their way down French Creek to Venango, with the intention of helping to defend it, they found the place already burnt to ashes, while the bones and half-consumed flesh of its garrison, which lay scattered around, admonished them of the fate they had escaped. Thence they continued their course down the Allegheny river, and finally reached Ft. Pitt.

The next day, two more fugitives came in, who had lagged behind for want of strength to travel, having been accidentally separated from their companions. The fate of the three remaining soldiers never became known.

Ft. Pitt, now severed from all communication with the outer world, kept a vigilant watch for the foe, who was daily expected, but did not come till the 26th of July, when the adjacent woods again became animated with warriors, tented outside of the range of its guns, hungry for revenge. Before commencing hostilities, they wished to hold a council. Shingis, the famous old Delaware chief, was the orator, and the following is a part of his speech :

“ Brothers, we wish to hold fast the chain of friendship—that ancient chain which our forefathers held with their brethren the English. You have let your end of the chain fall to the ground, but ours is still fast in our hands. Why do you complain that our young men have fired at your soldiers, and killed your cattle and your horses? You yourselves are the cause of this. You marched your armies into our country and built forts here, though we told you again and again that we wished you to remove.

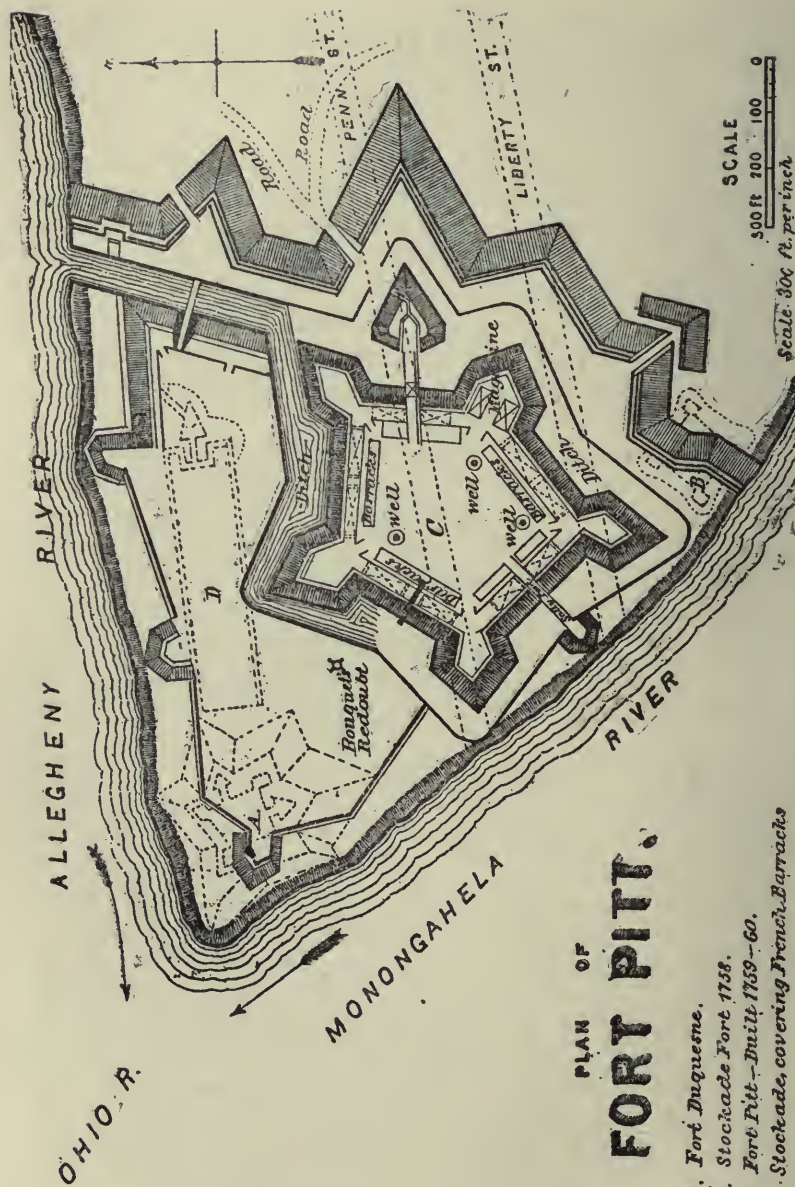
*This informer had fled before the fate of the garrison was known. Christie, the commander, was taken a captive to Detroit, and soon escaped from custody and joined Gladwin. The fate of the soldiers has never been brought to light, leaving little doubt that they were killed.

“My brothers, this land is ours, and not yours. If you leave this place immediately and go home to your wives and children, no harm will come of it; but if you stay, you must blame yourselves alone for what may happen.”

Ten years before, he had conferred with Washington on this very spot, and had rendered him essential service when he came to warn the French out of the country. Since that time, however, Shingis had been forced into an alliance with the French by the war cry of his tribe; but since the peace with France, he had again been an advocate for peace with the English, but, withal, a tenacious defender of Indian rights. For this he challenges our respectful memory.

Ecuyer's reply to his inadmissible but not unreasonable request (if the savages had not forfeited their natural rights), was unnecessarily harsh. He told him the forts were built for the benefit of the Indians, to supply them with clothing and ammunition, and threatened to blow him to pieces if he ever appeared again before him. The chief, with accumulated feelings of resentment, left the council with Turtle's-Heart and his other associates, and immediately set about environing the fort.

It occupied a sharp tongue of land at the confluence of the two rivers, which unite here. Its walls had been built by Gen. Stanwix in 1759, at so great an expense that it was regarded as a monument of British power in the wilds of America, worth commemorating in the archives of the British Museum, where drawings of it are still preserved. Of course, any attempt of the Indians to take it was rash; but, nevertheless, they crept under its walls, along the river, in the night, buried themselves in holes in the earth, like ground hogs, and kept up a brisk but ineffectual fire on the place for three days. Twenty of their number being killed, they withdrew in the night, and the serenity of the fort was again restored, as the last echo of savage bedlam rang from the high bank across the river. Only one man was killed in the fort and six wounded, among whom was Ecuyer slightly.



PLAN OF FORT PITT.

- A. Fort Duquesne.
- B. Stockade Fort 1738.
- C. Fort Pitt - Built 1759-60.
- D. Stockade, covering French Barracks

To send an army to the relief of the place, but more especially to the relief of the border settlements, was the first pressing necessity, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst, whose headquarters were still at New York, had already set about doing this in June, the previous month. He had formed too low an estimate of the power of the Indians for mischief, and had been slow in his preparations to meet the emergency, but, fortunately for the country, the men employed in the service had made up in effectiveness for the tardiness of the commanding general.

To Col. Bouquet was given the command of the expedition for the relief of Ft. Pitt. He was an able Swiss officer, who had served during the French and Indian war. In accordance with his instructions, after leaving Carlisle, he took up his march for Ft. Pitt, at the head of 600 men. This place reinforced, the whole Pennsylvania border would be rescued from the merciless forays of the Indians.

On the 5th of August he arrived at a place called Bushy Run, twenty-five miles from Ft. Pitt, and a less distance from the fatal field of Braddock. Here he was attacked by an army of savages, about equal to his own in numbers, and it is not too much to say that the annals of Indian warfare furnish no record of a more sanguinary battle. For two days the contest raged. Charge after charge was made by the Indians and repelled, till at last the victory was decided by a retreat on the part of Bouquet, by which timely piece of strategy the Indians, in their headlong pursuit after what they supposed to be a defeated army, were brought within a flanking fire of Bouquet's veterans. A decisive victory followed, and Bouquet reached Ft. Pitt on the 10th, without further molestation.

Never did the red cross of St. George shine with more resplendent luster than when, borne aloft by the triumphant victors, it suddenly emerged from the forest path into the open glade that environed the fort. The wounded soldiers were tenderly nursed, and the garrison felt an assurance that no farther trouble need be feared from the enemy.

The next spring Amherst resigned his position as commander-in-chief, and Gen. Gage, a more practical man, was his successor. However well he was qualified to command large bodies of men, he had failed in the minor details of the late Indian campaign.

While Gladwin had enough to do to keep his savage besiegers from breaking over his frail defenses at Detroit, Amherst had ordered him to garrison the forts that had been taken at Michilimackinac and other places. He further showed his mistaken notions of the situation by offering a reward of one hundred pounds to any one who would kill Pontiac. Instructions to this effect were sent to Gladwin August 10th, 1763,* but there is no evidence that he ever fulfilled the indiscreet measure; had he done which, the resentment of the Indians would have been stimulated to a higher pitch than ever.

The borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania were still in the breach, and it was determined to send an expedition into the interior beyond the Ohio, to set at rest any future apprehension of invasion. The command of it was to be given to Col. Bouquet. It was equally important to relieve Detroit, and an expedition was to be sent for that purpose, under Gen. Bradstreet.

The mistaken policy of Gen. Amherst, by which he had refused the offer of provincial troops for the service, had been sufficiently demonstrated by the tardy progress of the war for the past year, and it was now determined by Gen. Gage to raise a sufficient force of colonial troops to make the two expeditions planned for the campaign of 1764 a success.

On the 30th of May, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a resolution to raise 1,000 men; New York was called upon for 1,400; New Jersey for 600; and New England for her proportionate number. Virginia was only required to defend her own borders; but, besides doing this, she generously raised 300 men to fill the deficiency of Pennsylvania deserters from the ranks after her quota had been filled for Bouquet's expedition. The Quakers were the cause of this delinquency. They

* Bancroft, vol. V, p. 132.

were in favor of conciliation with the Indians, rather than war; but at the same time there was a ruffian element in that state, whose persistent practice, in the other extreme, went beyond the bounds of humanity. Many peaceful Indians, against whom no evidence of disloyalty could be brought, had been murdered by these men.*

Of the two expeditions planned for the campaign of 1764, Bradstreet's was ready first. Late in June, at the head of 1,200 men, he started from Albany; thence up the Mohawk river he took his course, crossed Oneida lake, and went down the river connecting it with Lake Ontario at Oswego. From this place Ft. Niagara was soon reached. Here his boats were drawn up the bank, and the whole army tented under the friendly guns of Ft. Niagara.

Sir William Johnson had summoned a grand Indian council to meet here, and the red delegations had already begun to assemble. Even to the far distant tribes along the upper waters of the Mississippi and on the Ottawa river of Canada, the trusty Indian messengers of Johnson had carried invitations to meet the English Father at Ft. Niagara and listen to his speech. Had this convention been called the year before, no notice would have been taken of it, and the messengers who carried the invitation would have been lucky to have escaped alive from the Ottawas or the Shawanese, and would have been received, in no friendly manner, by any of the western tribes; but now the situation was changed.

The war had been persisted in for over a year, and the Indians were nearly destitute of ammunition, as well as such other elements of civilization as their fur trade, for the past century, had rendered indispensable to their existence. Under this duress, all the tribes of the country responded to the call, though the Ottawas, Shawanese, Ohio Delawares and Senecas came with reluctance.

The object of the council was to secure the friendship and confidence of such as were wavering in their loyalty to Pontiac, and these now constituted the majority

*Loskiel; Heckewelder.

of the entire Indian population. Over two thousand warriors were present, all told. To each tribe, Sir William, with consummate skill, addressed a few words, calculated to turn their wills in favor of the English. A judicious distribution of presents and a moderate dispensation of tobacco and whisky did the rest. All that was expected now being accomplished, the different delegations separately withdrew, and the tumult that had reigned around Niagara for weeks finally died away, as the last savage band took up their march for their distant lodges in the wilderness, each with an increased respect for the English.

The way was now clear for the advance of Gen. Bradstreet's army, and, reinforced by 200 friendly Indians and a few companies of Canadian French, he embarked from Ft. Schlosser, above the Falls, on the 8th of August.* Coasting along the southern shore of Lake Erie, in accordance with his instructions from Gen. Gage to act against the Ohio Indians, he first landed at Presque Isle. Here a delegation of Shawanese and Delawares came to his camp with peace proposals.

The occasion was untimely for a treaty, and the little band who proposed it by no means represented the policy of their tribes. Bradstreet, however, waived the ordinary conventionalities of savage diplomacy, and made a treaty with them, based on the conditions that they should deliver up their captives. No harm could have come from this, had the conditions been fulfilled; but on the arrival of Bradstreet at Sandusky, the place assigned for the delivery of the captives, instead of doing this, the wily redskins amused him further by promising to conclude a definite treaty on his arrival at Detroit. By this clever ruse, the Ohio tribes had averted the vengeance of the English for a time; but ere long they were destined to answer to another officer, and be forced to fulfill the conditions which as yet they had evaded.

The summer was now well nigh spent, and Bradstreet took his departure from Sandusky, and, continuing his

* Alexander Henry had been redeemed with other captives, after being taken to Montreal, joined Bradstreet's army at Niagara, and returned as far as Detroit with him.

course along the lake shore, arrived at Detroit, his final destination, on the 26th of August. His force was too formidable for even the most hostile Indians to think of attacking, and his passage up the river was greeted with cheers from the Wyandots, who, the year before, had taken sixty captives from Cuyler's detachment, and had doubtless eaten their full share of the soup made of their flesh; but now they were ready to make peace, not because they were at heart better reconciled to the English, but because they were unable to protract the war for want of means.

The garrison were in transports as boat after boat pulled up to the landing opposite the fort, to supply their places with fresh men. The tedium of fifteen months' isolation from the freedom of the surrounding country was now relieved. Confinement, even in a palace filled with luxuries, soon becomes irksome. The glitter of its garnished walls palls upon the senses—the bounties of the board cloy the appetite—elastic cushions lose their comfort—and downy beds refuse rest. How, then, must the heart of the soldier rebound when released from his pent-up and comfortless barracks, and he is again allowed to go forth without the fear of being shot by the first one he meets!

After the first effusion of military courtesies was over, Bradstreet set about the business of the campaign; but, in truth, there was little to be accomplished. Pontiac, the moving spirit of the war, was at the Maumee Rapids, surrounded by a sort of forlorn hope of unrelenting spirits like himself, who were not yet cultured into a submissive frame of mind. The year before, Pontiac's confidence in the ability of the Indians to drive the English out of the country was unshaken; now he was a fugitive, and time was required to make a bridge of reconciliation over the intervening chasm—or, in other words, to come down to the practicable, and make the best of the situation.

As he could not yet do this, he refused to attend a council to which he had been invited by Bradstreet, to be held at Detroit on the 10th of September. The Ottawas were, however, represented by Wasson, the

chief who, in a fit of revenge, had slain the estimable Col. Campbell the previous year. The other belligerent tribes, except the Delawares and Shawanese, were represented by their respective chiefs; but the convention, lacking the true Indian spirit of reciprocity, was a tame affair.

Bradstreet demanded that they should become subjects of the king of England and call him father, to which the Indians assented, without comprehending the nature of the obligation. Wasson made a speech that, but for its brevity, might have been uttered by the Bishop of London: "Last year, God forsook us. God has now opened our eyes. It is God's will our hearts are altered; it is God's will there should be peace and tranquillity over the face of the earth and of the waters." Such were the words of the sentimental savage, who appears to have been the orator of the day on the part of the Indians.

When the council was over, Bradstreet sent a suitable force, under Capt. Howard, to take possession of and garrison the posts of Michilimackinac, Green Bay and Ste. Marie—all of which was accomplished without opposition.

He now started on his return, stopping at Sandusky on his way, to enforce the fulfillment of the slipshod treaty he had made with the Shawanese and Delawares on his outward passage. These tribes, however, were too cunning to be easily brought to terms. After wasting his time in procrastination till the season was too far advanced for warlike measures, Bradstreet hastily departed, without securing the rendition of a single captive or any other substantial marks of submission. For this inefficient conduct he was justly censured by Gen. Gage.

Let us now return to Ft. Pitt, from which the expedition under Bouquet was to penetrate the savage realms of the Indians, in places hitherto held sacred to barbarism, if the expression is admissible. It had been the intention of Gen. Gage to have Bradstreet at Sandusky, fighting the Wyandots and Delawares, while Bouquet was attacking the Indian towns on the Mus-

kingum; but this strategic co-operation miscarried, owing to the hindrances in getting the forces into the field, destined for the interior service under Bouquet.

It was not till the 5th of August that Bouquet's army was ready. Carlisle was its place of rendezvous. It consisted of the Pennsylvania provincials, 200 friendly Indians, and the 42d and 60th regiments of British regulars. On the 13th the army reached Ft. Loudon. Here Gen. Bouquet received a dispatch from Gen. Bradstreet, dated Presque Isle, August 14th, informing him of the treaty he had made at that place with the Delawares and Shawanese; but his quick penetration readily saw that Bradstreet had exceeded his instructions in making the treaty, and that it had no binding force with the Indians, and he pressed on with the campaign.

On his arrival at Ft. Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the opposite bank of the river, wishing to have a talk with him; but when boats were sent to ferry them over, only three ventured to go. These, not giving a consistent account of their good intentions, were detained as spies. On the 20th of September he tested the fidelity of one of them, by sending him to the Delawares and Shawanese, reminding them of certain hostile acts they had committed since they had signed the treaty with Bradstreet. This message delivered, he was to proceed to Detroit and deliver another at that place; in default of the faithful performance of which, the two remaining comrades of the messenger still in the custody of Bouquet, were to be put to death.

On the 3d of October all were ready, and the first white army of Americans that ever penetrated the interior of the West took up its march toward the heart of the Indian country. It numbered 1,500 men, besides teamsters and a goodly number of mothers whose children had been taken captive by the Indians; while among the soldiers were not a few whose wives had been abducted into savage captivity. On the 5th, the army reached Logstown, the place rendered memorable as the spot where Washington had held council with Half-King eleven years before.

On the 6th, continuing its course westwardly, it passed a village built by the French, and deserted by them when Forbes took Ft. Duquesne. On the 14th, while encamped in the valley of the Muskingum, the Indian messenger dispatched from Ft. Pitt with letters to Bradstreet, came in. He had been detained by the Delawares till Bouquet's army had penetrated the country, and, not desiring to keep him any longer, they had dispatched him back to Bouquet, to inform him that they would soon send in peace proposals.

Bouquet was now in the heart of the Indian country, and could easily descend upon the various Indian towns and destroy their crops, in case they should not comply with his demands. Of this the Indians were well aware, and, on the 17th, a large delegation of Seneca, Delaware and Shawanese chiefs came in with peace proposals.

The Delawares had violated their treaty made with Bradstreet at Presque Isle, and were at their wits' ends to know how to frame a plausible apology; but they made the best of the situation, smothered their pride, and asked for peace. To these overtures Bouquet, in stern language, reminded the Indians of their treachery and of the feeling of just resentment which filled the hearts of mothers, brothers, sisters and husbands of captives now in their possession.

These aggrieved relatives were on the spot to receive them; and he closed by saying, "I give you twelve days to deliver into my hands, at Wakatamake, all the prisoners in your possession, without exception—Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children, whether adopted in your tribes, married or living among you under any pretense whatever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions and horses to carry them to Ft. Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

The day of humiliation for the Indians had now come, from which there was no escape, and they made haste to do the bidding of Bouquet. Eighteen captives were

immediately brought in by the Delawares, and the other tribes made preparations to fulfill the required conditions, though the Shawanese, in their despair, were tormented between hope and fear, and at one time formed the cruel resolution to kill all the captives in their hands, under an impression that the English had come to destroy their whole tribe. Happily, however, this mistaken idea was corrected, and, on the 12th of the succeeding month, nearly all the captives had been brought in, and the final conference was held, a few miles distant from the place first appointed.

The number of captives brought in was 206, of whom 32 males and 58 females were from Virginia, and 49 males and 67 females from Pennsylvania. Many of them were children who had never known any other but Indian mothers, and were in no wise different from other children of the forest, except a slight distinction in the color of the skin, and even this had been darkly shaded by the sun and wind. They were now brought into the presence of their own mothers, from whose breasts they had been savagely torn during the French and Indian war; and many a mother's heart was filled with joy at the restoration of a long-lost child, whose uncertain fate had, ever since its capture, been a painful image of despair, relieved only by dreams of hope. Other mothers, who looked in vain among the captives for their lost children, were doomed to a redoubled sense of grief, as conviction was forced upon them that they had fallen victims to the tomahawk.

No small amount of tender persuasion was required to reconcile the redeemed waifs to their natural mothers, and when the parting scene came, their adopted mothers gave vent to tears and lamentations, which measured the depths of their affection for these objects of their care. Among the youth who still retained recollections of their native homes, many were unwilling subjects of rendition. Some of them had to be bound and brought in by force, and after they had been returned to civilized society, took the first favorable opportunity to escape from their kindred into savage life.

Among the adult captives, some of the young women had married Indian braves, and were living in harmonious marital relations with their lords, contented to do the drudgery of the lodge like good squaws. An example of fidelity on the part of a Mingo chief to a young female captive from Pennsylvania, whom he intended to make his wife, is recorded, which, in constancy and devotion, ought to satisfy the most exacting coquetry of courtly etiquette. With melting tenderness, he parted from the object of his affections at the camp where the captives were received, on the banks of the Muskingum, and, impelled by those emotions that lovers can understand better than the pen of History can describe, he hung about the camp, with no reasonable hope of ever seeing her again, and every day brought some choice bit of food for her. When the army of Bouquet withdrew, he followed it all the way to the frontiers, continuing his daily supply of choice game for the benefit of the mistress of his affections. Had he entered the settlements, he would have been shot at sight. Of this he was amply warned by the soldiers, and, just before reaching them, he reluctantly lingered behind, while the receding columns of the army that bore away his loved maiden vanished forever from his sight, when he retraced his long and lonesome path to the wilderness lodges of his people.

Bouquet left his camp on the 18th of November, and arrived at Ft. Pitt on the 28th. Here he left a garrison of regulars and withdrew with the volunteers and captives to the settlements. The succeeding January, 1765, the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted him a resolution of thanks for his efficient services. Virginia did the same soon afterward. The next year he went to Pensacola, where he died.

In vain may the records of progress in civilization be searched for a parallel to the episode presented at the rendition of these captives. Here two extremes came into rivalry with each other, unshackled by the influences which stimulate lazy intellects and feeble purposes by emulation in the world of culture and education. Savage life imposes no restraint upon the individual

except what might come from a loose estimate of social standing. A number of scalps taken from an enemy are essential to the reputation of a warrior, and a bountiful supply of game secures fame as a hunter. These honors are hedged in by no monopoly or intricate theories based on precedent, and it is no marvel that the simple child of the forest, whether a renegade from white settlements or an Indian, should stand appalled before the labyrinthine mazes through which a high niche may be attained in the great temple of civilization, and shrink from entering the lists of rivalry for a place in this temple, which appears like a sealed mystery to him.

Under this forlorn duress, he buries himself in the forest and studies the physical features of nature, with no possible clue to its grander beauties revealed by science. His wants are measured by nature's demands only—blind to the unfathomable depths of educated longings for more. Eccentric philosophy peculiar to frontier life, sometimes prefers the savage state, rather than brook the ills of what, with no impropriety, may be called the loose screws in our civilization, which time may tighten up, and perfect the beneficent fabric held together by them, into a great leveler of all distinctions not based on merit.

[NOTE.—Immediately after the return of Bouquet to Philadelphia, a book was published, giving a historical account of his expedition, which had excited universal emotions of gratitude. It was reprinted in London by T. Jefferies, shortly afterward, bearing date of 1766. It forms the basis of the foregoing account.]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Illinois Country—Slavery—The Lead Trade—La-Clede's Grant—Ft. Chartres—Settlement of St. Louis—Louisiana Ceded to Spain—The English under Major Loftus, Attempt to Penetrate to the Illinois Country by Way of the Mississippi—Are Repulsed—Geo. Croghan—He Advances to the Illinois Country—Is Taken Prisoner—Is Released—Holds a Council with His Indian Captors, and Brings Them to Terms Favorable to the English—Items from His Journal—The Illinois Country Taken Possession of by Captain Sterling—Proclamation of Gen. Gage—Early Governors of the Illinois Country—Pontiac in Council with Sir William Johnson—He Resigns His Ambitious Designs—His Death and Its Consequences—Chicago, the Indian Chief.

At the extreme verge of the settlements in the great interior the French villages of the Illinois country still nestled, in quietude, among the vine-clad bluffs of the Mississippi. Ever since 1720 the lead mines of Galena had been worked by individual enterprise, in which branch of industry the Indians had been sharers with the French. Philip Francis Reynault had been the prime mover in this trade; the same who in 1720 had introduced slavery among the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the adjacent villages, to work the mines under the impression that the country abounded in mineral wealth. The lead trade, besides the trades in peltries and furs, had been turned toward New Orleans since Fort Frontenac had been taken in 1758, during the height of the late war; and now that it had terminated

in despoiling the French of all their American possessions east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, it was in the natural course of events that they should, by every means in their power, exert themselves to secure the trade of the Upper Mississippi to themselves, by making New Orleans, which was still a French port, a commercial outlet to the sea, for the still immense possessions of France west of the Mississippi river.

With this end in view, Pierre Liguette La Clede, in 1763, obtained a grant for trading in the upper country, from M. D. Abbadie, the French Governor of Louisiana, which territory embraced the entire country on the immediate west bank of the Mississippi, of which New Orleans, on the east bank, was the metropolis. He immediately organized a company under the style of La Clede, Maxon & Co., purchased a stock of goods, and starting up the river, reached a small missionary station named St. Genevieve, on the 3d of November. Here he would have fixed his headquarters, but as he could find no place to store his goods, he crossed the Mississippi and established himself at Ft. Chartres.

Though the place was still in French possession, it was liable at any time to be shadowed by an English flag, according to the treaty of peace; and to establish himself permanently under French rule, he determined to lay out a town on the west bank of the river, as a grand commercial center to which the trade of the Upper Mississippi should tend. Everything was made ready on the 15th of February, 1764, and this was the date when the ground was first scarred for his trading post, where the city of St. Louis now stands. Shortly afterward he laid out streets from which began the great city whose marvelous growth has found no rival in the whole interior, except Chicago; nor did its rivalry begin until a late period, even within the memory of many of her present citizens.

Its name, after Louis XIV, is a monument, grand as it is enduring, of early French power in America. That the site was well chosen, her future greatness has proved. Here the hydraulic forces of nature, if rivers may be called such, gather their tributary waters, from

the Alleghanies to the Rocky mountains, to a common center, not distant from the site of the city, while below the mouth of the Ohio, not a spot could be found above New Orleans which could command extensive connections by navigable waters, with any large amount of territory.

Many of the inhabitants of the Illinois country crossed the river and joined La Clede's settlement, in order to remain under the rule of their native land, but, alas for their loyalty to the lilies! The French king had already, on November 2d, 1762, by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, ceded Louisiana to Spain, and ere a year's residence, they were astonished by the publication of the treaty which made them subjects of Spain—a country which they despised.

When the news came, it was received in New Orleans with a storm of indignation—taxing the utmost efforts of the officers of the French crown to suppress a rebellion on the spot, rather than come under Spanish rule. Abbadie, the governor, was in feeble health, and the universal discontent weighed heavily upon him, when, as if to add to the general turmoil, an importunate delegation of Indians came to him from Pontiac, begging assistance wherewith to renew the war against the English. These could not be turned away without a respectful hearing, which was granted, and a softened reply made by the amiable official, who survived the accumulated agitation but two or three days, passing away with his mind distracted by the vanishing fortunes of French power in America.

The destinies of the immense interior, with its forests and prairies, its rivers and its lakes, spread out in a mysterious expanse on the face of nature, were now, by the fortunes of war, secured to the English; but how to take possession of them was yet a problem not fully solved. In 1764 the English took possession of Florida by virtue of a treaty with Spain of the preceding year,* and from thence an English post was established on

*During the American Revolution in 1781, the Spaniards wrested Florida from the English, and at the Peace of Paris in 1783, it was guaranteed to that power, and retained till it was ceded to the United States by Spain, in 1818.

Bayou Manchæ, on the Mississippi river. From the latter place Major Loftus was ordered to push his way up the Mississippi with a force of 300 men, to take possession of the Illinois country.

While laboring against the current on his way, with his lumbersome barges, he was suddenly attacked by the Tunica Indians, who poured a volley of shot among his men, first from one side of the river and next from the other, when he immediately retreated to Pensacola; and the scheme of reaching the Illinois country by the way of the Mississippi was indefinitely postponed, or rather substituted by a more direct approach to it by the way of the Ohio.* and up the Mississippi when it was reached. This route would bring the English direct to Ft. Chartres, the stronghold of the French, without a wilderness march among a people whose love for them and their allies in the late war had become a passion.

The situation was complicated by a triple combination of adverse influences, and required the utmost discretion on the part of those intrusted with it to overcome the obstacles in the way of establishing English authority in this remote frontier, where a unanimous feeling went against it.

The year before Pontiac had been there, and exhausted his powers of savage rhetoric to enlist the French in his desperate cause, and renew the attack on the English. The discreet St. Ange, who held military command of the country, was at his wits' end to know

* In a letter from James Rivington, of New York, to Sir Wm. Johnson, dated February 20th, 1764, the following passage occurs, which is inserted to show the forlorn character with which any attempt to penetrate the interior at that time was regarded: "The 22d Regiment, consisting of 300 men under Major An. Loftus, is gone up the Mississippi to take post (if they can) at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country. Query, how many will return to give accounts of the rest?" At the close of the letter, speaking of Gen Amherst, he says: "The ship New Hope arrived from England on Saturday morning; in her came an officer who affirms that there is an extreme great outcry against Gen. Amherst, w^{ch} is supported by all the army that served in America now in England, and that Col. Lee, of y^e 44th, is now employing himself in writing upon the conduct of that officer during his command in this country."

MSS. papers of Sir William Johnson; see Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II, p. 809.

[It is evident that the glorious termination of the war was due more to the soldiers than to the leadership of Amherst, whose Procrustean rules were ill adapted to bush fighting.—AUTHOR.]

how to answer the importunate hero whose schemes were as impracticable as his popularity was universal; but, by dint of much circumspection, managed to preserve his good fellowship with the Indians by a very respectful demeanor toward Pontiac, while he declined any aid to his cause. The irresponsible traders, however, did not share this wise policy which would bring no grists to their mill, whatever it might do for the public good; for when the English came, they would have to either take a subordinate interest under them, or quit their calling. Under this contingency, they did their utmost to inflame the minds of the Indians against the English.

Even in those primitive times commercial rivalry between the northern route to the sea, by the way of the Ohio, in competition with the already established thoroughfare of the Mississippi, was not without its influence; and a double precaution became necessary in the next attempt to penetrate these outermost bounds of French settlements, which had as yet enjoyed an uninterrupted peace during the past ten years of sanguinary war.

Sir William Johnson, who was Superintendent of Indian affairs, had in his employ an able officer named George Croghan, who acted as his deputy at distant points beyond his reach, and he was selected by Gen. Gage, as the fittest person known to advance into the country still held by the French, and influence both them and the Indians in favor of the English, as a preparatory step to pave the way for the force which was soon to follow. Fort Pitt was the place from which he was to embark on his dangerous mission, but he was detained here a month to receive the last installment of captives from the Shawanese, which had been promised to Bouquet the year before, and who could not be delivered to him at that time on account of their absence on a hunt.

Meantime, inauspicious news came to hand from the interior, which admonished Croghan that the sooner he arrived among the conquered but vacillating subjects of the king in the Illinois country, the less difficult would be the task of reconciliation. In his command was a cele-

brated frontierer named Fraser—the same who had pushed across the mountains in 1753, and established a trading station on the Alleghany river. He volunteered to start in advance of Croghan, as an emissary of English power at the place in question, and with a hardihood seldom equaled, pushed his canoe, with a few attendants, down the Ohio river to Ft. Massac; thence he made his way across the country to the French villages of the Illinois country. He was well received at first, but he had not remained long till the French traders conspired to take his life by means of exciting the Indians against him, and would certainly have accomplished their purpose, but for the interposition of Pontiac, who was there, and whose potent influence was barely sufficient to save him from being tomahawked.

Early in May, true to their agreement, the faithful Shawanese brought in the promised captives, and delivered them to Croghan at Ft. Pitt; and all things now being ready, he embarked on the 15th, 1765, with a few white companions and a “number of friendly Indians,” says his journal.

On the 19th, while on his way down the river, he sent a message to the Shawanese villages to order them to bring the French traders who were among them to the mouth of the Scioto river, as they could no longer be suffered to trade there without a permit from “His Excellency,” Gen. Gage. On his arrival at the place, which was on the 26th, the Indians were promptly on the spot with the traders, seven in number, for the lesson Bouquet had taught them, the year before, was too impressive to be soon forgotten, and they dared not disobey. After delivering the Frenchmen into the custody of Croghan, they declared that nothing should be left undone on their part to convince the English of their sincerity in the interests of peace. Having satisfactorily arranged his official business with the submissive Shawanese, he proceeded on his way, and arrived at the mouth of the Wabash river on the 6th of June, where he made a halt for some prudential purpose, not stated in his journal.

No English delegation had ever before penetrated so far down the river, except Fraser's party, and he soon found that the Indians in these deep recesses of the forest had not yet been tempered into that submissive frame of mind that had but recently manifested itself among the Shawanese. Here he remained encamped till the 8th, when he was attacked at daybreak by eighty Kickapoo and Musquatamie warriors.

Five of his men were killed, three of whom were his Shawanese allies, and he himself was slightly wounded. He had with him an amount of gold and silver, which, with his goods, was taken by his captors. The Indians were released, but Croghan with his men was taken to Vincennes. They arrived there on the 15th, where was a French village of eighty houses, and an Indian village of the Pyankeshas close by. Here, for half a century, the two races had been living in loving relations with each other, in this wilderness recluse, under the dense shades of the beech, sugar, oak and elm forest trees that attain unusual heights in the rich bottoms of the Wabash, shutting out the rays of the sun from the black, alluvial soil. Here he found old acquaintances among the Indians, who, aware of his official position, severely reprimanded his captors, though his journal does not inform us that either the goods or money of which he had been robbed were restored; but though a captive, he was treated with respect.

Wishing to write to St. Ange, who held command of the Illinois towns, he applied to the French inhabitants of the place for paper, which they gave him, but not till the consent of the Indians had been obtained. After writing the letter and dispatching it by an Indian messenger, his Indian friends, in whose custody he now was, conducted him up the Wabash river to Ouatanon, arriving there on the 23d.

Here he found more Indian acquaintances, who were very civil to the distinguished captive. But on the first of July a Frenchman arrived from the Illinois villages with a belt and speech from an unrelenting Shawanese savage, who, instead of submitting to the peace his tribe had made with Bouquet, had fled to this

distant post in the vain hope that he was out of the reach of the English. The substance of the speech was that the prisoner should be burnt. But instead of listening to such counsels they immediately set him at liberty, with assurances that they despised the message. The liberated captive now held counsels with the various Indian tribes of the country, including those who had captured him, and obtained their consent for the English to take possession of any posts in the country held by the French.

On the 18th he set out for the Illinois villages, but on the way met an important delegation of Six Nation and Shawanese chiefs, among whom was the distinguished Pontiac. The whole party now returned to Ouatanon, and Croghan succeeded in explaining everything to the entire satisfaction of all the chiefs, Pontiac himself not dissenting from the all-prevailing sentiment in favor of submission to the English.

It appears from various items in his journal that some of the inconsolable French of the country had told the Indians that the English intended to take their country from them and give it to the Cherokees, but Croghan happily succeeded in dispelling this mistaken apprehension; and notwithstanding the unpropitious beginning of his mission, it proved a decided success, and owing to his able method of influencing the savage mind, he managed to turn his defeat to good account, as the result of that natural recoil which is shown alike in the savage and the cultured mind, when inconsiderate and hasty action has gone beyond the median line of a just or a practicable policy.

Having then accomplished all for which his mission was intended without going to the Illinois country he wrote to Gen. Gage, Sir William Johnson and Major Murray, who then held command of Fort Pitt, informing them of the pacific temper of the Indian mind, and on the 25th set out for Detroit, arriving there on the 17th of August. Here he met two Frenchmen named Dequanu and Waobicomica, with a deputation of Indians from Sir William Johnson, as the bearers of messages to Pontiac and the western tribes. Col. Campbell, who

now held command of Detroit, convened a council of various tribes, whose representatives were already on the spot in obedience to council belts which had been sent to each tribe in the country by Bradstreet the year before, while on his mission to relieve the place from siege.

Complete submission to the English was the universal policy now. The Miami Pyankeshas and Kickapoos begged to be forgiven for the inconsiderate action of their young men, and hoped their English fathers would have pity on their necessities and give them a little clothing and a little rum to drink on the road, as they had come a great way. The Wyandots asked for no rum or any other favors, but with a commendable spirit of statesmanship, exhorted the western tribes to behave well toward their "English fathers, who had taken them under their protection," and by so doing, become "a happy people"; that "all nations toward the rising sun had taken them by the hand, and would never let slip the chain of friendship so happily renewed."

The following items in the journal of Croghan are inserted *verbatim*, as no other words could be chosen of equal historic value, to show the situation at that time :

"24th. We had another meeting with the several nations, when the Waweetonans, Tawightwis, Pyankeshas, Kickapoos and Musquatamies made several speeches to Colonel Campbell and me, in presence of all the other nations, when they acknowledged themselves to be the children of the king of Great Britain; and further acknowledged that they had at Weetonan, before they came here, given up the sovereignty of their country to me for his majesty, and promised to support his subjects in taking possession of all the posts given up by the French, their former fathers, to the English, now their present fathers; all which they confirmed with a belt.

"25th. We had another meeting with the same Indians, when Colonel Campbell and I made them several speeches in answer to theirs of the 23d and 24th. Then delivered them a road belt, in the name of Sir William Johnson, baronet, to open a road from the

rising to the setting of the sun; which we charged them to keep open through their country, and cautioned them to stop their ears against the stories or idle reports of evil minded people, and continue to promote the good works of peace; all which they promised to do in a most sincere manner.

"26th. Colonel Campbell and I made those nations some presents, when, after taking leave of us, they set off for their own country, well satisfied.

"27th. We had a meeting with Pontiac and all the Ottawa tribes, Chippewas and Pottewatomies, with the Hurons of this place, and the chiefs of those settled at Sandusky and the Miami river, when we made them the following speeches:"

The speeches are brief, and relate chiefly to their keeping the peace in sincerity and good faith. On the following day, or the 28th of August, they had another meeting with the Indians, when Pontiac made the following speech, which is worth preserving, as coming from so celebrated a man:

"Father—We have all smoked of this pipe of peace. It is your children's pipe, and as the war is all over, and the Great Spirit and Giver of Light, who has made the earth, and everything therein, has brought us all together this day for our mutual good, to promote the good works of peace, I declare to all nations that I have settled my peace with you before I came here, and now deliver my pipe to be sent to Sir William Johnson, that he may know I have made peace, and taken the king of England for my father, in presence of all the nations now assembled, and whenever any of those nations go to visit him, they may smoke out of it with him in peace. Fathers, we are obliged to you for lighting up our old council fire for us, and desiring us to return to it; but we are now settled on the Miami river, not far from hence; whenever you want us, you will find us there ready to wait on you. The reason why I choose to stay where we are now settled is, that we love liquor, and to be so near this as we formerly lived, our people would be always drunk, which might occasion some quarrels between the soldiers and our people. This, father, is

all the reason I have for our not returning to our old settlements; and where we live is so nigh this place, that when we want to drink, we can easily come for it. [Gave a large pipe with a belt of wampum tied to it.]

"Father—Be strong and take pity on us, your children, as our former father did. It is just the hunting season of your children. Our fathers, the French, formerly used to credit his children, for powder and lead to hunt with. I request, in behalf of all the nations present, that you will speak to the traders now here, to do the same. My father, once more I request that you tell your traders to give your children credit for a little powder and lead, as the support of our families depends upon it. We have told you where we live, not far from here, that whenever you want us, and let us know, we will come directly to you. [A belt.]

"Father—You have stopped up the rum barrel, when we came here, until the business of this meeting was over. As it is now finished, we request you may open the barrel, that your children may drink and be merry."

There were present at this treaty about thirty chiefs and five hundred warriors. A list of the tribes is given, and the names of the chiefs. This was the last public transaction, in which Pontiac was engaged with the English.*

"29th. A deputation of several nations set out from Detroit for the Illinois country, with several messages from me to the Wyandots, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, and other nations, in answer to theirs, delivered to me at Weetonan.

"30th. The chiefs of the several nations who are settled on Ouabache, returned to the Detroit, from the river Roche, where they had been encamped, and informed Colonel Campbell and me they were now going for their own country; and that nothing gave them greater pleasure than to see, that all the western nations and tribes had agreed to a general peace, and that they should be glad how soon their fathers, the

*A historical error of Hildreth, the editor of Croghan's Journal. Pontiac attended a convention at Oswego, the next year, called by Sir William Johnson.—AUTHOR.

English, would take possession of the posts in their country, which had formerly been in possession of their late fathers, the French, to open a trade for them; and if this could not be done this fall, they desired that some traders might be sent to their villages, to supply them for the winter, or else they would be obliged to go to the Illinois, to apply to their old fathers, the French, for such necessaries as they might want.

"They then spoke on a belt, and said: 'Fathers, everything is now settled, and we have agreed to your taking possession in our country. We have been informed that the English wherever they settle, make the country their own; and you tell us that when you conquered the French, they gave you this country. That no difference may happen hereafter, we tell you the French never purchased a foot of our country, nor have they a right to give it to you. We gave them liberty to settle, and they were always very civil to us, when they had it in their power; but as they now are become your people, if you expect to keep those posts as your own property, we will expect to have equivalent made us, for such parts of our country as you may want to possess.' [A belt.]

"September 2nd. The chiefs of the Wyandots, or Hurons, came to me and said they had spoke last summer, to Sir William Johnson, at Niagara, about the lands on which the French had settled near Detroit, belonging to them, and desired I would mention it again to him; that they never had sold it to the French, and expected their new fathers, the English, would do them justice, as the French was become one people with us. [A belt.]

"4th. Pondiac, with several chiefs of the Hurons, Chippewas and Pottawatemies, likewise complained that the French had settled part of their country, which they never had sold to them, and hoped their fathers, the English, would take it into consideration, and see that a proper satisfaction was made to them; that their country was very large, and they were willing to give up any part of it that was necessary for their fathers, the English, to carry on trade—provided they

were paid for it, and a sufficient part of the country left for them to hunt on. [A belt.]

"6th. The Saginaw Indians came here and made a speech on a belt of wampum, expressing their satisfaction on hearing that a general peace was made with all the western nations and with Pontiac. They desired a little powder and lead, to enable them to hunt on their way home, and a little rum, to drink their new father's health. [A belt.]"

N. B. The transactions of the 9th and 11th are written with such poor ink, and are so faded, that they cannot be deciphered.

"12th. The grand sauton, and a party of Ottawas and Chippewas, from Chicago, sent me word that they would come in the morning and see me.

"13th. The grand sauton came, with his band, and spoke as follows :

" 'Father—You sent me a belt from the Miami, and as soon as I received it I set off to meet you here. On my way, I heard what has passed between you and the several tribes that met you here. You have had pity on them; and I beg, in behalf of myself and the people of Chicago, that you will have pity on us also. It is true we have been foolish, and listened to evil reports and the whistling of bad birds. We red people are a very jealous people; and, father, among you white people there are bad people also, that tell us lies and deceive us, which has been the occasion of what is past. I need not say much on this head. I am now convinced I have been wrong led for some years past. But there are people that have behaved worse than I and my people, and you have pardoned them. I hope you to do the same to us, that our women and children may enjoy the blessings of peace, as the rest of our brethren, the red people; and you shall be convinced, by our future conduct, that we will behave as well as any tribe of your children in this country.' [A belt.]

"He then said, the St. Joseph Indians would have come along with me, but the English prisoner, which their fathers want from them, was some distance off a-hunting. As soon as they could get him, they

would deliver him up, and beg forgiveness of their fathers, as they did at present.

“14th. I had a private meeting with the grand sauton, when he told me he was well disposed for peace last fall, but was then sent for to the Illinois, where he met with Pondiac, and that then their fathers, the French, told them, if they would be strong, and keep the English out of the possession of that country by this summer, that the king of France would send over an army next spring to assist his children, the Indians; and that the king of Spain would likewise send troops, to help them to keep the English out of the country; that the English were a bad people, and had a design to cut off all the Indian nations in this country, and to bring the southern Indians to live and settle there, This account made all the Indians very uneasy in their minds; and, after holding a council among themselves, they all determined to oppose the English, and not suffer them to take possession of the Illinois; that, for his part, he behaved as ill as the rest to the British officers that went there this spring; but since, he has been better informed of the goodness of the English, and convinced the French told them lies for the love of their beavers. He was now determined, with all his people, to become faithful and dutiful children to their new fathers, the English, and pay no regard to any stories the French should tell him in future.

“15th. Colonel Campbell and I had a meeting with the grand sauton, at which we informed him of everything that had passed with the several nations and tribes; and told him we accepted him and his people in friendship, and would forgive them as we had the rest of the tribes, and forget what was past, provided their future conduct should convince us of their sincerity, After which we gave them some presents, for which he returned thanks, and departed very well satisfied.

“19th. I received a letter from Colonel Reed, by express, acquainting me of Captain Sterling setting out from Fort Pitt, with a hundred men of the forty-second regiment, to take possession of Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country.

“20th. I sent off Aaron Andrew, express to Captain Sterling at the Illinois, and with messages to the several nations in that country, and those on the Ouabache, to acquaint them of Captain Sterling’s departure from Fort Pitt for the Illinois country.

“25th. The chiefs of the St. Joseph Indians arrived, and addressed themselves to Colonel Campbell and me, as follows :

“ ‘Fathers—We are come here to see you, although we are not acquainted with you. We had a father, formerly, with whom we were very well acquainted, and never differed with him. You have conquered him some time ago; and when you came here first, though your hands were all bloody, you took hold of us by the hands, and used us well, and we thought we should be happy with our brethren. But soon an unlucky difference happened, which threw us all into confusion. Where this arose we do not know, but we assure you we were the last that entered into the quarrel. The Indians of this place solicited us often to join them, but we would not listen to them. At last they got the better of our foolish young warriors, but we never agreed to it; we knew it would answer no end, and told them often they were fools, and if they succeeded in killing the few English in this country, they would not kill them all, because we knew you to be a great people.

“ ‘Fathers—You have, after all that has happened, received all the several tribes in this country for your children. We from St. Joseph seem to be the last of your children that came to you to beg mercy. We are no more than wild creatures to you, fathers, in understanding; therefore we request you to forgive the past follies of our young people, and receive us for your children. Since you have thrown down our former father on his back, we have been wandering in the dark, like blind people. Now you have dispersed all this darkness, which hung over the heads of the several tribes, and have accepted them for your children; we hope you will let us partake with them the light, that our women and children may enjoy peace. We beg

you to forget all that is past. By this belt we remove all evil thoughts from your hearts.' [A belt.]

"They added further: 'Fathers—When we formerly came to visit our fathers, the French, they always sent us home joyful, and we hope you, fathers, will have pity on our women and young men, who are in great want of necessaries, and not let us go home to our towns ashamed.'

"Colonels Campbell and Croghan made them a favorable answer, and added presents of powder, lead, vermilion, clothing and two kegs of rum, ending the interview with these remarks:

"'Children—I take this opportunity to tell you that your fathers, the English, are gone down the Ohio from Fort Pitt, to take possession of the Illinois, and desire you may acquaint all your people of it on your return home; and likewise desire you to stop your ears against the whistling of bad birds (meaning the French), and mind nothing but your hunting to support your families, that your women and children may enjoy the blessings of peace.'

"26th. I left Detroit and arrived, October 3d, at Niagara. Here I met some Senecas with whom I had a meeting, and informed them of my transactions with the several nations, and desired them to inform their people of it on their return home, which they promised me they would.

"October 11th. Set off from Niagara, and arrived the 17th at Ontario, where I met the Bunt and several sachems of the Onondagas, with whom I had a meeting, and informed them what had passed between me and the western nations.

"19th. I set off from Ontario, and arrived at Fort Stanwix the 21st."

Col. Croghan's Report to Sir William Johnson, Supt. of Indian Affairs:

"Sir—Having now returned from the services I was sent upon by His Excellency General Gage, namely, the obtaining the Indians' consent to our possessing the important posts at the Illinois, I present your honor

with a journal of my transactions with the several nations and tribes in that country, for your perusal.

“In the situation I was placed at Weotonan* with great numbers of Indians about me; and with no necessities, such as paper and ink, I had it not in my power to take down all the speeches made by the Indian nations, nor what I said to them, in so particular a manner as I could wish; but hope the heads of them, as I have taken them down, will meet your approbation.

“In the course of this tour through the Indian country, I made it my study to converse in private with Pondiac and several of the chiefs of the several nations, as often as opportunity served, in order to find out their sentiments of the French and English. Pondiac is a shrewd, sensible Indian, of few words, and commands more respect among his own nation than any Indian I ever saw could do among his own tribe. He and all the principal men of those nations seem at present to be convinced that the French had a view of interest in stirring up the late difference between his majesty's subjects and them, and call it a beaver war; for neither Pondiac, nor any of the Indians I met with, ever pretended to deny that the French were at the bottom of the whole, and constantly supplied them with every necessary they wanted as far as in their power. And notwithstanding they are at present convinced that it was for their own interest, yet it has not changed the Indians' affection for them. They have been bred up together like children in that country, and the French have always adopted the Indian customs and manners, treated them civilly, and supplied their necessities generally, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians, and commanded their services, and enjoyed the benefits of a very advantageous fur trade. They well know if they had not taken these measures they could not enjoy these advantages.

“The French have in a manner taught the Indians in that country to hate the English, by representing

*This name should be spelled Ouatanon. It is pronounced We-a-ta-non, which doubtless was the cause of Croghan's incorrect way of spelling it; he probably never having seen it written.—AUTHOR.

them in the worst light they could, on all occasions; in particular they have made the Indians there believe, lately, that the English would take their country from them, and bring the Cherokees there to settle and enslave them; which report they easily gave credit to, as the southern Indians had lately commenced a war against them. I had great difficulty in removing this suspicion, and convincing them of the falsity of the report, which I flatter myself I have done in a great measure.

“It will require some time, and a very even conduct in those that are to reside in their country, before we can expect to rival the French in their affections. All Indians are jealous, and from their high notions of liberty, hate power. Those nations are jealous and prejudiced against us, so that the greatest care will be necessary to convince them of our honest intentions by our actions.

“The French sold them goods much dearer than the English traders do at present. In that point we have the advantage over the French, but they made that up in large presents to them, for their services, which they wanted to support their interest in the country; and although we want none of their services, yet they will expect favors, and if refused, take it in a bad light, and very likely think it done to distress them, for some particular advantage we want to gain over them. They are by no means *so sensible a people as the Six Nations*, or other tribes this way; and the French, for their own advantage, have learned them a bad custom; for, by all I could learn, they seldom made them any general present, but as it were, fed them with necessaries just as they wanted, tribe by tribe, and never sent them away empty, which will make it difficult and troublesome to the gentlemen that are to command in their country, for some time, to please them and preserve peace, as they are rash, inconsiderate people, and do not look on themselves as under any obligation to us, but rather think we are obliged to them for letting us reside in their country.

"As far as I can judge of their sentiments, by the several conversations I have had with them, they will expect some satisfaction made them by us, for any posts that may be established in their country for trade. But you will be informed better by themselves next spring, as Pontiac and some chiefs of every nation in that country, intend to pay you a visit.

"The several nations on the Ouabache and toward the Illinois, St. Josephs, Chicago, La Baye, Saginaw and other places, have applied for traders to be sent to their settlements. As it was not in the power of any officer to permit traders to go from Detroit, or Michilimackinac, either English or French, I am of the opinion the Indians will be supplied chiefly this year from the Illinois, which is all French property; and if trading posts are not established at proper places in that country soon, the French must carry the best part of the trade over the Mississippi. This they are determined to do, if they can; for I have been informed that they are preparing to build a strong trading fort on the other side of the Mississippi, about sixty miles above Fort Chartres, and have this summer, in a private manner, transported twenty-six pieces of small cannon up the river for that purpose.

"I am with great esteem and regard, your honor's most obedient and most humble servant,

"GEO. CROGHAN.

"To the Honorable Sir William Johnson, General, his majesty's sole agent for Indian affairs."

This letter has no date, but was probably written soon after Colonel Croghan's arrival at Fort Stanwix, which was October 21, 1765, as it is attached to his journal of transactions.

In accordance with the original plan, as soon as the success of Croghan's mission became known, the military commission which was to follow it, embarked from Ft.

NOTE.—Col. Croghan's journal has been published in the last edition of Butler's History of Kentucky, but is not as correctly rendered as in Hildredth's Pioneer History, from which the foregoing is taken. He took it from the original manuscript preserved among Col. Morgan's papers, who was subsequently appointed Indian agent.

Pitt in the autumn of the same year—1765. It consisted of about 120 men from the 42d Regiment of Highlanders, under Capt. Sterling. They arrived at Ft. Chartres, by the way of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, late in the autumn, and for the first time, the Lilies of France fell from the flagstaff, and the Cross of Saint George rose in its place on the banks of the Mississippi. This was the last official act in the great drama which had despoiled France of her transcendent aspirations on the American continent.

The following proclamation from Gen. Gage was issued by Capt. Sterling, on his arrival:

“Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon, we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

“That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada; he has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman church, in the same manner as in Canada;

“That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants, or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, may retire, in full safety and freedom, wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any part of Louisiana, although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty; and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts or of criminal process;

“That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons

and effects, and liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king;

"That they are commanded, by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of *Sieur Sterling*, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose;

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding by a wise and prudent demeanor all cause of complaint against them;

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the posts, and order be kept in the country; by this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at headquarters, New York. Signed with our hand, sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our Secretary, this 30th December, 1764. THOMAS GAGE. [L. s.]

"By His Excellency,

"G. MATURIN."

This proclamation quieted the apprehensions of the French, some of whom had fled to St. Louis on the arrival of the English. Capt. Sterling died three months after his arrival, and early the next spring the English troops went down the Mississippi, and took a vessel from Pensacola for Philadelphia, arriving there on the 15th of June, leaving the place without a garrison.*

Major Fraser† succeeded Captain Sterling as military governor, who, after a short term, was succeeded

* Col. Records of Pa., Vol. IX, p. 318.

† Both Peck and Brown erroneously give this commandant's name as Farmer. It should be Fraser, the same who first advanced to the place from Ft. Pitt.

by Col. Reed. The latter made himself odious to the French inhabitants by an oppressive system of legislation, ill-suited to the former subjects of the benevolent St. Ange. The next in command was Col. Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia September 5th, 1768. On the 21st of November following, he received orders from Gen. Gage to establish a court of justice.

Seven judges were immediately appointed, and the first English court ever convened in Illinois held its sessions at Fort Chartres, December 9th, 1768. It is not known how long Wilkins remained in office, or what English governor succeeded him. It is known, however, that St. Ange returned from St. Louis, and again acted as Governor of Illinois, after having acted in a similar capacity over the Spanish town across the river.*

Pontiac attended the great Indian Peace Council, convened at Oswego in 1766, by Sir William Johnson, agreeable to his promise made to Croghan at Detroit.

Here, with eloquence, he resigned his mighty ambitions to the "will of the Great Spirit, who had decreed that his race should be friends to the English," and put the seal of sincerity upon his words, with a large belt of wampum. Leaving the council, he started in his canoe for his home on the Maumee, loaded with presents from Johnson to take to his wives.

Three years later he appeared in St. Louis, clad in the full uniform of a French officer, which had been presented him by the celebrated Montcalm ten years before. Thus accoutered, he crossed over to the Illinois shore to attend a social gathering at Cahokia. Here he joined in the tumultuous gaiety of frontier life, to which the whisky bottle contributed its full measure of influence. He soon became intoxicated, when a miscreant of the Illinois tribe stealthily crept up behind and dispatched him with a hatchet. St. Ange, at this time Governor of St. Louis, conveyed his body over the river and buried it with the honors of war, beside the fort.

A barrel of whisky was the reward which the assassin received for the bloody deed, and an English fur trader,

* Reynold's Hist. of Ill., p. 60.

named Williamson, was the infamous giver and instigator of the disgraceful work. The Illinois tribes approved the act under a similar misapprehension, but they soon paid dearly for it. The northern tribes, to whom the name of Pontiac was still dear, were stung to madness, and nearly exterminated them in the fearful vengeance which was soon visited upon their heads. The horrors of Starved Rock grew out of this vengeful war; where, as tradition has it, a large band of Illinois took refuge for safety, but were hemmed in on all sides till the whole band died with the lingering torments of starvation.

The Illinois tribes never recovered from this blow, especially as their potent allies, the French, could no longer protect them as they had done ever since 1685, in the days of La Salle and Tonty, a period running through three generations. In 1736, when the Illinois tribes were in their glory under their alliances with the French, D. Artagutte, the dashing Canadian, applied to them for assistance in their war against the Chickasaws, in the far-off regions of the present State of Mississippi, between whom and the French of New Orleans a sanguinary war was raging.

Chicago, the sapient chief, who was named long after the Chicago portage was known by the same honorable appellation, entered heartily into D. Artagutte's plans, and at the head of 500 braves followed him to the country of the Chickasaws, where they were to join their force to that of Bienville, to act in conjunction against the formidable enemy. Bienville failed to reach the destined place appointed for the junction, but the undaunted Illinois, with the fifty French soldiers who accompanied them, led on by Artagutte, succeeded in taking two Chickasaw forts, but on attacking the third and last, Artagutte fell wounded, and was taken prisoner. Thus repulsed, Chicago led his men back to the Illinois,* and the victorious Chickasaws bore in triumph savage trophies of their victory to Oglethorpe, the Governor of Georgia, with whom they were in alliance.

* Monette's Miss. Val., Vol. I, pp. 286, 287.

CHAPTER IX.

The English Attempt to Prevent Settlements beyond the Ohio River—Early Commercial Policy—The Northwest Annexed to Canada—Battle of Point Pleasant—Logan—Revolutionary Sentiments on the Frontier—Girty, Elliot and McKee—The Continental Congress—The Issue among the Indians—Expeditions against St. Joseph—George Rogers Clark—His Expedition against the Illinois Country and Vincennes—Indian Council at Cahokia—Father Gibault—Francis Vigo—War Declared between England and Spain—Its Effect on the Illinois Country.

With nations as with individuals, a sudden accumulation of power or wealth bewilders the senses, at first, till time can reduce the accelerated force applied to the driving wheels, or, in other words, restore tranquillity to the overstimulated brain. Though England has never been conspicuous for such infirmities, yet she was not proof against them, and when her crown became enriched by the acquisition of the Valley of the Mississippi, her first determination was to prevent any settlers from appropriating any part of the acquired territory, and to this end King George III issued the following instructions:

“GEORGE, R.

“[L. s.] Instructions to our well beloved John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of our Province of Pennsylvania, in America, given at our Court of St. James, the 24th day of October, 1765, in the Fifth year of our Reign.

“Whereas, it hath been represented unto us that several persons from Pennsylvania and the back settlements of Virginia have migrated to the westward of the Alleghany mountains, and these have seated themselves on lands contiguous to the river Ohio, in express disobedience to our Royal Proclamation of October, 1763, it is therefore our Will and Pleasure, and you are hereby strictly enjoined and required to use your best endeavors to suppress such unwarrantable proceedings, and to put a stop to these and other the like encroachments for the future, by causing all persons belonging to the province under your government who have thus irregularly seated themselves on Lands to the westward of the Alleghany mountains immediately to evacuate those settlements, and that you do enforce, as far as you are able, a more strict obedience to our commands signified in Our Said Royal Proclamation, and provide against any future Violence thereof. G. R.”*

What ambitious end England had in view through this impracticable scheme has never been brought to light, but it is no far-fetched deduction, that in her overweening care to provide for her nobility by birth, as well as those knighted for services to the state, she intended to parcel out the fairest portions of the acquired territory for their benefit. But if such a dream had ever entered the brain of any loyal representative of English power, the illusion was soon dispelled by the wide-spread and irrepressible pioneer spirit of her Colonial subjects along the Atlantic coast. Had these been tempered after the pattern of the Canadian French, such a scheme could have been made a success, but destiny never decreed them to become the willing instruments of their own subordination to any power above that of their own creation, and the allurements of the forest soon became irresistible to the ambitious spirits of young Anglo-Saxon blood, chafing to distinguish themselves by a bold push into the wilderness.

* NOTE.—Besides the Royal Proclamation referred to above in 1765, a proclamation was issued by Gov. Gage as late as 1772, of similar import, which may be found in Dillon's Ind., p. 86. The proclamation to Gov. Penn here quoted is taken from the Colonial Records of Penn., Vol. IX, p. 331.

Spain now held Louisiana, which consisted of New Orleans, with contiguous territory and the west bank of the Mississippi, and an effort to bring the trade of the Illinois country into northern channels was now contemplated by General Gage and Sir William Johnson, who together represented the head-center of political power.* This consideration now came up for the first time, and later proved to be a source of difficult diplomacy with Spain. But the extra expense of transportation by the northern routes presented insurmountable obstacles in the way, and was destined still to do so for the next half century.

Meantime, the American Revolution was beginning to cast its shadow before its coming, even on the extreme borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and clearly manifested itself in the English policy with the Indians. While these issues were coming to the surface, the French towns of the Illinois again reposed in quietude, so welcome to their peaceful disposition.

The first act on the part of England showing a distrust of American loyalty took place on the 2d of June, 1774, when the British Parliament passed an act which extended the limits of Canada, so as to include all the territory north of the Ohio River to the lakes. This extraordinary measure was regarded by the English Colonies as a bid for Canadian loyalty, in the event of an open rupture. But it was soon followed by other British measures, which gave proofs that, in such an event, the British intended to make the most out of an alliance with the Indians that their services could bring to the cause, and an opportunity soon followed which confirmed these suspicions.

Early in 1773, Lord Dunmore, Colonial Governor of Virginia, withdrew the troops from Fort Pitt. The next year, owing to some cold-blooded and unprovoked murders, committed by Cresap, Greathouse and others against peaceable Indians, the war-whoop again rang along the border, and a large army was raised to protect the frontier against the exasperated savages.

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II, pp. 340-342.

A large detachment of it were ordered to advance down the Ohio river, under command of Col. Lewis. Reaching Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanhaway, while the army lay encamped, October 10th, 1774, it was attacked by a heavy force of Indians, under the celebrated chiefs Cornstalk, Red Hawk and Logan. The battle raged from sunrise to one o'clock with unflinching courage on both sides. The loss of the whites was double that of the Indians, but the desperate resolution of the former finally prevailed, and the Indians, mostly Shawanese, withdrew during the succeeding night.

The family of Logan were among the murdered victims of Cresap, which fired the resentment of the hitherto peaceable hero to desperation, and drew from him the speech that gave him imperishable fame.

The following extract from the *American Pioneer*, gives the speech *verbatim*, together with the circumstances connected with its immediate reception:

"In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Greathouse, leading on these parties, surprised, at different times, traveling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingo and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should be disturbed, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore:

“ ‘I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.’ ”

Mr. Jefferson wrote his *Notes on Virginia*, as he states, in 1781–82. They were first published in Paris, and afterward in the United States. In 1797, great excitement was raised against him by the Cresap interest, in which it was, among other things, insinuated that he wrote the speech himself. Mr. Jefferson defended himself in an appendix to his *Notes*.

The Indian towns were now at the mercy of the victors, especially when the main body advanced across the Ohio, under Dunmore himself. But instead of pushing the defeated Indians to extremities, he convened a council and made peace with them on generous terms.

At Fort Gower, near the mouth of the river Hocking, on the 5th of November, 1774, the officers of Dunmore’s army held a meeting, at which one of them spoke as follows: “Gentlemen: Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just rights and privileges. We have lived about three

months in the woods, without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates from Philadelphia.* It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our country may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves, us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis." The following resolutions were then adopted by the meeting, without a dissenting voice, and ordered to be published in the *Virginia Gazette*:

"*Resolved*, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, while his majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachments to the real interests and just rights of America, outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the supporting of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous and tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

These words may be taken as a representative type of the back-woods feeling which two years later declared itself in an open Declaration of Independence; but yet there were among these headstrong borderers a few men, intensified in their hatred to civilized society, who

*The Continental Congress, which convened on the 5th September, 1774.

cast their lot among the Indians as a choice, and allied themselves to the English cause, not from principle, but as a means wherewith to ventilate their spite against anything that stood in the way of their low-bred ambition. Simon Girty, George Elliot and Alexander McKee were noted examples of this kind of nondescript waywardness, destined to exert a potent influence in the coming struggle.

In 1774 the first Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia. The next year, 1775, Gen. Gage, awakening one morning in his quarters in Boston, beheld with astonishment the heights of Bunker Hill fortified. A fierce battle followed. Canada was invaded the same year by Arnold and Montgomery.

The same year, while the Continental Congress was holding its second session in Philadelphia, Commissioners were appointed to occupy Ft. Pitt for the purpose of making treaties with the Indians in favor of the forthcoming government. To offset this policy, the British inaugurated a similar one for their own benefit from Detroit. As a result, two prominent Delaware chiefs, Buckongahelas and White Eyes, took the stump among the denizens of the forest as exponents of the rival claims of the belligerents to savage support. Buckongahelas, the friend of the English, spoke first, as follows:

“Friends! listen to what I say to you! You see a great and powerful nation divided! You see the father fighting against the son, and the son against the father! The father has called on his Indian children to assist him in punishing his children, the Americans, who have become refractory. I took time to consider what I should do—whether or not I should receive the hatchet of my father to assist him. At first I looked upon it as a family quarrel, in which I was not interested. However, at length, it appeared to me that the father was in the right, and his children deserved to be punished a little. That this must be the case, I concluded from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed, from time to time, on his Indian children, in encroaching on their land, stealing their property, shooting at and

murdering, without cause, men, women and children. Yes, even murdering those who, at all times, had been friendly to them, and were placed for protection under the roof of their father's house—the father himself standing sentry at the door at the time.* Friends! often has the father been obliged to settle and make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done us by his refractory children, yet these do not grow better. No! they remain the same and will continue to be so as long as we have any land left us. Look back at the murders committed by the Long-knives on many of our relations, who lived peaceable neighbors to them on the Ohio. Did they not kill them without the least provocation? Are they, do you think, better now than they were then?"

To this speech White Eyes, the friend of the new government, then without a name, replied:

"Suppose a father had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but, growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him, and, making up a small pack, bade him carry it for him. The boy cheerfully takes the pack, following his father with it. The father, finding the boy willing and obedient, continues in his way; and, as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack in proportion larger—yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so without grumbling. At length, however, the boy, having arrived at manhood, while the father is making up the pack for him, in comes a person of an evil disposition, and, learning who was the carrier of the pack, advises the father to make it heavier, for surely the son is able to carry a large pack. The father, listening rather to the bad adviser than consulting his own judgment and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the hard-hearted adviser, and makes up a heavy load for his son to carry. The son, now grown up, examining the weight of the load he is to carry, addresses the parent in these words: 'Dear father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry—do pray, lighten

* Alluding to the murder of the Conestoga Indians.—See Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, page 405.

it. I am willing to do what I can, but I am unable to carry *this* load.' The father's heart having, by this time, become hardened, and the bad adviser calling to him, 'Whip him, if he disobeys and refuses to carry the pack,' now in a peremptory tone orders his son to take up the pack and carry it off, or he will whip him, and already takes up a stick to beat him. 'So!' says the son, 'am I to be served thus for not doing what I am unable to do? Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father—and it is to be decided by blows whether or not I am able to carry a pack so heavy—then I have no other choice left me but that of resisting your unreasonable demand by my strength; and so, striking each other, we may see who is the strongest.'"

This absurd metaphor was considered worth preserving by both governments, as models of that gushing style of logic wherewith to influence the Indian mind. Buckongahelas' speech was printed by officers in the British Indian Department, and White Eyes' speech was printed by a committee appointed by the Continental Congress on the 13th of July, 1775.*

The British had strong garrisons at Detroit and Michilimackinac at this time, and a small garrison at St. Joseph, to preserve their interests at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, for even in that early day this locality was regarded with favor. But St. Joseph was looked upon as a place of more promise than Chicago, on account of the superiority of her river as a harbor.

While the brains and the muscle inherited from the ancient Britons were laying the dimension stone on the Atlantic coast for a new nation, the French inhabitants of Vincennes and the Illinois country, in blissful ignorance of the ruling policy of the country, were cultivating their fields in common, and sharing the harvest of a summer's toil with the harmony of bees. By the year 1777, however, one year after the Declaration of Independence, an erratic emigrant from Pennsylvania, named Tom Brady, who had settled at Cahokia, planned an expedition against the British post of St.

*American Archives, 4th S., Vol. II, p. 1880.

Joseph. The place was garrisoned by twenty-one soldiers, but Brady's party, relying upon the prestige of a surprise, felt confidence in their ability to take it, although their own force numbered but sixteen men. Accordingly they took advantage of night to come upon the place, when the astonished garrison gave themselves up as prisoners. On returning, the invaders had proceeded no further than the Calumet river, when they were attacked by a party of British and Indians, numbering 300. Two of Brady's party were killed, and Brady, with the remainder of his party, taken prisoner. Not long afterward he managed to make his escape, and threaded the forest back to his native place in Pennsylvania. Subsequently he returned to Cahokia, where he became sheriff of St. Clair county in 1790.*

Early the next spring a daring Frenchman named Paulette Maize enlisted a force of sixty-five men from the French towns of the Illinois, and from St. Louis, and marched against the same place, to re-take it. The expedition was successful, and all the furs and peltries in the fort were taken from the British as the spoil of war. Many of the most prominent citizens of Cahokia were in this expedition.†

Returning to the frontier of English settlements, we find such dauntless spirits as Dr. Walker, Boone, Kenton, Zane, Harrod, McAfee and others, pushing into the wilderness realms of Kentucky, building stockades and making settlements, while the forest was infested with British emissaries, urging the Indians to take up the tomahawk against the Americans.

Prominent among these pioneer spirits was Col. Geo. Rogers Clark, a native of Albemarle county, Va. All these backwoodsmen were conspicuous for their loyalty to the cause of American independence, and the field they had chosen wherewith to bring aid to that cause was adapted to their frontier accomplishments, and proved effectual, both as a diversion and a palliation, to diminish the force of Indian invasion on the frontier. This was the immediate incentive of Clark, in a plan of

* *Western Annals*, p. 696. *Reynold's Hist. Ill.*, p. 68.

† *Western Annals*, p. 697.

which he was the first projector, to take possession of Vincennes and the Illinois villages, and set up the authority of the new government in those distant posts, as a nucleus of power round which the Indians could gather. The infant settlements of Kentucky were then begun, and Clark was among them, but left for Virginia on the 1st of October, 1777, for the purpose of laying his plan before Patrick Henry, the Governor. On the 10th of December he had an interview with him, and laid his plans before him.

After several interviews, Governor Henry gave his consent, and immediate preparations were made to put them into execution. The utmost secrecy was necessary to its success, for had it been known in advance, the English could have sent a sufficient force from Detroit to take the whole party prisoners ere they arrived on the ground. As a blind to the real destination of the expedition, Governor Henry first gave Clark instructions to proceed to the Kentucky settlements with his force, for the purpose of defending them against Indian attack. These were published, and gave rise to some murmurs among the revolutionary spirits of the border that soldiers should be sent on such an errand when they were needed in the front to fight the British.

The expedition embarked from Pittsburgh, "shot the falls," as Clark expressed it, at Louisburg, on the 24th of June, kept on down the river to a little above Fort Massac, fifty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and from thence they marched across the country to Kaskaskia.

On the 4th of July, 1778, when night had shed its gloom over river, grove and prairie, the people of Kaskaskia were startled by the cry, "*If any one enters the streets, he shall be shot!*" The terrified inhabitants remained in their houses during the fearful night, and when morning came a few of the principal citizens were seized and put in irons. Every avenue of escape was cut off, and the wretched inhabitants, who had been told by their British Governor Rochblave, that the Longknives (Americans) were barbarous and cruel to the last degree, began to think their barbarity had not

been overrated, nor were their fears quieted on beholding the uncouth motions of their conquerors, so different from the graceful manners of the French, who had brought with them the blandishments of Paris to be reproduced in the American wilderness.

Under these painful forebodings, Gibault, the priest, and others, with deep humility, approached the general who commanded the rough band, at whose feet the town lay prostrate. The very first attempt to parley with him was embarrassing, for on entering his quarters, among the muscular backwoods officers who were around him, there was no distinction in etiquette or dress, and the perplexed priest was obliged to ask who the commander was. On being informed, a painful pause ensued for the want of words wherewith to frame the requests he was about to make. The suspense over, Gibault, in an attitude of supplication, begged the privilege that his people might depart in peace, without being separated from their families, and hoped a small allowance of provisions might be retained by them for their immediate wants; which mild request was accompanied with an assurance that many of the inhabitants frequently expressed themselves in favor of the Americans in their contest with the mother country.

Up to this moment Clark had wrought upon their fears only. Now came the sunny side to the front, and never did the nobility masked beneath a rough exterior, in the bosom of the forest ranger, show to better advantage. In brief words he informed them that the Americans came not to deprive them of their liberty, or to interfere with their religion, or to plunder them of their property. The shackles were now taken from the captives and freedom proclaimed to all. The people were now in transports. The bells were rung and the streets were vocal with song, and gayety reigned throughout the town.

On the 6th of February, France had acknowledged the independence of the United States. The news came to Gen. Clark while on his way down the river, in a letter from Col. Campbell, at Fort Pitt. Nothing could have been more timely for Clark, as he depended

on an accession to his number from the French in order to complete his plans for the conquest of the country, and this news would help his cause. He therefore lost no time in proceeding to business, and opened recruiting quarters at once. The ranks for a company were soon filled with newly enlisted Frenchmen, eager to serve in a cause that had already been espoused by their country. Cahokia and all the other French towns acquiesced in the new order, and contributed their quota to fill the ranks of Clark's little army.

The success which had thus far attended Clark was but the first step in the work before him. The whole country was full of Indians who had been conquered by the English in the recent war, and were now reconciled to them, all the more as they were dependent on them for supplies.

During the progress of the American Revolution thus far, the English traders and agents had been busy in the forests, inflaming the minds of the Indians against the Americans by the most absurd falsehoods, impressed upon their savage sensibilities by forest eloquence. To overcome this influence was all-important, and Clark set about the business with masterly skill. The most influential Indian chief in the whole country was The Grand Door, so called because his influence was so potent over the tribes along the Wabash river that no one would presume to enter its valley on an important mission, without first consulting him. To Capt. Helm, one of Gen. Clark's officers, was intrusted this delicate business. The first thing to do was to explain to The Grand Door the nature of the contest between the Americans and the English in such a manner as to leave no doubt in his majesty's savage instincts as to the justice, and, especially, the ultimate success of the American cause—the latter point being no less important in Indian diplomacy than in civilized.

With these instructions Capt. Helm started for the headquarters of The Grand Door, located in a Piankeshaw village close by Vincennes. Arriving safely at the latter place, he was well received by the French inhabitants, there being no English garrison there at the time.

The Door was then sent for, and on his arrival a letter was given him from Gen. Clark. He received it with becoming dignity, and promised to lay its contents before his people. For several days they held council over the matter, when the chief returned to Vincennes and announced to Capt. Helm that he was now a "Big Knife," meaning that he had expoused the cause of the Americans. The evening was spent in merriment suited to the occasion.

No sooner was it known that The Grand Door had become a Big Knife, than all the other tribes of the country visited Capt. Helm's quarters at Vincennes, and gave in their adhesion to the Americans. The news of this accession of strength was promptly sent by an Indian messenger to Gen. Clark, at Kaskaskia. Meantime, it was soon spread among the tribes throughout the entire Illinois country. A council was convened at Cahokia, with their representative chiefs, to whom Gen. Clark, after explaining to them the nature of the contest between the Americans and the English, made the following speech :

"You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one; take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other, If you take the bloody path you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything that you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the

Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."

The next day the chiefs returned, and before the council fires, which were still burning, presented Clark the sacred pipe, after waving it toward the heavens and the earth, an impressive way of calling heaven and earth to witness their bond of peace and alliance with the Big Knives. News of these successes were now sent to Gov. Henry, of Virginia, when, at a session of the General Assembly, an act was passed laying out a county called Illinois county, which embraced Vincennes, as well as the French villages of the Illinois. But before suitable officers could arrive on the ground to carry the act into effect, Henry Hamilton, the British Lieut. Governor of Detroit, came down upon Vincennes with thirty British regulars, fifty French soldiers enlisted at Detroit, and 400 Indian warriors.

He arrived at the place on the 15th of December. Soon as he was within hailing distance Capt. Helm, who was still there, cried out "Halt!" This stopped the advance of Hamilton, who in turn demanded a surrender of the garrison. "On what terms?" demanded the tenacious defender. "The honors of war," was the reply. The fort was surrendered, with its garrison of one soldier, named Henry, and one officer, Helm himself!*

Capt Helm was held a prisoner, and the French inhabitants having already taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, were disarmed. The news of this untoward event soon came to Clark at Kaskaskia, who saw at once his peril. A British army lay in the path of his retreat, backed by a confederacy of Indians who would doubtless turn against him at the first check he might receive.

While his fertile genius was on the rack for expedients wherewith to sustain himself, a Spanish trader, named Francis Vigo, came to his quarters with news from Vincennes. He informed Clark that Hamilton, being under no apprehension of an attack, had sent away the largest portion of his force to blockade the Ohio, and cut off his retreat, and with the first opening of spring

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 80.

an attack was to be made on the Illinois villages. His resolution was immediately taken. Vincennes, the head-center of these machinations, must be captured. "If I don't take Hamilton, Hamilton will take me," said Clark.

It was now the 29th of January, and so prompt were the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia to assist the Americans, that by the 4th of February everything was ready. The artillery and stores for the expedition were placed on a light draught vessel, under command of one of his officers named John Rogers, to be transported down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio and Wabash rivers, to the destined field of operations against the post.

The next day Clark himself, with 175 men, a part of whom were French recruits, took up their march across the country for the same destination. On the 17th they reached the banks of the Wabash, but how to gain the opposite bank of the river, where the fort stood, was a problem more difficult of solution in the mind of Clark, than how to take the fort after he had crossed, for the late rains had flooded the broad intervals along the river, and far above and below a forest rose up through the swollen waters, mirroring its leafless branches, inverted into a picturesque mirage.

The morning gun of the fort was heard as the perplexed invaders took up their tents, after a night's rest. Rafts were now made, and a few trusty Frenchmen dispatched across the mysterious waste, to steal boats from their moorings, outside of the unsuspecting town. This hazardous adventure proved a success after three days, during which time the army of Clark had been toiling through the flooded intervals of the Wabash, along the shallowest portions, endeavoring to gain its immediate bank.

On the 21st the army crossed the turbulent stream in the boats stolen by the scouts, and now its labors were redoubled. The ground in advance was now reconnoitered in a canoe, and the depth of the flood sounded by Clark himself. This done, he blackened his face with powder, and gave the war-whoop, as if he had been an Indian, and marched into the water without saying a



WADING THROUGH THE SUBMERGED VALLEYS.

word. His comrades followed, under the inspiration of a war song, which was joined in along the whole line. Far along to the left a ridge rose above the waste of waters, where some open sheds had been built for a sugar camp. Here they spent the night, and the next day resumed their watery march toward the fort. For three days they had fasted, but on arriving at Vincennes the French stealthily brought provisions to the camp, and the siege began.

The resistance was determined for a while, but the courage and audacity of the besiegers knew no bounds, and after a spirited parley, Hamilton surrendered the fort, with its garrison, numbering seventy-nine men, on the 24th of February, 1779, and with this surrender the Northwest passed out of English hands into the immediate possession of the Americans, except the posts which the former still held along the lakes.*

* NOTE.—The following from Law's History of Vincennes is copied as but a just tribute to the patriotism of Gibault and Vigo: "Pierre Gibault, parish priest at Vincennes, and occasionally performing his apostolic duties on the Mississippi, was at Kaskaskia in 1778-79, when Gen. Clark captured that place. The services he rendered Clark in that campaign, which were acknowledged by a resolution of the Legislature of Virginia, in 1780—his patriotism, his sacrifices, his courage and love of liberty, require of me a fuller notice of this good man and pure patriot than I have been enabled to give in the published address. Father Gibault was a Jesuit missionary to the Illinois at an early period, and had the curacy of the parish at Kaskaskia when Clark took possession of that post; and no man has paid a more sincere tribute to the services rendered by Father Gibault to the American cause, than Clark himself. It was a matter of deep importance, especially after the arrest of Rochblave, the commandant at Kaskaskia, for Clark to conciliate, if possible, the ancient inhabitants residing at Kaskaskia. This he effectually did through the agency of Father Gibault. Through his influence, not only were the French population of Kaskaskia induced to supply the troops with provisions and other necessities, but to receive the depreciated *continental* paper currency of Virginia at par, for all supplies thus furnished, Vigo adding his guarantee for its redemption, and receiving it dollar for dollar, not only from the soldiers, but from the inhabitants, until it became entirely worthless. Father Gibault, but especially Vigo, had on hand at the close of the campaign, more than twenty thousand dollars of this worthless trash (the only funds, however, which Clark had in his military chest,) and not one dollar of which was ever redeemed, either for Vigo or Father Gibault, who, for this worthless trash, disposed 'of all his cattle, and the tithes of his parishioners,' in order to sustain Clark and his troops, without which aid they must have surrendered, surrounded, as they were, by the Indian allies of the British, and deprived of all resources but those furnished by the French inhabitants, through the persuasion of Vigo and Father Gibault. But more than this: Through the influence of these men, when Clark left Kaskaskia for the purpose of capturing Hamilton and his men at Post Vincennes, a company of fifty young Frenchmen was at

Here the British power still lingered. On the 27th the vessel arrived with the stores, its hero commander mortified and inconsolable that he had not been able to reach the scene of operations in time to ferry Clark's army across the river, and bring to his gallant soldiers the provisions they so much needed during their three days of fasting. Among the prisoners taken at Vincennes were some young Frenchmen, enlisted by Hamilton at Detroit. These were released, on their taking an oath that they would not fight again against the Americans during the war, and were sent home, with abundant supplies to serve their wants on the way. On their arrival at Detroit, they did good service to the American cause by congratulating themselves that their oath did not bind them not to fight for the Americans, if a chance offered.

A large convoy of stores and provisions were on their way from Detroit to Vincennes when the Americans took it, which was intercepted on the way by a detachment under command of Capt. Helm, who by the late capitulation of the place was now released from the bonds of a war prisoner, and again an officer in Clark's little army. The amount of clothing, provisions, etc., was more than sufficient to supply all the wants of the garrison, and stinted rations and rags were now substituted with plenteousness and comfortable garments.

Kaskaskia, who joined Clark's troops, under the command of Captain Charlevoix, who shared in all the perils and honors of that glorious campaign, which ended in the capture of the post, and the surrender of Hamilton, an event more important in its *consequences* than any other occurring during our revolutionary struggle.

"It was entirely through the means of Father Gibault that Hamilton released Col. Vigo, when sent by Clark to ascertain the true situation of affairs at Vincennes. He was captured by the Indians and taken to 'Fort Sackville,' where he was kept a prisoner on parole for many weeks, and released, entirely by the interference of Father Gibault, and the declaration of the French inhabitants at Vincennes, who, with their priest at their head, after service on the Sabbath, marched to the fort and informed Hamilton 'they would refuse all supplies to the garrison unless Vigo was released.' Of that release, and the important effect of Vigo's information to Clark on his return to Kaskaskia, in reference to the capture of the post by Hamilton, I have already spoken. Next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are indebted more to Father Gibault for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory, than to any other man."

The records of this benevolent man are still preserved in the church at Kaskaskia.—AUTHOR.

On the 7th of March, Clark sent Colonel Hamilton, with eighteen of his principal soldiers, to Virginia, as war prisoners, under an escort of twenty-five men. Soon after their arrival, Hamilton was put in irons, and confined in a dungeon, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded from all communication with any one except his keeper. This was done to punish him for having offered premiums to the Indians for white scalps. For this offense he was ever afterward called "The hair buyer."* The severity of his sentence was soon afterward mitigated by order of continental court martial.

Early in 1779 a war broke out between England and Spain, which was subsequently followed by an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by that power, though with a bad grace, as if dragged into the reluctant admission by the force of circumstances. Withal, however, the hostile attitude of the two nations, England and Spain, was not without its influence in preserving the conquests achieved by Clark, inasmuch as it secured the alliance of the then Spanish town of St. Louis to the American cause, and interposed a weighty obstacle in the way of any attempt on the part of the English to retake the Illinois country or Vincennes, while St. Louis was their ally.

Instead of this being attempted, St. Louis took the offensive herself as an ally of America. On the 2nd of June, 1781, Don Eugenie Pierre, a Spanish officer, marched from St. Louis with sixty-five men against the British post of St. Joseph. The place was taken, and with overreaching ambition the commander went through the forms of taking possession of the country in the name of Spain, but retired shortly afterward to St. Louis.

By virtue of this insignificant conquest, Spain subsequently attempted to establish a claim to the country intervening between Lake Michigan and her own territory west of the Mississippi.

At this time the population of St. Louis, according to Hutchins, was 800 white and 150 colored people, and

* Jefferson's Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 455.

being a Spanish town, it was legal plunder for the English. Accordingly, an expedition was set on foot against it from the British post of Michilimackinac, estimated at 1,500 men, most of whom were Indians.

While Clark was waiting at Kaskaskia, says Stoddard in his sketches, "The commandant of Michilimackinac in 1780 assembled about 1,500 Indians and 140 English, and attempted the reduction of St. Louis. During the short time they were before that town sixty of the inhabitants were killed, and thirty taken prisoners. Fortunately, Gen. Clark was on the opposite side of the Mississippi with a considerable force. On his appearance at St. Louis with a strong detachment, the Indians were amazed. They had no disposition to quarrel with any other than the Louisianans, and charged the British with deception. *In fine*, as the jealousy of the Indians was excited, the English trembled for their safety, and secretly abandoned their auxiliaries and made the best of their way into Canada. The Indians then retired to their homes in peace. This expedition, as appears, was not sanctioned by the English court, and the private property of the commandant was seized to pay the expenses of it, most likely because it proved unfortunate."

This account has been quoted by able historians, and is doubtless correct, except as to the assistance credited to Gen. Clark as offering to help defend the town. This was impossible, as he had left the country previous to that time, but, without doubt, the respect with which his gallant conduct had inspired the Indians of the immediate country around had its effect on the Indian force from Michilimackinac, and, besides saving St. Louis, prevented them from attacking the towns of Southern Illinois, which then were in a hostile attitude to British rule, either as French or American towns, both of which countries were at war with England.

Auguste Chouteau says that Clark rendered the town no assistance. This settles the point as to the question, for he was one of the original settlers under Laclede's grant, and must have been an eye witness. The shameful conduct of Leyba, the Lieutenant-Governor at the

time, was an excess of treachery seldom equaled. Previous to the attack he sent all the powder away, but fortunately a trader had eight barrels of this precious specific, which the defenders appropriated for the occasion. Not content with this dereliction, he spiked some of the cannon of the defenders; but despite these obstacles the courageous soldiers stood to their places, and beat back their numerous assailants with a courage seldom equaled. The storm of indignation which the traitor Leyba met after the battle was too much for him to live under, and he sickened and died shortly afterward, tradition says from poison administered by his own hand. This account is taken from Stoddard, Hall, Martin and the Western Annals, none of which appear to have details as full as could be desired, especially as it is the only siege or battle that ever occurred at St. Louis.

While these events were transpiring in the West, the armies of England and America along the Atlantic coast were brandishing their battle-blades in each other's faces, with stubborn courage on both sides, and when fighting ceased, among other issues settled, the conquests of the West, and its consequent destiny, were not forgotten.

CHAPTER X.

Moravian Settlements on the Muskingum—Premonitions of the American Revolution—British Emissaries among the Indians—Forts McIntosh and Laurens Built—Desperate Attack on the Latter—The Siege Raised by Hunger—The Moravians Removed—Mary Heckwelder's Account—Horrible Slaughter of the Exiles—Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky—The Enemy Encountered—Crawford Taken Prisoner—His Awful Death by Fire—Peace—Complex Diplomacy at the Treaty of Paris—Firmness of Jay Triumphant.

The few sparse settlements in Kentucky already made, still maintained their ground, although constantly menaced by Indians on the war path, while the Alleghanies interposed serious barriers between them and any succor from the parent State in case of an attack.

No attempt had yet been made at settlement on what might with propriety then have been called the Indian side of the Ohio, except the Moravian settlements. These had been in progress on the Muskingum river since 1762. Christian Frederic Post (the same who in 1758 executed the heroic mission to Fort Pitt) and his co-worker, John Heckwelder, at that time set up a tabernacle there for worship. The missionary spirit was the incentive to their enterprise, but to facilitate their work in this direction, they purchased small parcels of land of the Indians, made an opening in the forest, planted fields of corn, and soon they were surrounded with plenty. The celebrated David Ziesburger joined them in a few years, and the towns of Shoenbrun, Gnadenhutten and Salem were built within an area of

ten miles, near the present site of New Philadelphia, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio.

This could not be called a white settlement, yet it represented Christian civilization, as developed by the teachings of the Moravian missionaries, whose heroic faith had been inherited from the martyr Huss. Since that remote period this remarkable people had been disciplined by a school of three centuries of persecution, during which time their courage had become the admiration of the Protestant world. They had ever been in its van breaking up the fallen ground, ready to be tilled by more effeminate Christians.

Their attempts on the Muskingum had thus far been a success, but unhappily for them they still held to the doctrines of non-resistance, with unshaken faith that God's providence would safely lead them through the dangers that surrounded them.

However plausible or practicable such a theory might be in times of peace, it became a fatal illusion when the fires of revolution kindled along the Atlantic should shake the border into fury, as was soon to be the case. When the center is disturbed, how much more is the circumference agitated!

The borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia were now daily becoming more exposed to dangers, as the British emissaries among the Indians excited them to take the war path, and the Continental Congress passed a resolution to send a force into the interior, with a view of taking Detroit, the western supply depot, where the Indians obtained the means wherewith to keep up the war.

In May, 1778, while the expedition of Clark was about starting on its mission, Brigadier General Lachlin McIntosh, of the Continental Army, was placed in command of the Western Department, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt. The following October, at the head of a small force of regulars and militia, he descended the Ohio and built a fort thirty miles below Fort Pitt, which was named Fort McIntosh. This was the first stockade ever built by Americans on the northern side of the Ohio.

For prudential reasons, probably for the want of means, the Continental Congress now instructed him to abandon the original design against Detroit, but in lieu thereof, to make an incursion into the interior for the purpose of overawing the Indians. With this intent he took up his march at the head of 1,000 men, intending to attack Sandusky, but on reaching the Muskingum he encamped, and concluded to defer the attack against the objective point till the coming spring. Here he built Fort Laurens, so named in honor of the President of the Continental Congress. He left Colonel John Gibson in command of the post with 150 men, and returned with the main body to Fort Pitt.

All these movements were reported to the English commander at Detroit, who, as might be expected, at once laid his plans to capture the audacious Americans, who had dared to make a stand in the heart of the country.

It will be remembered that Francis Vigo, the Spanish trader of St. Louis, who arrived at Kaskaskia in January, brought information to Clark that Hamilton had weakened his forces by sending away large detachments against the frontiers, and that Clark, taking advantage of this incautious movement, had marched against Vincennes and taken it. It may therefore be inferred that Fort Laurens was the decoy duck which gave Vincennes to the Americans.

Late in January, 1779, the threatened attack was made on the fort, and kept up till March with desperate resolution. The garrison successfully resisted every assault of their besiegers, though they environed the post by means of their numbers, and gave them no respite either by night or day.

Starvation soon began to threaten them, but, happily for the besieged, the besiegers were in a similar predicament, and the sanguinary contest now became a rivalry, not of courage and muscle only, but a trial of endurance under the pangs of hunger. While the enemy were thus beset with perplexity how to obtain provisions till they could press the siege to a successful issue by starving out the garrison, while they them-

selves were gaunt with hunger, they proposed to Gibson, the commander, to raise the siege if he would give them a barrel of flour. The offer was promptly accepted, as a device to conceal the desperate straits to which the garrison was reduced. The flour was sent outside the palisade, and some meat with it, which the hungry Indians and their companions devoured like a pack of wolves, and vanished in the forest, taking their course for Detroit.

The last savage yelp soon died away with the retreating foe, and silence took the place of the bedlam of war-whoops that had echoed about the place for two months. A runner skilled in woodcraft was now selected to hasten to Fort McIntosh with all possible dispatch, and obtain supplies. With the shyness of a fox venturing from his lair, the bold ranger left the fort and safely reached his destination, a distance of fifty miles, through an unbroken wilderness, when a band of scouts were immediately sent with provisions for the relief of the hungry garrison, in their frontier hermitage. Here they remained till the following August, when the fort was evacuated.

Fort McIntosh was evacuated soon afterward, which left no representation of American interests between Vincennes and Fort Pitt. With the exception of a part of the Delawares, all the Indians of the country now became active allies of the English. The Moravians, or praying Indians, as they were sometimes called, were, in accordance with their faith, neutral.

Their villages lay in the war path of their savage brothers, and when a hostile war party, returning from a successful incursion into the frontier settlements, dragged their wretched captives into their distant lodges in the wilderness, they often quartered on these apostate savages, who durst not refuse them shelter. On these occasions the griefs of the captives were always mitigated as far as possible by acts of kindness from their hosts, if such a name may be applied to the dispenser of an enforced hospitality.

Colonel Depuyster then commanded in Detroit as the successor of Hamilton, and seeing the danger of these

people, he mercifully interposed between them and the subtle hostility by which they were victimized by their neutrality from both sides, and ordered their removal to the neighborhood of Sandusky. This decree was enforced upon the unwilling Moravians by 200 Wyandottes under the command of British officers. Their crops were left standing in the field, ready for the harvest, when they were forced away from their homes, to find new shelter and a precarious subsistence for the coming winter among their unfriendly brethren, who were only restrained from open hostility against them by the British officers.

Among the evil geniuses of the forest at that time was Simon Girty, a native of western Pennsylvania. When a boy he had been taken captive by the Indians, and adopted into the Seneca tribe. Among them he had won distinction as a forest ranger, and would gladly have spent his life with them, but when Bouquet made his successful expedition to the Muskingum, Girty, with other captives, was returned to civilization. The next year he rose to the rank of a commissioned officer in the Pennsylvania militia, but two years later deserted to the British, and joined the hostile Indians of the forest, with Elliot,* a tory of equal notoriety. Both of these became prominent leaders among the savages, Girty rivaling them in ferocity. His spite against the Moravian converts was unmeasured. While these unhappy exiles were being conducted from their homes on the Muskingum to Sandusky, some care had been taken to mitigate their woes, which so enraged Girty that it was with difficulty he could be restrained from assaulting them with a tomahawk after their arrival.† Here they

* Commodore Elliot, of the U. S. Navy, was his nephew.

† The following account of the affair is copied from the *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 224 and 225, as a contribution to that valuable work by Mary Heckwelder, daughter of the celebrated Moravian missionary and historian. She was the first white child born in Ohio.

"BETHLEHEM, PA., February 24th, 1843.

"J. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ.:

"Dear Sir.—Yours of the 31st ult., to Mr. Kummen, postmaster at this place, has been handed to me. I have not been in the habit of making much use of my pen for a number of years; I will, however, at your request, endeavor to give you a short account of the first four years of my life, which were all I spent among the Indians, having since lived

remained till February, when permission was given to a part of them to return to their homes on the Muskingum, to harvest their corn, which was still standing.

While engaged in this labor on the 6th of March, a company of borderers came to them in an apparently friendly spirit, and proposed to them to remove to Pittsburg for safety, and with oily words enticed them to give up their arms and go into two houses to remain for the night. This done, Williamson, the leader of the band, took counsel with his comrades as to the fate of the entrapped victims.

All in favor of sparing their lives were ordered to step forward.

in Bethlehem nearly all the time. My acquaintance or knowledge of **them** and their history is chiefly from books, and what I heard from my father and other missionaries.

"I was born April 16th, 1781, in Salem, one of the Moravian Indian towns on the Muskingum river, State of Ohio. Soon after my birth, times becoming very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties, and from an encampment of warriors near Gnadenhutzen; and finally, in the beginning of September of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shoenbrun. About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of everything they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then going to take my mother along with them, the savages **were** prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning, the night being dark and rainy and almost impossible for her to travel so far. They at last consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutzen.

"After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for some time, they were set at liberty again; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goshachguenk to the Walholding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapped in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sank, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in the midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

"Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen everything both from the missionaries and Indians, on

Of the ninety men who composed the party, only eighteen stepped forward, leaving seventy-two in favor of killing them.

This decision was immediately made known to the unhappy victims, when the unexpected decree was replied to with earnest entreaties that their lives might be spared; but lamentations and supplications were unavailing to the iron-hearted scouts. They however, postponed the execution of the sentence till morning, to give them time to prepare for death in their accustomed spirit of devotion. The night was spent by the victims in prayer and singing, while their executioners stood guard outside to prevent escape. In the morning all was ready on both sides. The Moravians were tranquil, and their executioners unrelenting, and the work began.

Through apertures in the walls of the building the muzzles of the guns were pointed, and the shooting was continued till the last faint groans of the victims had died away in silence, and all were prostrated, as was supposed, into a pile of lifeless corpses. But beneath the ponderous weight of dead bodies a youth of sixteen managed to find his way through an aperture in the floor, and escape thence into the woods. Another boy also escaped after being scalped, and both lived to tell the tale of woe which had whelmed ninety-four of their countrymen in death.

To the credit of our government be it said that Williamson's band were not in the continental service, and that their bloody work was execrated throughout the country.

Border life, in those days, furnishes inexhaustible material for romancers and poets, as well as historians,

the journey. We lived here extremely poor, oftentimes very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture.

"After living in this dreary wilderness, in danger, poverty and distress of all sorts, a written order arrived in March, 1782, sent by the governor to the half king of the Hurons, and to an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detroit, but with a strict order not to plunder nor abuse them in the least.

* * * * *

"Respectfully yours,

"MARY HECKEWELDER."

for extremes in the bent of the human mind were brought into contact there, untrammelled by the restraints of law, or even of society; and if examples of man's noblest nature were nurtured into being by the severe discipline of frontier privations, it is not strange that corresponding extremes of evil purposes should also be brought to the surface by the extremities resorted to to accomplish required results.

The war was contested with a stubborn courage on the part of the English, more for what the country was destined to be than for what it then was, and no means were left untried to secure the inheritance of nature which opened before their prophetic vision to the West. This disposition was contagious, and the roughest side of border life gathered force like a tornado when the innocent Moravians were murdered.

Here were unmeasured forests bespangled by a thousand streams, and further beyond them oceans of wild prairie, all awaiting the magic touch of civilization to reproduce the wonders of Europe on an improved plan. To accomplish this was worthy the ambition of the English, who with characteristic confidence in themselves thought they could do it better than their rebellious children. The ultimate fate of the Indians was not considered. That would take care of itself. Meantime, if their irrepressible dash, or even their ferocity, could be extemporized into use in order to bring about the desired result, the end justified the means, in their estimation, though it brought desolation and cruel death to the borders of American settlements.

During the revolution the borderers had been wrought up to such a pitch of excitement that long after the army of Cornwallis had surrendered, and fighting had ceased between the American and British armies, the war was continued with unremitting severity on the frontiers.

Throughout the western portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, every man, and even every boy, could handle a rifle with a dexterity seldom equaled by the trained soldiers of regular armies. Most of the British having been driven from the field after the surrender of Cornwallis, the success of the revolution was no longer

doubted, and the fertile fields across the Ohio, as future homes, now began to attract attention.

Under such auspices an expedition was planned in May, 1782, to march against Sandusky, take the place and seize upon the country. The enterprise was a private one, though it was approved by General Irvine, who then held command at Fort Pitt. Each soldier furnished his own horse and equipments at his own expense, with no expectations of any other pay than what might result from the success of the adventure. The party numbered 480, among whom were most of the men who had partaken in the massacre of the Moravians a few weeks before.

They elected their officers by ballot, and their choice fell upon William Crawford, a man who had been a companion of the youthful Washington, when he was only a backwoods surveyor, unmindful of his future destiny.

Col. David Williamson was second in command, the same who had led the murderous expedition against the Moravians, from which it would appear that the consciences of the raiders was not sensitive as to the means to be used whereby the Indians should be conquered into submission.

Everything being in readiness, on the 25th of May the company dashed into the wilderness, each man well mounted and laden with twenty days' provisions. On the fourth day they reached Gnadenhutten, the scene of the late Moravian massacre. Here the bodies of the victims, men, women and children, lay without burial, in a horrible pile of decay, mingled with the ashes of the building, which was burnt over their lifeless remains. The fields of corn were standing, with no one left to harvest them, and afforded ample provender for their horses.

Passing on in a westerly course, they soon came to the Sandusky plains, where Wyandotte county now is. Here they expected to find the Wyandottes in force, but in this they were mistaken. A voiceless solitude of prairie hazel brush and oak openings extended far and wide.* Not an Indian or a Britisher was seen, but slyly

* This was the condition of Wyandotte county as late as 1839, at which time the writer passed through it soon after the removal of the Indians.

as the Thugs of India, the stealthy foe had dogged their trail, crawling around their camp at night, and fleet-footed messengers had reported their numbers, and the course they were taking ever since they had crossed the Muskingum.

Near the present site of Upper Sandusky the enemy was encountered, among whom were the notorious Simon Girty and Elliot. Crawford immediately took a sheltered position in a grove, and succeeded in maintaining the supremacy during the action. The next day the fight was renewed, but Crawford still kept the savages at a respectful distance by means of his sharpshooters. The third day the Indians were reinforced by a company of British cavalry from Detroit. All hope of final victory was now abandoned, and the retreat was commenced at nine o'clock the succeeding evening. By skillful skirmishing the Americans succeeded in getting outside the enemy's lines; and making a brief halt, to their dismay their commander was missing.

But there was no time to look for him, for the victorious enemy were pressing upon their rear in overwhelming numbers; and now while the defeated raiders are flying homeward, with the exultant foe in hot pursuit, the fate of Crawford will be told.

During the bewilderment of the night retreat Crawford had been cut off from the main body and captured, together with several others, among whom was Dr. Knight. Most of the captives were tomahawked with little ceremony, but Crawford, the Big Captain, as the Indians called him in derision, was reserved for an especial object on whom to satiate their vengeance. When brought to the place of execution, among the red demons who were assembled to take part in the revelry, was Simon Girty.

Nine years before, during his residence near Pittsburg, he had lived in the same neighborhood with Crawford, and the unhappy victim seeing him, a faint ray of hope flashed into his frozen heart as he was stripped naked and tied to the fatal stake.

There were the fagots, and vengeful hands to apply them, and there was Girty, his former neighbor,

who had often sat at his table in the free and easy companionship peculiar to frontier men and hunters; but the face of the white savage was cold and forbidding. "Do they intend to burn me?" inquired Crawford of Girty. "Yes," was the reply. "I will take it all patiently," said the stoical colonel, and the work began.

His tormentors, with a keen discrimination, economized the vital spark in their victim to the longest span, in order to make the most of him. For three hours he continued to breathe, while the whole surface of his body had been punctured with the burning ends of hickory sticks.

At last the voice of prayer was heard in low but audible words. A hideous squaw now, in the vain attempt to bring fresh tortures to the dying man, emptied a shovel of coals on his back as he lay prostrate, face downward, but insensibility had come to his relief, and he manifested no sign of pain. Soon afterward he arose to his feet, and walked around the post to which he had been tied, and again lay down for the last time. Dr. Knight was now taken away, and nothing more was known of his last moments, except what was gathered from those who took part in the fiendish work.

Dr. Knight was treated only as a prisoner of war, and ultimately was returned to his home.

According to Heckwelder, the Moravian historian of those times, Crawford was tortured in revenge for the barbarous work of Williamson's men a few weeks before, on which occasion forty-two women and children had shared the fate of the men in the indiscriminate butchery.

Perkins, author of the *Western Annals*, says that Crawford's command started into the forests with the avowed purpose of killing every red man, woman or child who came within the reach of their rifles. As much may be inferred from some of the cotemporary relations. But C. W. Butterfield, who has lately published a complete history of the whole expedition, taken from documents, manuscripts and tradition, has discredited the defamers of the expeditionists, and exon-

erates Crawford, at least, from any complicity in the slaughter of Gnadenhutten.

Here it is proper to say, however, that the horrors of Gnadenhutten served to soften the hearts of the hostile Indians toward the Christian Indians, and even the impervious Girty was no longer their enemy. These conditions would go to strengthen the theory that Crawford's awful fate was the result of the Moravian massacre, although he was innocent of any murderous design against the Indians, as Mr. Butterfield, his charitable biographer, has indicated.

"My country, right or wrong," is the best apology the historian can make for the style of warfare which had been waged against the Indians ever since 1774, when Cornstock and Logan raised the tomahawk in revenge for the unprovoked slaughters of Cresap, Great-house and others. And thus it was, that the frontiers of the colonies had been lashed into fury by the war, and could only be lulled into quiet by a permanent peace with England.

After fighting had ceased, and negotiations were opened for peace, the first point to be settled was, on what terms the Americans should treat, which, in fact, involved the chief point at issue. Nobody saw this in a clearer light than the American Commissioners themselves. Jay, Adams, Franklin and Laurens, with a tenacity worthy their high calling, refused to treat in any capacity, except as a sovereign and independent nation. This was reluctantly conceded by England, and three other points only remained to be settled: The American rights to the fisheries of Newfoundland; their liability to indemnify Tories for losses during the war; and the last and most important of the three, the western limits of the United States.

The fishery question was disposed of by granting the Americans the right to fish where they pleased. Next, as to indemnifying Tories for the loss of their property, either by the ravages of war, or the confiscation of their estates, the American Commissioners suggested that it would be equally reasonable for the English to make good the private damage their armies did to America_n

patriots during their various invasions. This unanswerable argument settled that point in favor of the Americans.

Lastly came the boundary question, which was a far more circumstantial affair, and presents one of the most complex conditions of diplomacy ever recorded in history.

Spain was then a powerful nation, and was allied to France by the closest relations of mutual interest, as each was under the rule of a Bourbon. The English wished to retain all the territory described in the Quebec bill of 1774, which made the Ohio river the southern line of Canada.

Meantime the Count de Aranda, the Spanish Minister, asserted the claim of Spain to all the territory between the Mississippi river and Alleghany mountains.

At this juncture Mr. Jay, with his usual penetration, made the discovery that France was secretly using her influence in favor of the Spanish claim. The case was now daily becoming more complicated, and the American Commissioners, after some weeks of delay, availed themselves of England's willingness to concede the boundary of the Mississippi, and signed the definitive treaty with her to this effect, without consulting either the French or Spanish Ministers. Had the signing of the treaty hung on the pleasure of Spain till her consent was obtained to making the Mississippi the western boundary of the United States, it would never have been signed, and it is highly probable that England would not have conceded this point, if the Spanish claim had not presented obstacles in the way of her retaining the territory in question, even if the Americans relinquished it, her fighting force being too nearly exhausted at that time, while that of Spain was in full tide of power. This consideration, in addition to the American rights by virtue of Clark's conquest, settled the destiny of the Northwest, by placing it under the new flag of the United States. It will thus be seen that this result grew out of a rare combination of contingent conditions, the miscarriage of any one of which would have defeated its accomplishment.

John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens were the Commissioners on the part of the United States to negotiate the peace—all able men, perhaps the best fitted for the work of any the country afforded. Mr. Jay, in particular, distinguished himself by his penetration into the mazes of European diplomacy, and proved himself more than a match for the Commissioners of England, Spain and France, though they had grown gray in such service, while he had no other qualifications but his master-mind and his unshaken purpose. The King of England empowered Richard Oswald to act with the Commissioners on the part of "The Colonies or Plantations, or any body or bodies, corporate or politic, assembly or assemblies, or description of men, or person or persons whatsoever," and to "negotiate a peace or truce with the said Colonies or Plantations, or any of them, or any part or parts thereof." Count Vergennes, the French Commissioner, advised that these powers and forms were sufficient to meet the exigency, and Franklin, in his loyalty to French honor, at first coincided with him. But Jay positively refused to negotiate on any basis that did not establish the equality of the Commissioners of both countries as a starting point. "That the treaty must be the consequence of independence, and not independence the consequence of treaty." Franklin and his other constituents soon saw the importance of this position, and they all united with him in the tenacity with which he insisted on it. Whereupon Mr. Oswald, not without some embarrassment, reluctantly exhibited his secret instructions, authorizing him in case "The American Commissioners are not at liberty to treat in any terms short of independence, you are to declare to them that you have authority to make that concession." The Commissioners then proceeded to business, which had not progressed far till Mr. Jay learned with surprise and indignation, that Count de Aranda, the Spanish Commissioner, demanded the abandonment of the Mississippi on the part of the United States as a western boundary. Nor was this policy confined to the Spanish court, as there was convincing evidence to Mr. Jay

that France secretly encouraged Spain in this demand. Franklin at first would not believe it; but Adams, after canvassing the matter, coincided with Jay, and Franklin and Laurens were soon forced into the same conviction by the accumulating evidence in its favor. Under these circumstances, the American Commissioners signed the treaty of peace with the English, without the knowledge of the French court, as soon as the required terms were agreed to. The provisional treaty was signed at Paris, the 30th November, 1782—on the part of America by Messrs. Franklin, Adams, Laurens and Jay; and, on the part of Great Britain, by Mr. Richard Oswald, Lord Shelburne being still at the head of affairs in that country. The preliminary articles, being ratified, within the term specified, by the respective governments, the *definitive* treaty of peace, substantially a copy of the *provisional* one, was signed—for America, by Messrs. Franklin, Adams and Jay, and for England, by Mr. David Hartley, at Paris, the 3d September, 1783. This treaty was unanimously ratified by Congress, on the 14th of February, 1784.* And, on the same day, they unanimously issued a recommendation to the States in pursuance of the stipulations of the 5th article. Hostilities ceased, by proclamation, in April of the preceding year. The British minister refused to insert an article into the treaty on the subject of commerce.

Some censure on the part of France and Spain followed, but no serious rupture from any quarter, for the following reasons: England saw the impossibility of retaining the valley of the Mississippi herself, when both Spain and France opposed it. France had then just begun to feel the premonitory symptoms of the fearful revolution which soon followed, and Spain had neither friendship nor honor in the issue, but she did make a vigorous protest against the terms of the treaty. Her future action for years afterward was in line with this policy, and even gave

* It is worthy of remark that on this critical occasion, England preferred that the United States should own this territory instead of Spain, whose traditional policy has always been adverse to British commercial interests, and, it may be added, to political and religious status.

good evidence that she expected to conquer this country, or at least to force its inhabitants into secession from the eastern states, and form an independent confederacy.

As a means to this end, Spain closed the commerce of the Mississippi river to the settlers of its upper waters, and went so far as to build forts on its eastern banks.

A few years later her designs were made manifest when she secretly sent emissaries to offer to certain persons who represented the country in question, the free navigation of the Mississippi, providing the Northwestern settlements, including Kentucky, would secede from the eastern states either as a separate confederacy or join their fortunes with Spain. Baron de Carondelet, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, sent Thomas Powers, General de Collot and Warin, on this mission,

James McHenry, Secretary of War, soon obtained a rumor of this Spanish movement and warned the authorities against them. General St. Clair, who had just been appointed Governor of Detroit, apprised of this, wrote the following letter to Hon. James Ross, Sept. 6th, 1796.

"General Victor Collot has left the country after making, it is said, an accurate survey of the Ohio, and sounding its depths in a number of places. He was stopped at Fort Massac and his papers examined by the commanding officer. Another matter has happened that will, I suppose, make some noise. A certain Mr. Powers was met as he was ascending the Ohio by an officer, Lieutenant Steele (who it is said was imprudent enough to tell him he was sent for the express purpose, by General Wayne), who stopped him, broke open his letters, examined them and his other papers, and took away with him such as he thought proper."

Prominent men in Kentucky, Detroit and other places were secretly approached on the subject, among whom were Aaron Burr and General Wilkinson, both of whom were subsequently tried for treason, but acquitted for lack of positive evidence.

CHAPTER XI.

Characteristics and Costume of the Virginia Border Men and the New England Pioneers—The Ohio Company Formed—Marietta Settled—Cession of the Northwest to the United States—Congressional Legislation on the Ordinance of 1787—Symes' Purchase—Columbia, North Bend and Cincinnati Settled—Emigration in Arks—The British on the Lakes—Their Relations with the Indians—St. Clair Arrives at Marietta as Governor of the Northwest Territory—Courts Established—Harmer Invades the Indian Country—The French and Indian Villages on the Wabash Destroyed.

Hitherto the Virginia ranger, among whom were a few backwoods Pennsylvanians, were the only Anglo-Americans who had crossed the Ohio river.

These men had been trained amidst the toils and excitements of camp life from infancy. The crack of the rifle was a familiar sound to them, and the Indian war-whoop not an infrequent one.

Their character was molded from two extremes. The first and fundamental one was the high-bred civilization of their fathers, and the other was the influence which their collision with the savages had exerted over them. This had stimulated their heroic virtues, and also whetted their revenge to a wiry edge.

Into the wilderness they had marched—their feet clad with moccasins, after the Indian pattern—their hunting shirts faced with a fringe, and sometimes ornamented with wild-cats' paws for epaulettes. The inevitable leathern belt which they wore was as heavy as a horse's surcingle of modern days, and from it

depended sockets for a tomahawk, a large knife and a pistol. A heavy rifle, bullet pouch and powder horn completed their outfit.

Such were the men whose vaulting ambition in making the conquest of the country beyond the Ohio had wrenched away the jewel which the heroic Wolfe in his dying moments, on the Heights of Abraham, had bequeathed to the English crown.

Another element now comes to the scene. The New Englander has heard of these fertile valleys, and comes to see them. He is dressed in a blue-black broadcloth coat, with a velvet collar stiffened with buckram, and projecting its inflexible form above the nape of his neck, often coming in collision with the rim of his bell-crowned hat as he throws his head back with an air of conscious dignity, neither constrained nor ostentatious. His vest reaches the entire length of his body, but is cut back, leaving angular flaps at the extremities. His feet are shod with ponderous boots, imparting steadfastness rather than elasticity to his gait.

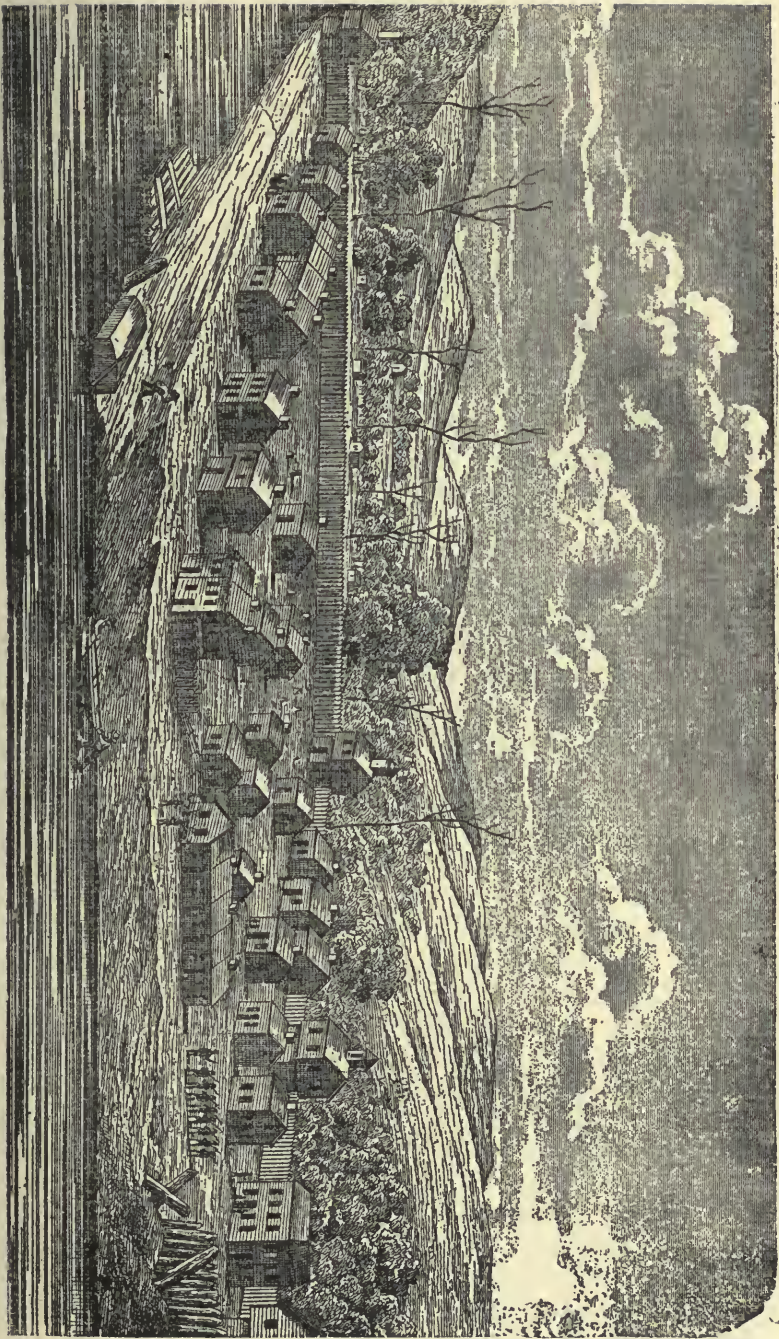
By these men were formed in June, 1786, a corporation called The Ohio Company. It was composed of officers and soldiers from New England, who had served with honor in the war of the revolution. On the 23d of November, 1787, the stockholders in this company met at Bracket's Tavern, in Boston, and voted to send a corps of forty-eight men to the mouth of the Muskingum river, make a survey of public lands, for a settlement, cut away the forests, for a field, and make other preparations for the colony.

The wood choppers were to receive \$4.00, and the surveyors \$27.00 per month while in actual service, and General Rufus Putnam, the venerable Superintendent, was to receive \$40.00 per month.*

The party landed in flat boats at the mouth of the Muskingum, the 7th of April, 1788, and began to lay out a town which they first named Adelphi, but subsequently changed the name to Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the fair Queen of France, whose

* Hildreth's Pioneer Hist., p. 202.

MARIETTA IN 1788.



supreme influence in the French court had been used in behalf of Franklin's mission there in 1778, to secure the acknowledgment of American independence.

The New England element was here planted for the first time beyond the Ohio, and here it ever retained its foothold. But ere its destined influence was to make itself widely known and felt, the third and last conquest of the country was to be made.

The first conquest had been made from the French, in the French and Indian war, which gave the country to the English. The second by the Virginians under Clark, which had given the country to the United States. But in both of these conquests the natives of the soil saw no infringements of their rights, nor were there any in theory. They had been invited to take part in both of them, and had done so under an impression that the nation to whom they had allied themselves would protect them in their natural rights to the soil. But as ill fortune would have it, for them, they had fought on the losing side, first for the French against the English, and next, chiefly against the Americans during the revolutionary war, and had drawn upon themselves the resentment of the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, and the Kentucky pioneers, who were now beginning to settle that infant state. At no distant day a collision was inevitable between them and the Anglo-Americans, which was not to be confined to the border, but to be carried into the forest recesses, where the ownership of the soil was to be decided by the rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, in a series of campaigns, on a far grander scale than any which had yet been witnessed in the American forest.

Before an account of this is told, let us consider the conditions by which the Northwest was endowed with the American principles and came under the general control of Congress.

The great Northwest as known in history, became the property of the United States at the treaty of peace that sheathed the sword of the American revolution in 1783. Even before the war had ended, Silas Dean had called the attention of Congress to its domain,



MAP NO. I.

DIVISION OF THE WEST BY CONGRESS. PLAN OF MARCH 1ST, 1784.

as a means of paying the debts contracted to carry it on.

When, after a tenacious strain in diplomacy, it became ours by treaty, the practical work began, by which it was to be decorated with statehood. It was a difficult and circumstantial piece of work for the Continental Congress to undertake, which had not yet formulated the principles of our Declaration of Independence into law.

The substance of these principles was in the sense of the people, and out of this substance grew the constitution of 1790, until which time, though independent, we were not a nation in form and unity. Pending this interim, the Northwest was to be engrafted on the thirteen states, not unconditionally, but with guarantees for civil and religious liberty; nor did these wise provisions stop here; African slavery was forbidden, although it was then legal in the thirteen old states as an inheritance from the mother country.

Other questions came up, vital to freedom, in its broad sense, one of which was the entailment of estates, which issue was disposed of by dividing them equally between son and daughter, instead of giving the whole to the oldest son, according to English law.

To lay these foundations on which states were to be built up west of the Ohio, was to anticipate the work to be done in the formation of the constitution itself, without which the war of the late revolution would have been a waste of the most precious blood ever spilt in defense of human rights.

March 1st, 1784, the State of Virginia executed the deed of cession of the Northwest Territory to the United States, and on the same day a committee of delegates reported a plan for its temporary government, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. A division of the entire western portion of the United States territory was proposed, of which Map No. 1, on page 257, is a record.

This plan was not satisfactory, and on the 23d of the succeeding month another outline sketch was made with names of the new states omitted, and discretionary limits of proposed states south of the Ohio river, shown by dotted lines.



MAP NO. 2.

DIVISION OF THE WEST IN THE ORDINANCE OF APRIL 23D, 1784.

The reason why these lines divided no territory south of the thirty-first parallel was because Spain then owned the country between this line and the Gulf.

July 7th, 1786, a plan for the division of the Northwest Territory only, as shown on Map No. 3, was proposed and accepted by Congress, and on July 13th, 1787, an ordinance passed making this a law.

It was by virtue of Virginia's first steps taken to wrest this territory from the French that she built her claim to it, but when this claim had to be submitted to the anticipated constitutional test, by which the states were to be bound together, her statesmen were quick to see that it was invalid, and relinquished it. New York and Massachusetts had lesser claims of the same kind, but promptly gave them up. Had no state presented any claim to this territory the action of Congress, in preparing it for statehood, would have been the same, with the proviso "that the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of, the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States. That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Post Vincennes, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity not exceeding 150,000 acres of land, promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose."*

*This reservation was laid off on the borders of the Ohio river, adjacent to the falls; and the tract was called the "Illinois Grant," or "Clark's Grant."



MAP NO 3.
DIVISION OF THE NORTHWEST, JULY 7TH, 1786.

The reason why such action was then necessary, was because we were not under the guide of a constitution. Since this instrument has become the law of the land, new territories are made into states under its general binding force without special legislation, except as in the case of Missouri, and contingent upon its admission by compromise with a right as to slavery (then questionable), Nebraska and Kansas. Besides the above states requiring special legislation for admission, the territory of Utah, owing to her offensive social laws, presented a case in which the central constitutional power of the nation subordinated the single state to its fiat in accordance with the moral popular will.

Here it is proper to state that some able jurists claimed that Utah had a constitutional right to demand statehood, notwithstanding her offensive social laws; but whether this is true or not, the unwritten law of propriety and consistency interposed objections to her admission, till she came into court with clean hands—to use a metaphor. Similar requisitions are in store for territory lately conquered from Spain ere baptism with statehood.

The general principles established by the Continental Congress in its evolutionary legislation for the admission of states in the Northwest Territory, have neither been impaired nor infringed upon by special legislation, except to meet transient emergencies in the cases of the states just mentioned. In 1830 a dispute arose between the states of Ohio and Michigan; it was settled by Congress in 1836, which set off a portion of northeastern Wisconsin, giving it to Michigan for concessions made to Ohio. In 1818 the northern limits of Illinois were removed to the forty-second parallel, to give the state a frontage on Lake Michigan. This was done by the influence of Nathaniel Pope, the reasons for which are fully given in Ford's History of Illinois.

The 20th day of May, 1785, Congress passed an ordinance for the survey and disposition of that portion of the territory which had been purchased by treaty from the Indian inhabitants. For carrying this ordinance into effect one surveyor was appointed from each

of the states, and placed under the direction of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of the United States. The territory was to be surveyed into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles. "The first line running north and south, as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsylvania; and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point and shall extend throughout the whole territory." The townships were to be numbered from south to north, beginning with No. 1, and the ranges to be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward; the first range, extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie, being marked No. 1.

The geographer was to attend personally to running the first east and west line, and to take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers. Seven ranges of townships, in the direction from south to north, were ordered to be first surveyed, and plats thereof transmitted to the board of treasury, and so of every succeeding seven ranges that should be surveyed.

After these lands had been advertised for sale, they were to be sold at a rate of not less than one dollar per acre, with an addition of the expenses of survey, estimated at thirty-six dollars a township. Four lots, numbered 8, 11, 26 and 29, were reserved for the United States, out of every township. These lots were mile squares of 640 acres. Lot No. 16 was reserved for the benefit of schools within the township.

The states of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, by virtue of colonial services during French occupation, respectively claimed lands lying north of the river Ohio and west and northwest of the western boundary of Pennsylvania. The claim of New York was, however, transferred to the United States, by a deed of cession, executed in Congress on the 1st day of March, 1781. The claim of the state of Massachusetts was assigned to the United States on the 19th day of

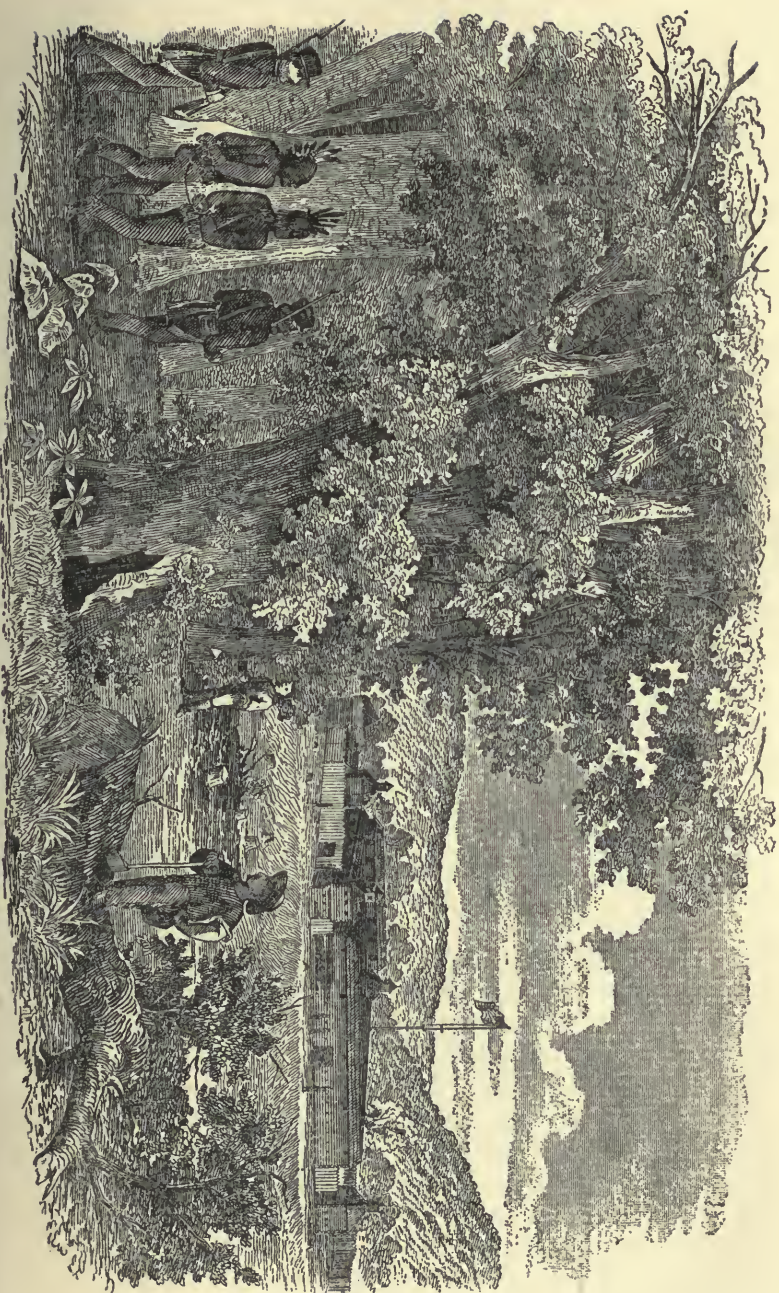
April, 1785; and on the 13th day of September, 1786, the state of Connecticut transferred to the United States her claim to lands in the West, reserving a tract of about 3,000,000 of acres, bounded on the north by Lake Erie, on the south by the forty-first degree of north latitude, and extending westwardly 120 miles from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. This tract was called the Western Reserve of Connecticut.

In the month of October, 1786, the legislature of that state ordered a part of the tract, lying east of the river Cuyahoga, to be surveyed, and opened an office for the sale of the lands. In 1792, a tract containing about 500,000 acres of land, lying in the western part of the reservation, was granted by Connecticut to certain citizens of that state as a compensation for property burned and destroyed in the towns of New London, New Haven, Fairfield and Norwalk by the British troops in the course of the revolutionary war. The tract thus granted was called the Fire Lands. On the 30th of May, 1800, the jurisdictional claims of the state of Connecticut to all the territory called the Western Reserve of Connecticut, was surrendered to the United States. These various cessions included all the claims held by old colonial charters to any western lands, all of which being transferred to the United States, it only remained to extinguish the Indian title, in order to possess the country.

On the 5th of October, 1787, Major-Gen. Arthur St. Clair was appointed Governor of the Northwest Territory, who was instructed to do this as rapidly as consistent with the peace.

The new territorial government was to go into operation on the 1st of the succeeding February, 1788. Emigration was rapidly coming into the country, in flat boats down the Ohio river, and settling on lands already surveyed at Marietta, and further down on lands known by the name of Symes' Purchase.

Soon after the settlement had been made at Marietta, Major Benjamin Sites, with about twenty men, landed in November, 1788, at the mouth of the Little Miami river, within the limits of a tract of 10,000 acres, pur-



FORT WASHINGTON (CINCINNATI), 1788.

chased by Major Sites from Judge Symes. Here they constructed a log fort, and laid out the town of Columbia.

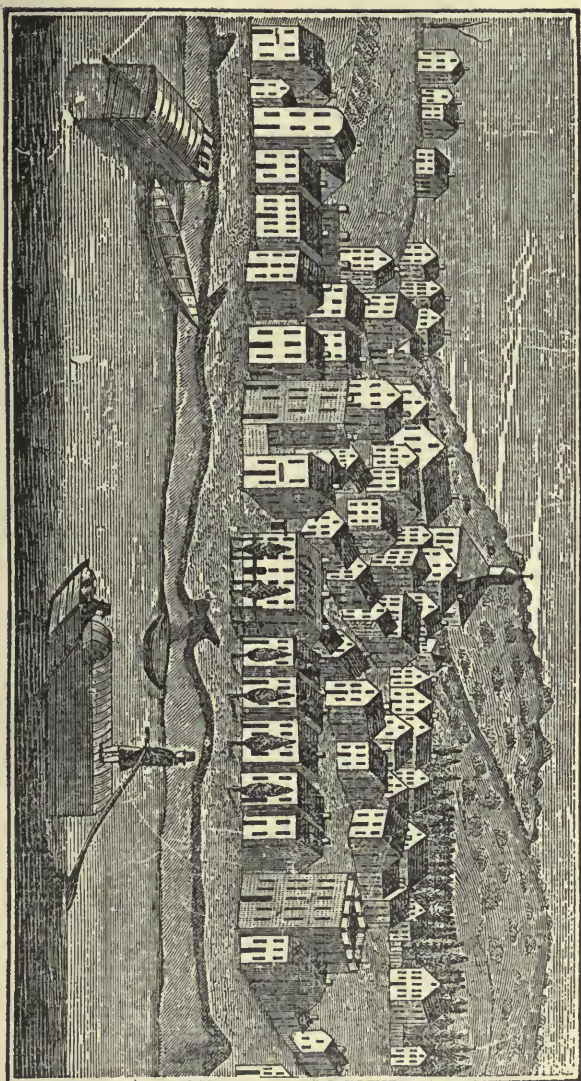
The next month, on the 24th, Mathias Denman and Robert Patterson, with twelve or fifteen men, landed at the mouth of the Licking river, just below, and projected the town of Cincinnati. Losanteville was the first name given to the place, which had been manufactured (says Judge Burnet in his notes, page 47) "by a pedantic foreigner, whose name fortunately has been forgotten."

It was formed, he said, from the words Le-os-anteville, which he rendered "The Village opposite the Mouth." The name was not long retained, but by whose authority it was changed, is not known. Late in the ensuing autumn, which was in 1789, the town was surveyed by Colonel Ludlow. In February of the same year a third town was commenced on the same tract of land, at North Bend, just below Cincinnati. This was done by Judge Symes himself, the original purchaser of the tract. A few months later, a town was laid out and named Symes, but the place soon became known only as North Bend, and was destined to gain more notoriety as the residence of William Henry Harrison, than by its success as a city.

As might be supposed, a feeling of rivalry existed between the three towns started, each of which put forth its best efforts to attract the emigration that was rapidly coming into the country, and for a time neither seemed to eclipse the others in any substantial advantages over the other two.

At this juncture a celebrated charmer came to Cincinnati, and her influence turned the scales in its favor. The story runs as follows:

Major Doughty, a man no more invulnerable to the tender passion than other majors, was ordered by General Harmar to go down the Ohio, and erect a fort for the protection of the rapidly increasing population of the three villages. With this intent, he landed at the Bend, and soon formed the acquaintance of a fascinating woman, who was the wife of one of the settlers



CINCINNATI IN 1810.

at the place. To avoid his clandestine attentions to his wife, the husband changed his residence to Cincinnati; but this only served to convince the Major that Cincinnati instead of North Bend was the most propitious place for the fort, and he promptly went thither and built a block house, despite the remonstrances of Symes himself.*

The settlers at the Bend soon deserted the place in favor of Cincinnati, partly to put themselves under the protection of the block house, in case of an Indian outbreak, and partly through a conviction that it gave better promise of future progress.

Fort Washington, a more substantial work of defense, was soon afterward built at the place.

During the early years of western settlement, the Ohio river was the only highway by which the country was reached. Flat boats, known by the special name of arks, with all the appurtenances of cooking and sleeping, were built on the upper tributaries of the Ohio river, and from ten to twenty families would embark in a single one for the West. Down the Ohio they floated, whither fortune and the current would carry them, landing at last in some propitious cove in the river that looked inviting. Here the ark is moored, and in it they still make their home, till log cabins can be erected on shore. This done, the temporary community breaks up, each family setting up for themselves, and the new settlement is begun.

New Design, four miles south of Bellefontaine, in Monroe county, Illinois, was settled in this way by some Virginians in 1781. From the germ planted here, grew to maturity, by constant accessions from Virginia, and later from Kentucky, the settlements of southern Illinois, with their habits and sentiments firmly ingrained into their minds, which they inherited from Virginia.

While the borders of the Ohio river were first being settled, the posts of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Sandusky, Niagara and Oswego, were scarcely thought of by the Americans. The British

*Burnet's Notes, pp. 53 and 54.

still held garrisons in them; all the same as they had done during the American revolution.

On the 12th of July, 1783, soon after the definitive treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, Gen. Washington sent Baron Steuben to Canada, to confer with the Governor, for the purpose of transferring these posts to the United States, but to his surprise, he refused to deliver them up to the Americans; and the English continued to hold these posts for the present, although the act was in violation of the treaty of Paris.

From their ramparts waved the red cross of St. George, and even in these savage realms the loyalty to the English government perhaps exceeded that of the islanders themselves.

As might be supposed, the English had little confidence in the permanency of American institutions, and looked forward to a time when the attempt of the Americans to set up a government, on the plan of universal suffrage, would result in a failure. Under this expectation the prudential British, with an eye to the beautiful as well as their pecuniary interests, lingered on the great waters of the interior, waiting to see what the future might bring forward; and from these various forts they annually distributed large amounts of goods as presents to the Indians, perhaps on the same principle that a client, in anticipation of a law suit gives retaining fees to lawyers.

These acts stirred up bad blood in the hearts of the Americans, but there was no remedy. Washington himself counseled submission to the situation for the present, and with that clear vision into the future, for which he was remarkable, looked forward to a time when the new national progress would drive the English away from the lakes.

On the 9th of July, 1788, St. Clair arrived at Marietta, and as Governor of the Northwest Territory, set the necessary machinery in motion to form a government agreeable to the principles laid down in the ordinance of 1787.

The first county was laid out with dimensions large enough to include all the settlements around Marietta,

and was named Washington county. About the 1st of June, 1790, the Governor, with the Judges of the Superior Court, descended the Ohio to Cincinnati, and laid out Hamilton county. A few weeks later he, with Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, proceeded to Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country, and organized St. Clair county.

Knox county, around Vincennes, was soon afterward laid out. At each of these four counties, courts were established on a model which has not been materially changed since.

The Indians beheld these innovations into their country with rueful thoughts. The United States had neither surveyed nor sold any of these lands that had not been bought and paid for through treaties with certain chiefs, but it was claimed, by the great mass of Indians, that these chiefs had no authority to sell the lands.

To enumerate the various treaties by which the first purchases were made along the Ohio river, would fill a volume with monotonous formulæ. They are preserved in government archives, but are seldom referred to now.

They were the instruments by which the Indian was driven from his native soil, and having executed their mission, are filed away like writs of ejectment after having been served. In almost all cases they were signed by the Indians under a pressure from which they could not extricate themselves.

If they signed them they would get pay for their lands, which the borders of advancing civilization had rendered useless to them; while if they refused, they would nevertheless be forced back without any remuneration. The chiefs could plainly see this, but the great masses of red men could not. Neither could they understand how, by virtue of these instruments, the white man should come among them, cut away the forests, and whelm the fabric of savage society in ruin.

In vain the poetry, the romance or the conscience of the nation might lift up its voice in behalf of the poor Indian. There was but one way in which he could be

saved, which was to beat his scalping knife into a plowshare, and till the soil; but he was as incapable of doing this as the drones in the hive of industry, in our day, are to contribute to the public weal their share of its burdens.

Having established courts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, St. Clair returned to his headquarters at Cincinnati early in the summer of the same year, 1790. During his absence the outcropping discontent of the Indians had been made manifest by their way-laying the emigrants as they came down the Ohio in arks, and unless some means were taken to stop these attacks, this great and only highway to the West would soon be closed.

This was what the Indians aimed at in their attacks, nor had they yet learned the impossibility of the undertaking.

St. Clair now determined to invade the Indian country to punish the disturbers of the peace, and by virtue of authority vested in him by the President, he called for 1,000 militia from Virginia,* and 500 from Pennsylvania.

So careful was President Washington at this time not to provoke a quarrel with the British, that he deemed it imprudent to invade the Indian country, without sending an apology to the English commander at Detroit, lest he might take offense that the Americans had dared to make war on his allies. The following is the letter which St. Clair sent him:

“MARIETTA, 19th September, 1790.

“Sir:—As it is not improbable that an account of the military preparations going forward in this quarter of the country may reach you, and give you some uneasiness, while the object to which they are to be directed is not perfectly known to you, I am commanded by the President of the United States to give you the fullest assurances of the pacific disposition entertained toward Great Britain and all her possessions; and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be

*The state of Virginia then included Kentucky, in which settlements had been made before the Northwest Territory was organized.

undertaken is not intended against the post you have the honor to command, nor any other place at present in the possession of the troops of his Britannic majesty, but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastising some of the savage tribes, whose depredations are become intolerable, and whose cruelties have of late become an outrage, not on the people of America only, but on humanity; which I now do in the most unequivocal manner. After this candid explanation, sir, there is every reason to expect, both from your own personal character, and from the regard you have for that of your nation, that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command, and that you will do what in your power lies, to restrain the trading people, from whose instigations, there is too good reason to believe, much of the injuries of the savages has proceeded. I have forwarded this letter by a private gentleman, in preference to that of an officer, by whom you might have expected a communication of this kind, that every suspicion of the purity of the views of the United States might be obviated."

Harmar's whole force amounted to 1,453 men, all told. On the 26th of September Col. Hardin led the advance to cut a road, but the main body did not leave Fort Washington till the 3d of October, 1790.

The objective point was the Miami village at the bend of the Maumee, where Fort Wayne now stands.

After a march of sixteen days, Col. Hardin reached the place with the advance, intending to surprise the Indians, but on entering the village he found it deserted. Their store of corn was then rated at 20,000 bushels in the ear,* which was consigned to the flames by the invaders.

The troops were very disorderly, and despite the efforts of Gen Harmar, who soon arrived with the main body, everything like reasonable discipline was impossible.

After a few days the celebrated chief, Little Turtle, fell suddenly upon Col. Hardin's detachment, while

* Brice's History of Fort Wayne, p. 125.

some miles away from the main body, and put them to flight with heavy loss. After visiting destruction on another Indian village two miles farther south, Gen. Harmar took up his march for Fort Washington.

But ere they left the scene of operations, Little Turtle managed to bring on another battle with a strong detachment under Col. Hardin, and severely defeated them.

The main body were not brought into action with the Indians at all, but continued their retreat to Fort Washington, where it, with Hardin's detachment, arrived on the 4th of November, having lost 183 men killed, besides many who were wounded.

While this expedition had been in progress, Gen. Hamtramck led a force from Vincennes up the Wabash, and destroyed the Piankeshaw villages, with their stores. The loss of their corn was severely felt by the Indians, but the prestige of victory was with them, and they were much elated with the success that had attended their arms.

The Indians were emboldened, and the apprehensions of the settlements were aroused, particularly those of the Marietta colony, who were more distant from succor in case of an Indian raid than Cincinnati, as the latter was within ready reach of the Kentucky settlements, where aid could be obtained at short notice.

After Harmar's expedition, the Indians, firm in the belief that the British would make common cause with them in their war with the United States, sent a deputation to Lord Dorchester, who then held command at Detroit, to learn from him the amount of support they could expect in the coming war.

Up to this time such inquiries had been answered with metaphor, uttered from the tongues of such villainous apostates of civilization as Girty, Elliot and McGee.

This notorious trio had used every means in their power to deceive the Indians into the belief that the English were ready to take up the hatchet in their behalf. Nor can it be denied that the English officers themselves had given the Indians grounds for such

expectations. Indeed, they had, according to savage rites, pledged themselves to such a policy by making the Indians presents of hatchets, painted red as blood, by which emblem the Indian is bound as solemnly as by vows, and he had no reason to look upon such a symbol as not equally binding on the part of the whites, till he learned to the contrary by experience.

The issue soon came before Lord Dorchester in unequivocal form, and he declined the warlike proposals, greatly to the disappointment of his swarthy friends. No pretext offered for war with the United States, thanks to the prudence of Washington and Jay, by whose flexible but transcendent policy, any expectations which the English might entertain of winning jurisdiction over the Northwest had vanished into a forlorn hope.

Harmar's expedition having made no impression on the Indians, another was planned, to be undertaken the next year, 1791, by General Charles Scott. It consisted of 800 mounted men, the flower of Kentucky bush fighters, and its destination was the Indian towns on the Wabash above Vincennes. The place was soon reached by the mounted scouts, the Indian towns destroyed, and about fifty prisoners taken, but no decisive action was fought.

This expedition, like Harmar's which preceded it, only served to inflame the resentment of the Indians and widen the breach between them and the whites into an impassable gulf.

Scott's raid was succeeded by another similar one under General Wilkinson, the succeeding summer. He went up the Wabash as far as Ouatanon, laying waste towns and fields as he went. Ouatanon was then a thriving village of about seventy comfortable dwellings, besides many Indian huts. It was composed of French, half breeds and Indians, and many signs of progress, such as books and pictures, were manifest in this wilderness post. Their fields of corn were cultivated with plows, like the English, and their horses and cows were well taken care of.*

* *Am. State Papers*, Vol. V. p. 121.

The town was burnt and everything destroyed that the invaders could seize, whether the property of French or Indians. They all belonged to a less ambitious race than the Americans. The French and Indians had lived together here since 1733, and the hybrid offspring that rose up in the forest in consequence was essentially Indian in social matters, while the French themselves manifested no disposition to break through the toils of savage manners, customs and superstitions. Whatever may have been their standard of honor or their communistic propensities of equality and indisposition to eclipse each other in wealth or grandeur, these were the last qualifications that would recommend them to the favor of Americans, whose motto is *Excelsior*.

The defeats of the Americans at the hands of Little Turtle embarrassed our first administration, which was then put to a heavy strain to liquidate revolutionary debts, as well as to satisfy its soldiers, who had been paid in continental money, of which the following is a fac-simile:



CHAPTER XII.

Little Turtle—His Masterly Abilities—Privations of the Early Settlers—St. Clair's Expedition against the Indians—His Defeat—Its Causes—He Resigns—Gen. Anthony Wayne Succeeds Him—Peace Commissioners on the Canada Border—The Indians Claim the Ohio River as a Boundary Line between Themselves and the Whites—The Terms Inadmissible and the Council a Failure.

Among the forest heroes whose exploits have made their history illustrious in their downfall, was a chief named Little Turtle. Gifted with the essential qualities which make up the model great man in civilized communities, and nearly exempt from the eccentricities peculiar to his race, his many virtues shone with untarnished luster amidst the turmoil of the camp and the vengeful spirit of the times. He was not a chief by birth, but rose to that distinction per force of his merit, both as counselor and warrior, and at maturity he became principal chief of the Miamis, and the acknowledged leader of the neighboring tribes who had confederated themselves together to beat back the white invaders of their soil.

Immediately after the raids of Harmar, Scott and Wilkinson, the forest echoed with the war-whoop from the Muskingum to the Wabash. The Miamis, Chippewas, Delawares, Pottawattomies, Hurons and Shawanese, gathered under the banner of Little Turtle, who, with the assistance of Girty, McGee and Elliot, and his subordinate chiefs, constituted the best drilled army of Indian warriors that ever fought the white man.

St. Clair had foreseen this vengeful animosity that rankled in the hearts of the Indians, and had made preparations to meet it. The country over which he had been appointed governor was a wilderness of forest and prairie, tenanted by its native inhabitants; some of whom, under the tutelage of the French, had erected log cabins to live in instead of bark huts. The American settlers did not number 2,000 in the entire territory. They were settled within the limits of Washington county, at the mouth of the Muskingum, and Symes' Purchase, on the Ohio, embracing Cincinnati and its vicinity. To these may be added a few Americans settled amongst the French villages of the Illinois country, and also among the settlers at Vincennes. Thriving settlements had started in Kentucky from the parent state of Virginia, and these were the main dependence of the inhabitants north of the Ohio river, in case of a sudden Indian outbreak.

The situation of the inhabitants in the entire valley of the Mississippi was complicated with untried conditions. England still held the entire lake country. Spain held the west bank of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans, and was putting forth her utmost exertions to induce the people of Kentucky to secede from the United States, and to this end closed the navigation of the Mississippi, refusing to make it free to the western people, except on condition that they would cut loose from the parent stem and set up a government under the protection of Spain. To bring about this she sent intriguing emissaries to Kentucky; nor did they fail to get some encouragement. Under this double pressure, the settlers of the Northwest maintained an unshaken confidence in their ability to struggle through all the writhings of their crooked path.

They labored incessantly at their daily toil, and were contented with the coarsest fare. Corn meal mixed with water, baked on a board turned up to the fire, was almost the only bread they had, and all they wanted. Their meat, besides what game they shot, was pork, fattened on the nuts of the forest, which they called mast. Within the territory at this time were four

American forts: Fort Knox, at Vincennes, garrisoned with eighty men; Ft. Washington, at Cincinnati, with seventy-five men; Ft. Steuben, twenty-two miles above Wheeling, on the Ohio river, with sixty-one men; and Campus Martius, at Marietta, with forty-five men.

The latter place represented the blandishments of Boston, classical learning of Yale, and the patriotism of Bunker Hill. Here the first laws to govern the new territory were published; and here its first courts were established; and though Gen. St. Clair's headquarters were at Cincinnati, Marietta was by far the most congenial place for his family to reside in. Accordingly suitable apartments were fitted up for their accommodation in Campus Martius. In Louisa, his oldest daughter, were united the western heroine with the refinements of Philadelphia, where she was educated. In the winter of 1790, she was often seen skating on the Muskingum river, in which exercise few of the young officers could equal her in activity. During successive years she often rode through the adjacent forests on horseback, armed with her rifle, undaunted by the dangers of Indian ambuscades. Her skill in the use of this weapon was sometimes turned to a good account in the wild game with which she furnished her father's table, shot by the bullet under the fatal aim of her blue eye.

Hildreth, the pioneer historian, in his rapturous praises of her surpassing beauty and grace, in his imagination substitutes a bow and arrow for her rifle, and sees her flying through the wooded heather, mounted on her high mettled steed, like Diana, the daughter of Jupiter, and goddess of hunting.

In this gifted girl was represented the type of American genius, the transcendent images of civilization, before which all bow with loyalty and devotion. Should this power supplant the barbarism of the forest, and make it teem with joy and beauty multiplied with years? or should the inherent rights of the Indian be respected, and the country which he owned be held sacred to the chase and occupied only by the tenants of the wigwam? This was the question before the American people,

especially the pioneer who had crossed the Ohio, which was then looked upon by the Indians as a partition line between the whites and themselves.

On the 15th of May, 1791, Gen. St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington, which was to be the rallying point for the troops destined to invade the Indian country. By a special act of Congress, 3,000 men were to be raised for this service from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; but owing to the poverty of the country, as well as the long continued draft upon its sinews of war, the quota had not been filled. The rising state of Kentucky, however, came to the rescue, and sent 418 men to partially supply the deficiency. On the 17th of September the whole force was gathered at Ludlow's Station, five miles north of Fort Washington, and the march began,

The first day brought the army to the banks of the Big Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, which is the site of the present beautiful city of Hamilton, twenty-four miles north of Cincinnati.

Continuing northwardly forty-two miles, Fort Jefferson was built on the 24th, six miles south of the present town of Greenville, in Darke county. Delays in the arrival of provisions for the troops caused murmuring among the militia, and three hundred of them deserted. On the 30th, the army made another advance of seven miles.

On the 3d of November it had arrived at the head waters of the Wabash, where it encamped in order of battle, as the enemy were supposed to be near.

The next day, before sunrise, just after the early morning drill, an advanced corps of the army were attacked and driven in with great precipitancy upon the main body. Little Turtle, who commanded the Indians, with his natural penetration, made the most of this success by following it up with such promptness that the disorder in St. Clair's army, occasioned by his dashing charge, was never fully recovered from, although the action soon became general, and several successful bayonet charges under Col. Darke caused the Indians

to retreat for a short time, but only to renew the battle more fiercely than ever.

At nine o'clock it became evident to St. Clair that the day was lost. One-third of his men lay dead or wounded on the ground, which they could no longer defend. The artillery was silent for the want of men to serve it. General Butler, the second in command, lay mortally wounded, while St. Clair's own clothes were pierced with bullets; for he, with his accustomed courage, had shared the dangers of the soldiers.

Under these distressing circumstances, he executed a skillful maneuver in the face of the triumphant enemy, and secured a retreat with less loss than was feared might result from a headlong flight before a fleet-footed and victorious foe. His camp equipage and most of the wounded were left in the hands of the victors. His losses were thirty-nine officers and 593 men killed, and twenty-two officers and 242 men wounded. Little Turtle reported his loss at 150 killed, and from his unchallenged record for integrity, his report may be taken as correct.

The most rigid scrutiny failed to cast any blame on the conduct of St. Clair in this disastrous battle, but attributed the defeat to the want of discipline in the raw recruits of which his army was composed, not forgetting, withal, to state that the Indians fought with exemplary courage, directed by the master mind of Little Turtle.

More than a century ago there was a school of naturalists, composed largely of French savants, who promulgated a theory based on scientific principles, as they averred that America did not produce the higher grades of animals; that even man would become dwarfed in body and mind in that unfriendly climate, unless fresh European blood was constantly infused into his veins by emigration and intermarriage.

This theory must fall to the ground when the soil of America produces such men as Little Turtle, whose great mind, not traceable to European origin, shone forth even more conspicuously in his statesman-like counsels after the battle than ever before, as will appear in the history of the next campaign. This theory, how-

ever, had already been put to the blush by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, when he was in Paris in 1783, as minister to settle terms of peace with England after the revolution. On a certain day he invited a number of the *litterati* of France to dine with him. Some casualty turning the subject on the natural history of America, one of the guests asked Franklin's opinion on the then acknowledged inferiority of animal growth there. The attention of the whole company was now arrested to listen to the profound words of the American philosopher, and when he arose from his seat, and requested his American friends to do the same, the interest was redoubled.

The six Americans present arose—all muscular, overgrown men, with a full measure of brains and thorough bass voices. "Now let six Frenchmen arise," said the sage of the New World. Up started the required number of Parisians, whose slender frames and pale faces contrasted unfavorably with the Americans. This settled the point.

When the terrible defeat of St. Clair is read, let it not be forgotten that the soil of the Northwest nurtured into being the men to accomplish it in defense of their homes; and if this brave and eloquent people had enjoyed the advantages of civilization, we could not have conquered them, nor should we have wished to. Even under all their disadvantages they made a valiant defense, and, in the grandeur of their fall, left ample proofs that muscle and mind are indigenous to our soil.

After this disastrous campaign emigration ceased, but the American forts were all held, including Fort Hamilton and Fort Jefferson, which had been built by St. Clair on his way into the Indian country. From prudential as well as patriotic motives, he now resigned his position as commander-in-chief of the army, and General Anthony Wayne was substituted in his place. Five thousand men were to be raised for the expedition which he was to lead against Little Turtle.

While these preparations were making for the new campaign, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering were appointed as commissioners in behalf of the United States, to meet the Indians in

council near the mouth of the Detroit river, not distant from the Indian camp at the rapids of the Maumee, and if possible negotiate a peace. Among the secret instructions which were given them by Washington, the President of the United States, they were required to make the treaty of Fort Harmar the basis of a peace. By this treaty, the eastern and southern portions of the present state of Ohio had been ceded to the United States, although the Indians disputed the validity of the treaty, on the ground that the tribes most interested had taken no part in it. Other instructions authorized the commissioners to make some concessions to the Indians, by giving up some lands already occupied outside of the limits established by the treaty of Fort Harmar.

They were also authorized to give to the Indians \$50,000 worth of goods immediately, and \$10,000 worth annually forever. Twenty thousand dollars in coin was to be given to the head chiefs besides the above. The commissioners arrived on the ground in July, 1793, by way of the lakes, courteously assisted by the English in their methods of travel at that time. While the council was in session, Gen. Wayne's army remained near Cincinnati, awaiting its result, and the Indians, on their part, faithfully preserved a peaceful attitude, according to a previous agreement on both sides. The great point for which the Indians contended was that the Ohio river should forever be the boundary line between themselves and the whites; and the arguments they used to sustain this claim, can be best understood by quoting extracts from their speeches, and the replies to them by the commissioners.

Previous to the meeting of these commissioners with the Indians, as proposed, Major Trueman and Col. Hardin left Fort Washington, with copies of a speech from President Washington to the hostile Indians, of which the following is an extract:

"Brothers: The President of the United States entertains the opinion that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts: that you believe the United States wants to deprive you of your lands, and

drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so. On the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life, of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land. War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engage to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States. Brothers: Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead your judgment, and influence you to continue the war; but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure.

“The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principal chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity. Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all further depredations; and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the general government, and there make a peace, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum [Fort Harmar] in the year 1789. But if any of your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive a full satisfaction upon that head. The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to the city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey. * * Come, then, and be convinced for yourselves, of the beneficence of General Washington, the great chief of the United States, and afterward return and spread the glad tidings of peace and prosperity of the Indians to the setting sun.”

The council was opened on the 30th of July, by Simon Girty, interpreter, who presented, in behalf of the Indians, the following paper to the commissioners:

"To the Commissioners of the United States.—Brothers: The deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing. Brothers: You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the confederate Indians. Brothers: You know very well that the boundary line, which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio. Brothers: If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river. Brothers: We therefore ask you, are you fully authorized by the United States to continue, and firmly fix on the Ohio river as the boundary line between your people and ours? Done in general council at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, 27th July, 1793, in behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in a full council."

To this opening of the case the commissioners replied:

"Brothers: We do know very well, that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, *twenty-five years ago*, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you and the white people of the British colonies; and we all know that, about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the king of Great Britain, and the people of those colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace, made with the king, about ten years ago, by which the great lakes and the waters which unite them were, by him, declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

"Brothers: Peace having been thus made between the king of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king; for this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages

to all those Indian nations, *inviting them to come and make peace.* The first treaty was held about nine years ago, at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa and Chippewa nations. Afterward treaties were made with divers Indian nations south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Ka-kia pilathy, here present, and other Shawanese chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanese nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

“Brothers: The commissioners who conducted the treaties in behalf of the United States sent the papers containing them to the great council of the states, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and settled upon them; also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great waters, and settled upon a part of the same lands.*

“Brothers: After some time, it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami; therefore the great council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire which he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where nearly 600 Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the

* The French settlement at Gallipolis.

treaty of Fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies and Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.

“Brothers: All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of the treaties.

“Brothers: After making all these treaties, and after hearing the chiefs express freely their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly, large tracts have been sold and settled, as before mentioned. And now, brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, *it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.*

“Brothers: You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expenses which attend the settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your brothers the English know the nature of white people, and they know that, under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

“Brothers: You seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware nations to the state of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver creek, at the Ohio, due north to Lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the king of England to your ancient friend, William Penn. Of this sale, made by the Wyandot and Delaware nations to the state of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

“Brothers: The concessions which we think necessary on your part are that you yield up, and finally relinquish to the United States, some of the lands on your side of the river Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed *all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and, also, a small tract of land at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and warriors; and, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum, in money or goods, as was never given at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their foot on this island.* And, because those lands did, every year, furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessities, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.”

To these overtures of the commissioners the Indians replied:

“Brothers: It is now three years since you desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you. Brothers: You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek,* and other places. Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us. Brothers: Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property. Brothers: You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our land. Brothers: We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago. Brothers: We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought

* Fort McIntosh.

you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington."

"The council here breaking up, Captain Elliot went to the Shawnee chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back, and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: 'Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and will consult our head warriors.' The deputation of Indians were then told that the commissioners would wait to hear again from the council at the rapids of the Maumee."

On the 16th of August, 1793, Messrs. Lincoln, Randolph and Pickering received the following answer (in writing) to their speech of the 31st of July:

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.*—Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the king, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace'; and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say: 'Brothers, the commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the states, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

“Brothers: This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who who attended those treaties, viz.: *That they went to meet your commissioners to make peace; but through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.*

“Brothers: Money, to us, is of no value; and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, *we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.*

“Brothers: We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. *Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold them.* If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

“Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

“Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another, by having agreed to do us justice after having long and injuriously withheld it. We mean, in the acknowledgment you have now made, that the king of England never did, nor ever had a right, to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect

that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

“Brothers: You have talked also a great deal about pre-emption and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king at the treaty of peace.

“Brothers: We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands. And we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us. We have never parted with such a power.

“Brothers: At our general council held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio; and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that point. That is the reason we have never met. We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back, and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

“Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was practically directed to obtain that information. Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.”

It was now evident that the council would prove a failure, as the terms of the Indians were inadmissible. The commissioners therefore made the following declaration, and the cession adjourned without effecting its purpose, each party departing, not without painful regrets, to renew a conflict desperate on the part of the Indians, and doubtful on the part of the whites.

*“To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations Assembled at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids.—*Brothers: We have just received your answer, dated the 13th inst., to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations, and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you, *that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States.* Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is, therefore, at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result; but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States—which, as far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you—we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

“Done at Captain Elliott’s, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 16th day of August, 1793.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,	} Commissioners
BEVERLY RANDOLPH,	
TIMOTHY PICKERING,	
	} of the
	} United States.”

The council, which had been in session seventeen days, ending in failure, the commissioners made all haste to Fort Erie in Pennsylvania, which was then the outermost post of the Americans on the lakes. From there they sent the news of their unsuccessful mission to General Wayne, then awaiting the issue at Fort Washington. In justice to the English, it should not be omitted that they extended exemplary courtesy to the American commissioners in providing the means of transportation to and from the place where the council was held, at the mouth of the Maumee, as well as by other marks of respect from Governor Simcoe.

CHAPTER XIII.

Genet, the Minister of the New French Republic, Sent to the United States—Abuse of His Power Dangerous to America—He is Recalled at the Request of Jefferson—General Wayne Marches against the Indians—Builds Fort Recovery—The Indians Attack the Place—Are Repulsed—Evidence of English Complicity with the Indian Cause—General Wayne Advances to the Saint Mary's River—Sends Peace Proposals to Little Turtle—He Wishes to Accept Them, but is Overruled in the Council—A Decisive Battle Ensues—General Wayne under the Guns of the English Fort—The English Commander Takes Offense—An Angry Correspondence Ensues—English View of the Case—Fort Wayne Built—Treaty of Greenville—Little Turtle's Honorable Record—His Death—Public Honors to His Memory—The Free Navigation of the Mississippi Conceded by Spain—The English Give up the American Posts on the Lakes—Cleveland Settled.

A little before midnight, August 1st, 1793, two officers of the French revolutionary government entered the apartments of Marie Antoinette and aroused her from a disquiet sleep. From there she was conducted to a still closer confinement in a prison cell, eight feet long, furnished only with a bed of straw. On the 16th of October she was executed, and her head, severed from her body, was held up to the view of the thousands assembled there to see the blood of their queen (whose graces had charmed the courts of Europe), dripping over the bare arms of her executioner. These and other excesses of the revolutionary government caused

an immediate declaration of war by England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Piedmont, the two Sicilies and the Roman States, against France. On the 8th of April, 1793, Genet, the minister of the new French republic, which had accomplished these political tragedies, arrived in the United States. He was received with enthusiasm as a fitting memorial of gratitude for the timely services of France, so recently rendered to the United States in its struggle for liberty; for the people, in their blind zeal in the cause of republicanism, did not stop to call in question the means by which it was obtained.

It was confidently expected by Genet, that the United States would make common cause with France, in her headlong career of revolution, which at one time threatened to sweep through Europe, and the tempting prize which he held forth to the American people, to secure their co-operation, was well calculated to make them set their feet into the treacherous snare, and would have succeeded but for the discernment of the fathers of our republic, particularly Washington, Adams and Jay.

Entering with masterly zeal upon his labors, with an overstrain perhaps not inconsistent with the genius of his government, Genet abused his prerogatives by fitting out French vessels on American waters, by establishing recruiting quarters in South Carolina, to raise troops for the invasion of the Spanish possessions of Florida, and also recruiting quarters in Kentucky to raise troops for the invasion of Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, with a view to open that stream for the free navigation of western commerce.

The latter was a very popular measure among the Kentuckians, and it required the utmost exertions of the American cabinet to circumvent the designs of Genet, which if allowed to go on, would have involved us in a war with Spain. It is equally certain also, that England would have declared war against us if Genet had succeeded in his designs of invading Spanish territory with American troops, for Spain was then the active ally of England against France, in which case the English forces in Canada would have made common cause with

Little Turtle, who with the Spanish soldiers from New Orleans added to them, could have driven every American settler out of the country west of the Ohio.

To guard against these calamities, Washington determined to issue a proclamation, warning the western people against enlisting in the service against the Spaniards, and Jefferson, secretary of state, wrote a letter to Gouverneur Morris, our minister to France, requesting the removal of Genet. This prompt action was taken while Genet was very popular among the masses in America, having secured their favor by promising not only to open the free navigation of the Mississippi, but also proposing to pay off the American debt by purchasing provisions for the French soldiers while they were engaged in dethroning the monarchs of Europe. But ere all this was accomplished he was recalled from his post, and Mr. Fauchet substituted in his place.* The new minister soon made amends for the

*The minister must have been well satisfied that the nation were exceedingly desirous of a union with France; and were quite prepared to enter, with that country, into a war against the monarchies of Europe. These sentiments soon became deeply impressed upon the mind of Mr. Genet—a man, obviously, of a sanguine temperament, heated and excited by the passions and politics of the times.

It is quite in course here to mention a circumstance that first appears to have allayed the fever heat of the public pulse; to have awakened the earliest feelings of distrust in the political success of the French. We allude to the death of the king, which happened about this period, and whose willingness to engage in our revolution was undoubtedly remembered with gratitude. The Americans, at first, beheld the French revolution with a feeling of delight and admiration, unmingled with that intense anxiety, and often extreme despondency, with which they watched the progress of their own. But, left entirely free to examine and deliberate, in a short time, the atrocities that accompanied it, and that seemed to accumulate, as the abuses against which they were leveled disappeared, produced a slow but unfailing reaction in the public mind. This act of the national convention (of France) without doubt weakened their party in America. The sacrifice, even if thought necessary in a political view, was, nevertheless, a violation of justice, and the rights of the citizen; for, if Louis was no longer a king, he was still a man, a citizen, according to the laws of the French republic. These circumstances made a suitable impression upon the American people, always accustomed to the forms of an equal though undeviating justice. From the 10th of August, 2d of September, and the period of the king's execution, the revolution decidedly lost friends in America. This sentiment pervaded the breasts of men whose devotion, even to the French republic, was beyond suspicion. The celebrated Thomas Paine (then a member of the French national convention), it is known, voted against the death of Louis.

"France," said Thomas Paine, in the convention on the question of "*sursis*," "has now but a single ally, the United States. The person, to whom the present discussion relates, is regarded by that people as

high-handed manner by which his predecessor had assumed responsibilities too grave even for the Father of his Country.

That the timely removal of Genet saved America from a war with England and Spain is evident, from the fact that during the height of his career in the West, Governor Simcoe, of Canada, was ordered by the English parliament to build a fort at the Maumee rapids, about twenty miles above the mouth of that stream, in the heart of the Indian country, and far within the limits of American territory, as settled by the treaty of 1783, a measure doubtless taken under conviction that war with the United States would soon be declared. A special messenger from the Spanish provinces visited the hostile tribes at the same time, offering them assistance.

While this indecision marked the councils of the English and Spanish, a respectable force had gathered at Fort Washington, and were encamped below on the banks of the Ohio river. Congress had passed an act to raise 5,000 men for the expedition, but owing to reluctance in enlisting, sickness and desertion, Wayne's army numbered no more than 3,600 men. Meantime it was all-important that the offensive should be taken as soon as it was known that the late negotiations for peace had resulted in failure. Accordingly Wayne took up his march by the way of Forts Hamilton and Jefferson, and reached the vicinity of the upper tributaries of the Wabash and also the Big Miami, on the 24th of December, 1793. Here he built Fort Greenville, which he made his winter quarters.

Soon after his arrival here, he sent a strong detachment to the battle ground of the unfortunate St. Clair, which was but a short distance from Fort Greenville, where he built Fort Recovery. Here the bones of the slain, which had been moldering in the forest shades for two years, were gathered together and buried.

their best friend. His execution, I assure you, will diffuse among them a general grief. I propose to you to conduct Louis to the territory of the United States. After a residence of two years, Mr. Capet (the king) will find himself a citizen of America. Miserable in this country, to which his absence will be a benefit, he will be furnished the means of becoming happy in another.--*Lyman's Hist. of Diplomacy.*

The winter was spent in the necessary work of drilling and disciplining the troops, no enemy making their appearance till the 30th of June, 1794, when a heavy force of Indians, assisted by fifty Canadian British subjects, made a furious attack on Fort Recovery. The action was very obstinate and resulted in severe losses on both sides, but the fort was not taken, and the Indians fell back to the main body.

Just before this action, two Pottawattamies had been taken prisoner by Captain Gibson, and in reply to questions as to expectations of assistance, answered as follows:

“Q. When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

“A. On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs—a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

“Q. What was the message brought by those Indian chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout (foot of rapids of the Maumee) on the first day of May?

“A. That the British sent them to invite the Pottawattamies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there were about 400, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Col. McKee’s house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provision, with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join and go with them to war.

“Q. What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout on the 1st of May?

“A. The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamis. There were then collected about 1,000 warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

“Q. What number of warriors do you suppose actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

“A. By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than 2,000 warriors now assembled; and were the Pottawattamies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of 3,000 hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than fifty of the Pottawattamies will go to war. The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to 1,500, agreeably to the promise of Gov. Simcoe.

“Q. At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

“A. About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Gov. Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pottawattamies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, and everything they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans, and that he would command the whole. He sent us the same message last winter, and again on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said he was much obliged to us for our past services, and that he would now help us to fight and render us all the services in his power against the Americans. All the speeches that we have received from him were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red. We received four different invitations from Gov. Simcoe, inviting the Pottawattamies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last moon, when he promised to join us with 1,500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wished for peace, except a few of our foolish young men.

“Examined and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.”*

* American State Papers, V. 489.

On the 28th of July following, General Wayne commenced a forward movement, reaching the St. Mary's river on the 1st of August. On the 8th he arrived at the south branch of the Maumee, and continuing his course down its banks, he came to the vicinity of the rapids on the 20th, where the British fort was visible, around which the Indian army under Little Turtle were hovering, not without hopes of assistance. His entire army were concealed among the prostrated trees of the forest, which a tornado had leveled to the ground a few years before, where this distinguished chief was debating in his own mind what was the best course to pursue. * * General Wayne had just sent peace proposals to Little Turtle.

"We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders, and we cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us," said the cautious veteran to his chiefs. Continuing, he says: "The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps; the night and day are alike to him; and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

This wise counsel was disregarded by the other chiefs, and Little Turtle was forced to battle, lest he might rest under the imputation of cowardice.

On the 20th of August, General Wayne came upon the army of Little Turtle, who were concealed among the fallen trees a few miles from the British fort. The Indians were routed, although they fought with masterly courage; but they could not stand against the furious bayonet charge made against them by Wayne's soldiers. In their flight they pressed toward the British fort, hoping, doubtless, to find protection within its walls, but the gates were shut in the faces of the wretched fugitives, and they fled thence to the covert of the forest.

After the battle, Gen. Wayne destroyed their fields of corn on the Maumee. Says he, in his report:

"The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margin of these beautiful rivers, the Miamis of the Lake (or Maumee) and Au Glaize, appear like a continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place. Nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."

After the battle, Col. Campbell, the commander of the British fort, addressed General Wayne a note, protesting against the near approach of the Americans, who were then within the reach of his guns. A spicy correspondence ensued, more noted for keen repartee than courtesy, but happily no act of hostility took place.

To show the spirit which the English evinced in building the fort, and the light in which they viewed the position of its commander, the following is inserted from that able representative of British policy, Isaac Weld, whose notes were made during his travels in America the next year, while the excitements were at their height:

"The Miami fort, situated on the river of the same name, was built by the English, in the year 1793, at which time there was some reason to imagine that the disputes existing between Great Britain and the United States would not have been quite so amicably settled, perhaps, as they have been; at least, that doubtless must have been the opinion of government, otherwise they would not have given orders for the construction of a fort within the boundary line of the United States, a circumstance which could not fail to excite the indignation of the people thereof.

"General Wayne, it would appear, had received no positive orders from his government to make himself master of it; could he have gained possession of it, however, by a *coup-de-main*, without incurring any loss, he thought that it could not but have been deemed an acceptable piece of service by the public, from whom he should have received unbounded applause. Vanity was his ruling passion, and actuated by it on this occa-

sion, he resolved to try what he could do to obtain possession of the fort.

"Colonel Campbell, however, by his spirited and manly answer to the summons that was sent, to surrender the fort on account of its being situated within the boundary line of the states, soon convinced the American general that he was not to be shaken by his remonstrances or intimidated by his menaces, and that his 200 men, who composed the garrison, had sufficient resolution to resist the attacks of his army of 3,000, whenever he thought proper to march against the fort.

"The main division of the American army, at this time, lay at the distance of about four miles from the fort; a small detachment from it, however, was concealed in the woods at a very little distance from the fort, to be ready at the call of General Wayne, who, strange to tell, when he found he was not likely to get possession of it in consequence of the summons he sent, was so imprudent, and departed so much from the dignity of the general and the character of the soldier, as to ride up to the fort, and to use the most gross and illiberal language to the British soldiers on duty in it.* His object in doing so was, I should suppose, to provoke the garrison to fire upon him, in which case he would have had a pretext for storming the fort.

"Owing to the great prudence, however, of Colonel Campbell, who issued the strictest orders to his men and officers to remain silent, notwithstanding any insults that were offered to them, and not to attempt to fire, unless indeed an actual attack were made on the place, Wayne's plan was frustrated, much bloodshed certainly saved, and a second war between Great Britain and America perhaps averted.

"General Wayne gained no great personal honor by his conduct on this occasion; but the circumstance of

* In justification of General Wayne's reputation, it may be proper to state that, under ordinary circumstances his conduct before the British fort might have been an excess of military authority, and have justly merited Mr. Weld's censure; but the English, by building the fort on American soil, had subjected themselves to the sport of fortune, by making it necessary for the Americans to transcend the ordinary rules of national etiquette, in order to make the most of their victory over the Indians.—*Author.*

his having appeared before the British fort in the manner he did, operated strongly in his favor in respect to his proceedings against the Indians. These people had been taught to believe, by the young Canadians that were among them, that if any part of the American army appeared before the fort it would certainly be fired upon; for they had no idea that the Americans would have come in sight of it without taking offensive measures, in which case resistance would certainly have been made.

"When, therefore, it was heard that General Wayne had not been fired upon, the Indians complained grievously of their having been deceived, and were greatly disheartened on finding that they were to receive no assistance from the British. Their native courage, however, did not altogether forsake them; they resolved speedily to make a stand, and accordingly, having chosen their ground, awaited the arrival of General Wayne, who followed them closely."

The Indians, now defeated and left without hope from their British friends, were at the mercy of the Americans, and the alternative was peace or starvation; and indeed the latter seemed imminent, even with peace, since the destruction of their crops. But even under the fatal duress of defeat and the havoc of war, the time-honored custom of deliberate councils was not departed from, for hasty diplomacy is not one of the weaknesses of the Indian; and before they could hold a peace council with the Americans, they held a council among themselves at the mouth of the Detroit river; and during their deliberations here, Gov. Simcoe and other English agents endeavored to dissuade the Indians from making peace with the Americans. Their efforts in this direction, however, were in vain, unaccompanied as they were by any positive promise of alliance.

Happily for America, Washington had taken timely steps to avert war, having on the 16th of April sent the following message to the senate:

"The communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our

affairs with Great Britain. But, as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate, John Jay, envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic majesty.

"My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for the friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity."

The definitive treaty of peace between England and the United States in 1783 had left many important points of national comity unprovided for, as to those rights which may be called common in the family of nations. Our independence had been acknowledged, but any influence we might exert abroad made not even a ripple in the great sea of European diplomacy, which, then in the plenitude of its grasp from two rival powers (England and France), aimed each to subject the whole world to its influence.

Under these circumstances, any diplomatic favors from England must necessarily result more from the statesmanship of our minister than from any power behind him, and Washington saw and made provision for this contingency, when he appointed our envoy to England.

Mr. Jay arrived in London in June, and, says Lyman, the diplomatic historian, "There can be no question but a war would have taken place if he had not succeeded in making a treaty." The instrument was not signed till the following November, but his presence at the Court of Saint James, even before the treaty was signed, had inspired that body with due respect for the government which he so ably represented, and prevented

any hasty declaration of war. The treaty was a very lengthy document, and only the second article will be quoted, as it only had a direct influence on the Northwest:

“ART. 2. Great Britain to withdraw her troops from certain posts within the boundary line of the United States, on or before the 1st of June, 1796, etc. Settlers and traders residing in the precincts of the posts to be surrendered, to enjoy their property unmolested, etc. These settlers not to be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take the oath of allegiance, etc.” *

General Wayne remained near the battle ground, till the 14th of the succeeding month, September, when he took up his march westwardly to a deserted Miami village, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers. He reached the place on the 17th, and set his men at work building a fort. It was finished on the 22d, and named Fort Wayne, in honor of the commanding general. The christening was solemnized by the firing of fifteen rounds of artillery by Col. Hamtramck. This was the nucleus around which the city of Fort Wayne grew into its present proportions.

The place had been noted as a portage from the head waters of the Wabash to the Miami river, ever since the founding of Vincennes, and without doubt as long before that period as the time when the country first became inhabited by the Indians, during whose occupation of the country, the spot lay in the track of their communication between the Wabash valley and Lake Erie. Here General Wayne remained the succeeding winter, and was visited by delegations from the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, Miamis, Delawares and Shawanese, all anxious for peace. Arrangements were now made for the most important

*NOTE.—The reason which the British gave for holding the posts, was to secure the payment of private debts contracted before the revolution, due her subjects from private individuals in America, alleging, and perhaps with truth, that legal obstructions had been thrown in the way of their collection. If this was so, such obstructions were removed, as provided in Article 7 in the treaty.

Indian treaty ever held in the west, to be convened at Fort Greenville the following June, 1795.

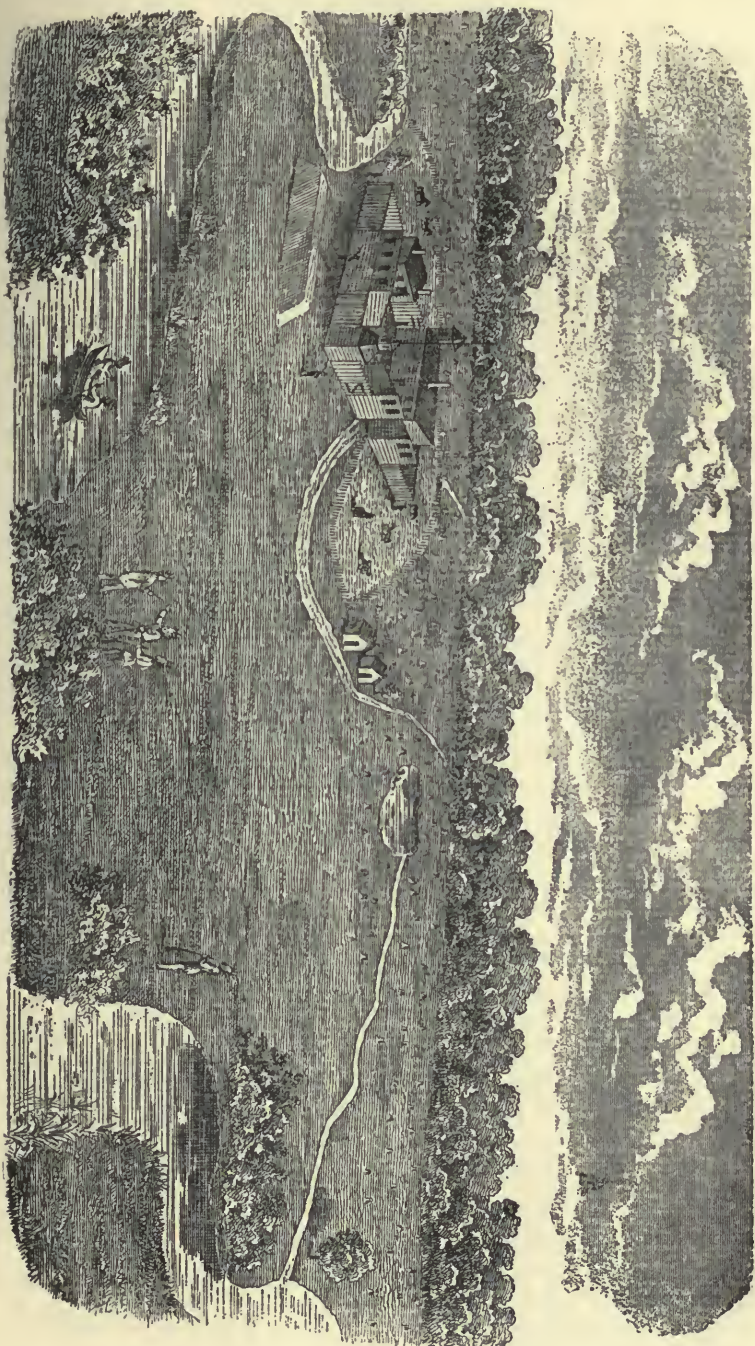
After the usual preliminaries which always go before the business of an Indian council, Little Turtle made the following able speech:

"I wish to ask of you and my brothers present, one question. I would be glad to know what lands have been ceded to you, as I am uninformed in this particular. I expect that the lands on the Wabash, and in this country, belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brothers of the United States, and others present, that there are men of sense and understanding among my people, as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge or consent. I was yesterday surprised, when I heard from our grandfathers, the Delawares, that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by, and made peace with, the latter; because you had before told us that it was the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sauckeyes [Sacs], who had made this cession.*

"I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and also the Pottawattamies of St. Joseph's, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but now I take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The print of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion.

"I was a little astonished at hearing you, and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth;

* Minutes and proceedings of the treaty of Greenville.



FORT WAYNE, 1794.

from thence, down the Ohio, to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan; at this place, I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese.

"I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to find that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead one to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country, and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give you an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I expected."*

To this speech General Wayne himself replied as follows:

"Brothers, the Miamis: I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his fathers first kindled the fire at Detroit, and stretched his line from thence to the head waters of Scioto; thence down the same to the Ohio; thence, down that river, to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of Lake Michigan; and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country undisturbed from time immemorial. Brothers: These boundaries inclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded, have within these three days, been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Wyandots,

* Minutes and proceedings of the treaty of Greenville.

Delawares and Shawanese. The Little Turtle says, the prints of his forefathers' houses are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother, it is true, these prints are to be observed; but, at the same time, we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born. These have since been in the occupancy of the British, who must, in their turn relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and Indians, will be all as one people. [A white string.]

"I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and, first of all, I find at Detroit a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers; next at Vincennes, on the Wabash; again at Musquiton, on the same river; a little higher up that stream, they are to be seen at Ouatanon. I discover another strong trace at Chicago; another on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan. I have seen distinctly the prints of a French and a British post at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the rapids, now in their possession; prints, very conspicuous, are on the Great Miami, which were possessed by the French forty-five years ago; and another trace is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky.

"It appears to me, that, if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your forefathers to preserve their lands entire for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction; for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers, the French, and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all; therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippewas, and the other Indians, comes with a bad grace, indeed, from the very people who perhaps set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your forefathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands. However, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States further valuable compensation for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

"Younger brothers: I will now inform you who it was who gave us these lands, in the first instance. It was

your fathers, the British, who did not discover that care for your interest which you ought to have experienced. This is the treaty of peace, made between the United States of America and Great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British. On these terms they obtained peace. [Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.] Here you perceive that all the country south of the great lakes has been given up to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on their side of the boundary agreed on, I told you, some days ago, that treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British, on their part, did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done; however, they now find it so, and a precise period is accordingly fixed for the delivery. I have now in my hand the copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I will read you a little. [First and second articles of Mr. Jay's treaty read.] By this solemn agreement, they promised to retire from Michilimackinac, Fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara and all other places on this side of the lakes, in ten moons from this period, and leave the same to full and quiet possession of the United States."

After much deliberation the treaty was concluded on the following basis as to giving up Indian lands:

"ART. 3. The general boundary line between the land of the United States, and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westwardly, to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Laramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the

Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Outtawa river. The said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit:

"1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Laramie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece, six miles square, at the head of the navigable waters of the Au Glaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the Lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or Old Weatowns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort, on the Miami of the Lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the Raisin on the south, and Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land adjacent of which the Indian title has been extinguished

by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or strait; and also the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood.* 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the old Peorias, fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of \$20,000, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward every year forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of \$9,500, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured."

The treaty was signed, August 3d, 1795, and hushed the wilderness to peace, till the great events in which the continental wars of Europe had developed issues which were felt even on the frontiers of America, and which had much to do in again entangling the Indians in an issue between themselves and the Americans, as will be told in future chapters.

After the treaty, Little Turtle did all in his power to induce his people to adopt the modes of the white man, and with this end in view, visited Philadelphia to solicit congress and the benevolent Society of Friends to assist him in this laudable undertaking. Here he had an introduction to the celebrated French travelers, Volney and Kosciusko, which is described as follows by Drake:

* The fort alluded to, was a fort built by Durantaye in 1785.

“At the time of Mr. Volney's interview with him for information, he took no notice of the conversation while the interpreter was communicating with Mr. Volney, for he did not understand English, but walked about, plucking out his beard and eyebrows. He was dressed now in English clothes. His skin, where not exposed, Mr. Volney says, was as white as his; and on speaking upon the subject, Little Turtle said: ‘I have seen Spaniards in Louisiana, and found no difference of color between them and me. And why should there be any? In them, as in us, it is the work of the father of colors, the sun, that burns us. You white people compare the color of your face with that of your bodies.’ Mr. Volney explained to him the notion of many, that his race was descended from the Tartars, and by a map showed him the supposed communication between Asia and America. To this Little Turtle replied: ‘Why should not these Tartars, who resemble us, have come from America? Are there any reasons to the contrary? Or why should we not both have been born in our own country?’ It is a fact that the Indians give themselves a name which is equivalent to our word *indigene*, that is, one sprung from the soil, or natural to it.*

“When Mr. Volney asked Little Turtle what prevented him from living among the whites, and if he were not more comfortable in Philadelphia than upon the banks of the Wabash, he said: ‘Taking all things together, you have the advantage over us; but here I am deaf and dumb. I do not talk your language; I can neither hear, nor make myself heard. When I walk through the streets, I see every person in his shop employed about something; one makes shoes, another hats, a third sells cloth, and everyone lives by his labor. I say to myself, Which of these things can you do? Not one. I can make a bow or an arrow, catch fish, kill game, and go to war; but none of these is of any use here. To learn what is done here would require a long time. Old age comes on. I should be a piece of furniture useless to my nation, useless to the whites, and useless to myself. I must return to my own country.’

*See Volney's Travels, *ut supra*.

"At the same time [1797], among other eminent personages to whom this chief became attached in Philadelphia, was the renowned Kosciuszko. This old Polish chief was so well pleased with Little Turtle, that when the latter went to take his final leave of him, the old 'war worn soldier' and patriot presented him with a beautiful pair of pistols, and an elegant robe made of sea otter's skin, of the value of 'several' hundred dollars."*

After this successful issue of General Wayne's campaign, Spain made a treaty with the United States, dated March 3d, 1796, in which the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed to the Americans, but she was very tardy in the fulfillment of its stipulations.

At that time there were strong Spanish forts at Natchez and Vicksburg, then called Walnut Hills, and although the treaty bound her to give them up, she still held possession of them, greatly to the perplexity of the Americans. Meantime this faithless government continued her intriguing with the western people to induce them to set up a government for themselves independent of the Union; and as an incentive, sent a Mr. Powers as a secret agent among them, with instructions to offer them the free navigation of the Mississippi, besides \$100,000 in cash.†

No substantial encouragement was given to this scheme, and on the 5th of October, 1798, Spain reluctantly retired from the posts she had unjustly held on the east bank of the Mississippi, and American vessels could now pass to the sea unmolested. In July, 1796, the British evacuated all the posts which they held on American soil in the west. Detroit, the most impor-

* Little Turtle died in the spring of 1812, at his residence, but a short time before the declaration of war against England by the United States. His portrait, by Stewart, graces the walls of the war office of our nation. The following notice appeared in the public prints at the time of his death: "Fort Wayne, 21st July, 1812. On the 14th inst. the celebrated Miami chief, the Little Turtle, died at this place, at the age of 65 years. Perhaps there is not left on this continent one of his color so distinguished in council and in war. His disorder was the gout. He died in a camp, because he chose to be in the open air. He met death with great firmness. The agent for Indian affairs had him buried with the honors of war, and other marks of distinction suited to his character."

† State Papers, Vol. II, p. 103.

tant of them all, was immediately taken possession of by a detachment under Captain Porter. On retiring from the posts, the British, regardless of the courtesies for which they are generally exemplary, acted the part of a malicious tenant on leaving a house.

The wells of the fort were filled with stones, the windows of the fort broken, the gates locked, and the keys left in custody of an aged negro,* who, with fidelity to his trust, promptly gave them to the Americans, and the old fort passed out of the hands of its tenacious occupants, with its glorious memories giving place to painful regrets, as they took their departure down the clear waters of the straits, bidding good-bye to their dusky friends, who had so many years hung around the place in hope of alliance against the aggressive Americans.

The state of Connecticut, in 1795, disposed of a portion of the Western Reserve, to a company known by the title of the Connecticut Land Company, of which Moses Cleveland† was one of the directors. The next year, he with a party of surveyors started for the new country in April. Their route was chosen through Albany, thence to Oswego. Here they arrived the 3d of June, a month before the British had evacuated the western posts, and these punctilious sentinels still guarded Oswego with the watchfulness of picket men on the eve of a battle. The party, therefore, durst not pass the British fort at the mouth of the Oswego river without permission, lest the commander should give their bateaux a cannon shot as they paddled past its frowning battlements. On being asked permission to do this, with dogged resolution the British commander refused it, and the American party were obliged to carry their bateaux circuitously around the fort by land, and launch them below the British fort, beyond the reach of their guns. Thence, coasting along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Buffalo, where they remained several days, to hold a council with the Seneca and Mohawk chiefs, for the purpose of

* Lanman's Mich., p. 167.

† His name was spelled with an "a" in the first syllable.

purchasing any interest they might claim in the lands composing such portions of the western reserve as the Connecticut Land Company had purchased.*

The celebrated Brant and Red Jacket were the principal deputies on the part of the Indians. These able men saw with regrets the inevitable downfall of their power, and all they could do was to make provision for the creature comforts of their tribes, while they yet had a being. After several days spent in parleying, \$2,500 worth of goods were accepted as pay for their interest in the lands, the land on which the present city of Cleveland now stands being included in the tract. This offer was accepted, not without some bitter reproaches on the part of Red Jacket, who said.

"You white people make a great parade about religion; you say you have a book of laws and rules which was given you by the Great Spirit, but is this true? Was it written by His own hand and given to you? No, it was written by your own people. They do it to deceive you. Their whole wishes center here [pointing to his pocket]; all they want is the money. [It happened there was a priest in the room at the same time, who heard him.] He says white people tell them, they wish to come and live among them as brothers, and learn them agriculture. So they bring on implements of husbandry and presents, tell them good stories, and all appears honest, but when they are gone all appears as a dream. Our land is taken from us, and still we don't know how to farm it."

Having successfully executed this important business, the party embarked on Lake Erie for their destination. This was the first introduction of the New Englanders to the waters of the lakes for the purposes of permanent settlement. For more than a century the French had been here, and for the past thirty years the English had held the shores of these waters exclusively to them-

*NOTE.—The original home of the Mohawks and Senecas was in eastern New York, but they had extended their dominions into Ohio by right of conquest. But at the treaty of Greenville, when these lands were ceded to the United States by the western tribes, the Mohawks and Senecas were not present; hence the necessity to confer with them to prevent any future trouble as to the validity of these titles.

selves. Now the rising star of a new power, in the twentieth year of its existence, had penetrated across the wilderness of New York, and was about to lay the dimension stone for the city of Cleveland, on a model destined soon to be repeated with success at other places along the margin of these shining waters. On the 2d of July the party arrived at Erie, which still retained the old French name of Presque Isle. Here the ruins of the old French fort still remained, as a frail memorial of French ambition crushed by the strong arm of England, who in turn had held but a transient lease of power. Passing on to the west, they arrived at Conneaut on the 4th of July. Here they celebrated the day with suitable toasts, and, says the *Journal of Cleaveland*, "drank several pails of grog, supped and retired in remarkable good order."

The party now began to lay out the country in townships, according to the admirable system of government surveys begun on the Ohio river in 1785.

On the 10th of August, having run a line around a large tract, they came back to Lake Erie again. Their provisions were exhausted, and from the following item in *Cleaveland's Journal*, their rum had come to its last gill. Says the record: "Just as we were starting for Conneaut, we saw a large party coming along the beach, and supposing them to be Indians, and having only a gill left in our bottle, we were hurrying to a spring to drink it before they could come up and tease us for it, but to our astonishment, we found them to be two of the parties of surveyors coming in together."

While the surveyors were at work, Mr. Cleaveland made an excursion to the site destined to become the city which was to bear his name, arriving there on the 22d of August. Says Whittlesey, in his history of Cleveland:

"As they coasted close along the shore, overhung by a dense green forest, mirrored in the waters over which they were passing, the mouth of the river disclosed itself, as a small opening, between low banks of sand. The man who controls the party is seated in the stern,

steering his own craft, which is gracefully headed into the stream.

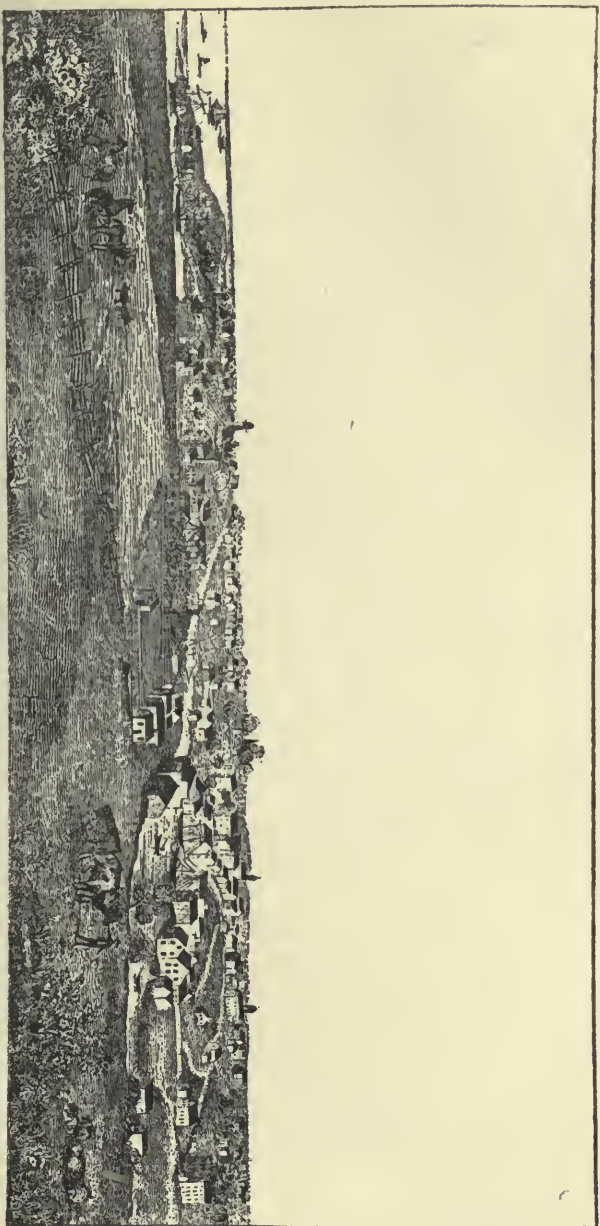
"His complexion was so swarthy, his figure so square and stout, and his dress so rude, that the Indians supposed some of the blood of their race had crept into his veins.

"A young growth of oaks, with low bushy tops, covered the ground. Beneath them were thrifty bushes, rooted in a lean, but dry and pleasant soil, highly favorable to the object in view. A smooth and even field sloped gently toward the lake, whose blue waters could be seen extending to the horizon. His imagination doubtless took a pardonable flight into the future, when a great commercial town should take the place of the stunted forest growth, which the northern tempests had nearly destroyed.

"Enough men were left to put up a storehouse for the supplies, and a cabin for the accommodation of the surveyors.

"Houses had before this been built by white people, near the mouth of the river; but not for the purpose of permanent settlement. Col. James Hillman avers that he put up a small cabin on the east side of the river, in 1786, near the foot of Superior street, of which, however, nothing further is known. Some time previous to 1787, a party who were wrecked upon a British vessel, between one and two miles east of the river, built a hut, large enough to shelter themselves through one winter. On the west side of the river a log storehouse was erected, prior to 1786, to protect the flour which was brought here from Pittsburg, on the way to Detroit. This building, in a dilapidated state, was standing in 1797, when it was occupied awhile by James Kingsbury and his family."

Surveys for the streets of the new city were made in a few weeks, the first plat bearing date of October 1st, 1796. It was the first town laid out exclusively by New England citizens on the entire chain of lakes, and at this day is second in commercial importance only to Chicago.



CLEVELAND IN 1796.

The same summer, a colored man from St. Domingo, named Jean Baptiste Pont Au Sable, in his forest wanderings, was attracted to the old portage of Chicago. Here he built a hut on the north bank of the main branch of the Chicago river, and settled among the Pottawattamies, who then dwelt at the place. Without doubt he was well received by them, as he soon aspired to the dignity of a chief, but like many others before and since, his ambitious aims were never to be realized. Thus baulked, he relinquished the improvements he had made, and removed to Peoria.*

The small beginning he had made, however, was soon appropriated by a Frenchman named La Mai, who appears to have been only a transient occupant, like many others of his countrymen before him, and the only mark which gives significance to his brief residence here is the fact that he sold out his establishment to one who became the true pioneer of Chicago as an American city. This was John Kinzie, whose romantic adventures, incarnate with the spirit of forest life as it then was in its fascinations, will be told in future pages.

And now the old century fades away in a peaceful twilight, burying in oblivion the crushed hopes of France and England, while the American star is rising above the dip of the horizon.

* Waburn, page 490.

COSTUMES OF EARLY SETTLERS OF THE NORTHWEST AND ITS ABORIGINES.



CHAPTER XIV.

William Henry Harrison; His Ancestry and Birth—Is Appointed Governor of the Indian Territory—Spanish Possession of Louisiana—Napoleon's Ambitious Designs Shown—Chain of Diplomacy that Settled the Fate of Louisiana—Its Purchase from Spain—French Designs Frustrated by the British—Its Purchase by the United States—Consequent Necessity of a Fort on the Upper Lakes—St. Joseph Chosen for Its Locality—The Indians Object to Its Erection—Chicago Next Selected—The Fort Built Here—Margaret and Elizabeth, the Captives—Their Adventures, and What Grew out of Them—John Kinzie—His Youthful Life—He Settles in Chicago—The Fur Trade and the Engagé.

Private ownership to the soil is a condition peculiar to new countries. It may almost be called one of the modern inventions of civilization, first brought to perfection in America. The effect of this distribution of nature's most valuable gift has been manifest in school houses, libraries, newspapers, magazines, pictures and well furnished habitations, universally brought into being where men own the soil they cultivate. The nineteenth century opened upon the people of the United States with a new field, on which these good things were to be multiplied in extent beyond limit, as far as could then be seen. The unmeasured fields beyond the Ohio—enriched by a thousand autumnal dressings of leaf mold, or the decay of prairie growth—looked inviting to the husbandmen of New England and Old Virginia, and emigration from these places

began again after the assurance of peace with the Indians.

A character is now introduced into history—one of those master spirits who can only live and grow in a new country. Not that men thus reared are consequently superior to the cultured men of old communities in all things, but that they exceed them in economizing effective force from apparently humble sources, in bringing about large results from small beginnings, and in the adaptation of ways and means to ends, cannot be denied. Such a man was William Henry Harrison, whose name deserves a place with a long list of illustrious Americans, who, like himself, grew into distinction from the toils of camp life in the forest.

He was born in Berkley, Virginia, in 1773. His ancestors had made themselves conspicuous in the Cromwellian wars in England, and his father was one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence, and after it was achieved became governor of Virginia. William Henry was the youngest son. When Governor St. Clair was gathering his forces to invade the Indian country, he had an earnest desire to participate in the campaign, and for that purpose applied to General Washington, then president. He received an ensign's commission and started for Fort Washington. He arrived too late to take part in the ill-fated expedition of St. Clair, but joined Gen. Wayne in his successful campaign which succeeded it. After the treaty of Greenville, which restored peace to the forest, he was placed in command of Fort Washington, and shortly afterward married the daughter of Judge Symes, the same who was the proprietor of Symes' purchase, spoken of in a preceding chapter. His ambition soon took a higher range than to command a small squad of listless soldiers in a peaceful fort, and he resigned his commission as captain, and was soon appointed secretary of the Northwest Territory, and, in 1792, was elected delegate to congress—he being the first to represent the interests of the Northwest at Washington. On the 13th of May, 1800, he was appointed governor of the territory of Indiana, which had been set off from the

Northwest Territory. Its area included the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The seat of government was fixed at Vincennes, on the Wabash river.

The number of inhabitants of the Indiana Territory was 5,641 whites, while that of the Ohio division of the Northwest Territory was 45,365.* The number of Indians inhabiting the Indiana Territory was more than three times that of the whites. They had all tasted the fruits of war with their white neighbors; but being still in quiet possession of their hunting grounds, felt a happy assurance that they and their offspring should forever continue to occupy the limitless forests of the country, which then, from their vast extent, seemed to bid perpetual defiance to white settlements.

The Northwest was now organized into two territories, possessing only the germs of her ultimate grandeur, and these were not within the reach of human vision to forecast. Spain held the whole west side of the Mississippi, and such portions of the eastern side as came within the limits of the present state of Louisiana, which included the port of New Orleans. She was a menacing power in our rear by means of her immense territorial possessions to the west, and on our southern flank by means of the Floridas.

But greater insecurity to America at that time came from the slipshod character of our relations with England, from the fact that she refused to open her colonial posts to our commerce, and any trade we carried on with them had to go through English merchants. This embarrassment perplexed the brains of congress till it became an issue of the war of 1812, and will be considered, in a diplomatic account of it, in its chronological place.

At the close of the American revolution the treaty between Great Britain and the United States became an acknowledged law of England, America and France, after the latter power had made a treaty with England, which immediately followed it. This latter treaty was

* Carey's Atlas, published in Philadelphia, 1801.

the ultimate fulfillment of the contract, which was tripartite, and in effect ratified it.

All Europe was satisfied with this treaty, with the exception of Spain. That power still protested against the western boundary of the United States, conceded by the treaty, on the ground that it divested her of territory on the east side of the Mississippi which rightfully belonged to her, and which England had no right to grant to America.

By no official act had Spain yet recognized the independence of the United States during the revolutionary war, although she had rendered good service to its cause by her war with England, into which she had been reluctantly drawn to aid France, her ally, according to the terms of their family compact of 1761.

During this war she had won back from England East and West Florida, the possession of which had complicated her relations with the United States.

After the peace of 1783, a treaty with Spain was necessary, and even essential to the preservation of the United States in its integrity, inasmuch as its extended limits were not respected by her powerful, not to say dangerous neighbor, who still held fortified posts on the American side of them, in defiance of the treaty of 1783, to which she was not a party.

In July, 1785, D. Diego Gardoqui arrived in Philadelphia, as minister from Spain to the United States, and John Jay, then secretary for foreign affairs, was authorized to treat with him on the boundary question. But the policy of Spain was still undetermined, and no treaty could be made on terms consistent with the requirements of the United States. Pending this delay Spanish designs came to the surface by her closing the port of New Orleans, and refusing the navigation of the Mississippi to the western territories of the United States under an ill-founded ambition that she could force the territories west of the Allegheny mountains to secede from the Atlantic states, in order to obtain an outlet to the sea under Spanish protection.

That this Spanish injunction on the Mississippi had an influence was soon made manifest, but it only elicited

a recommendation from the eastern states, that for the sake of peace, the United States had better forego the navigation of the Mississippi for a long term of years, while the western states took a belligerent attitude toward Spain, and not without difficulty could be restrained from making a raid on New Orleans to accomplish by force what diplomacy had failed to do. In 1793 the Jacobins of the French revolution, by the execution of Louis XVI, the king, and Marie Antoinette, the queen, annihilated the family compact of the Bourbon kings of France and Spain.

All Europe now rose up in arms against France, except Sweden, Denmark, Tuscany, Switzerland, Genoa and Venice; but against this formidable coalition France more than held her own and brought Spain to the verge of ruin, threatened as she was by the forebodings of a revolution at home. Her humiliation was now America's opportunity. Thomas Pinckney was sent to Madrid to renew negotiations for a treaty, which was effected between him and Manuel Godoy, on the part of Spain, October 27, 1795, and was called the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real. It conceded to the United States the boundaries assigned to her by the peace of Paris in 1783, and granted the free navigation of the Mississippi, with the right of deposit for American produce in New Orleans or some other port. This was the last link in the diplomatic chain that gave to the United States possession of her domain.

But her troubles with Spain were not yet ended. She still held her posts on the east bank of the Mississippi, and the Baron de Carondelet, the governor, by means of a secret agent, named Thomas Powers, tried to convince the western people that he retained them in order to protect their interests, when they should form a confederacy of their own, independent of the Atlantic states. That this treacherous pretense had corrupted the minds of some, there is abundant evidence, but their acts have gone into deserved oblivion, without marring the records of history.

The policy of Spain was now changing with whimsical turns, according to success of French arms, and she

was again the ally of France. Both of these nations had made depredations on American commerce, and against claims for such spoliation, both united to evade American demands for remuneration by subtle technicalities. France went so far in her unfriendly attitude as to withdraw her ministers, and war seemed inevitable with both countries.

Not long after this untoward event, Mr. Murray, the American minister at Holland, was informed by Talleyrand, the French minister at the same court, that the attitude of France to the United States should be changed to a more charitable view. Soon after this interview, friendly relations were renewed and war averted. The result of this was that Spain withdrew her troops from the east bank of the Mississippi in the summer of 1798, and General Wilkinson, by order of the secretary of war, immediately took possession of the evacuated posts and erected Fort Adams, six miles above the parallel of thirty-one degrees.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in 1800, Spain ceded Louisiana to France, but this was kept secret till the peace of Amiens had sheathed the sword between France and England, in 1802. America was now startled by the change of owners on her western border that soon became known after the proclamation of this peace. Napoleon was first consul of France. The fleets of Spain were at his disposal, and the United States might soon have to contend with his victorious soldiers, under the direction of his master mind, instead of the dispirited armies of Spain whose leaders were palsied by the recoil of over-reaching ambition. New Orleans might become the foothold for French invasion, the Mississippi the highway for her armies, and the reduction of Canada their object.

Great Britain looked with no less disfavor on the situation. The headlong career of Napoleon had excited her apprehensions, to avert which she broke the peace of Amiens by declaring war against France, and invited the United States to become her ally in it, which alliance was respectfully declined. This last turn of the wheel in the policy of England dashed Napoleon's

hopes of a revival of French empire in America to the ground, and his quick penetration formed a resolution to dispose of his newly acquired province, which, instead of being an inviting source of grandeur, had suddenly become an unwieldy responsibility, difficult to defend and barren of revenue.

Robert R. Livingston was then minister at the court of France; James Monroe was commissioned there also to assist in the negotiations then pending for the purchase of Louisiana. Ten millions were at first offered for it, but the bargain was closed at \$15,000,000, with some offsetting abatements on account of spoliation claims.

The treaty of cession was signed at Paris April 30, 1803, by Robert Livingston and James Monroe on the part of the United States, and by Barbe Marbois on the part of France, and ratified by congress on the 21st of the following October.

The cession of Louisiana to the United States was the most crushing blow that Spain had yet received in the territorial distribution of North America. It separated the Floridas from her western possessions, and rendered it impossible to hold them with safety or profit.

That the sale of this province to the United States violated the treaty by which France had acquired it of Spain was believed in diplomatic circles. From the protest that Spain made to the French court as soon as the sale was made known, it was inferred that in the articles of cession conveying Louisiana from Spain to France in 1800, it was stipulated that she should not sell it to the United States, but this supposition cannot be verified, because the treaty has never come to light, except a single clause in its third article, necessary to entail it by territorial limits, not definitely, but by the natural landmarks of river valleys yet unexplored.

In 1810 Charles IV, the Bourbon king of Spain, was dethroned by Napoleon. This revolution produced two political parties in West Florida, one of which, led by Col. Kemper, was in favor of annexation to the United States, to which end a convention met at Baton

Rouge in the autumn of 1810, and addressed a letter to the secretary of war soliciting such a union.

Late in the autumn of the same year, orders were issued by the United States to take military possession of West Florida, which order was executed by C. C. Claiborne, the governor of Orleans territory, without opposition; the authority for which act was the assumption by the United States that the purchase of Louisiana included all the territory west of the Perdido river and south of the latitude of thirty-one degrees, within which limits this province lay.

From this time forward acts of violence multiplied along the border of East Florida. Fugitive slaves found it a convenient asylum, and this inflamed the resentment of Georgia. (See Giddings' "Exiles of Florida.") General Jackson's invasion followed, which in turn evoked the protest of Spain, bitter as it was harmless, in her desperate extremity, struggling within the toils of Napoleon's grip.

The acquisition of the Floridas had ere this time become a settled policy of the United States, and the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande rivers, Texas, had begun to be looked upon with covetous eyes by southern politicians, who even in that early day had an eye to the future equilibrium of territory appropriated to slave and to free labor. Was Texas included in the Louisiana purchase? was now a question second in importance to the acquisition of the Floridas. To agree on a positive boundary line was an ultimate indispensability awaiting the settlement of these issues.

When France sold Louisiana to the United States she refused to give any defined limits of it, but, in substance, executed a quit-claim deed of it by conveying it by description of its area, using the same language in this conveyance as that by which the province had been retroceded to her by Spain in 1800, to wit: "With the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." All that original portion of it east of the Mississippi and north of West Florida

had been given up to England in the peace of 1763, and at the peace of 1783 conceded to the United States, which established the eastern border of Louisiana on these positive limits by which it had bisected.

From 1808 to 1815, relations between the court of Madrid and the cabinet at Washington had been suspended, which default in diplomatic representation was belligerent, and ominous of a declaration of war, at the option of either party. That this hiatus had been used to the disadvantage of Spain was demonstrated by the fate of West Florida as well as the aggressive movements of young America along the entire borders of the two nations. Spain was the first to break the silence, which she did through her minister, Luis de Onís, in a letter addressed to James Monroe, then secretary of state, dated December 30, 1815.

The Spanish minister had a thorny path to travel, full of insurmountable obstacles with which the declining power of Spain had invested it by her impractical demands, destined never to be fulfilled, not only on account of the injustice of some of them, but because they came in competition with the expanding designs of a young and vigorous nation, invincible as it was ambitious. The argument began as to whether West Florida was included in the Louisiana purchase, and consequently belonged to the United States, or whether Spain owned it by virtue of cession of it to her by Great Britain in 1783. No agreement was ever reached on this point, the reason for which was that the Spanish minister well knew that the cession of both East and West Florida to the United States was inevitable, and all he could do was to secure as valuable a consideration as he could for them. By a kind of implied consent, the Florida question was thus permitted to rest, and the right to Texas became the absorbing topic of discussion.

The Spanish minister was firm in his resolution to claim that it belonged to Spain through her rights, guaranteed by her early discoveries and explorations of the Rio Grande river, as well as her priority of permanent occupation and settlement of portions of it. John

Quincy Adams disputed this claim, his best ground for which was the discovery of the country by La Salle in 1685, which constituted it a part of Louisiana, to which it was contiguous. Besides this point, he reviewed every French transaction in the way of discovery that could bring evidence to justify a French claim to it, and thereby vest it in the Louisiana purchase. The Spanish minister, after an equally exhaustive review of historic events to justify his claim to it, still further fortified it by quoting an official act of President Jefferson in 1806.

At that time both Spain and the United States had military forces on the banks of the Sabine river to guard the frontier, and it was agreed by the commanders of each, that the Spanish troops should retire to and hold the west bank, while the United States troops should hold the east bank, which agreement President Jefferson assented to.

The next point to be discussed was, where to locate the boundary line between the two nations. The United States demanded the Pacific ocean as their western limits, and that the boundary line between them should run on the forty-first degree of latitude as far east as the 100th meridian, thence south to the Arkansas river, thence east along its banks, thence south to the Red river, thence east along its banks, thence south to the Sabine river, and down its banks to the Gulf of Mexico. This demand relinquished all claims to Texas, but it was far from meeting the views of the Spanish minister. He contested every inch of territory west of the Louisiana purchase, but after many concessions on his part, and a concession of one degree—the difference between forty-one degrees and forty-two degrees—on the part of the United States, a treaty was signed on the 22d of February, 1819, by John Quincy Adams on the part of the United States, and Luis de Onís on the part of Spain.

By the second article of this treaty Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States.

By the third article the boundary line between the two nations was to begin at the mouth of the Sabine

river, running northwardly on its western bank to the latitude of thirty-two degrees, thence due north to the Red river, thence westwardly on that river to the longitude of 100 degrees, thence crossing that river and running due north to the Arkansas river, thence west along its southern bank to its source in the latitude of forty-two degrees, or north or south of its source till said latitude is reached, thence west by the latitude of forty-two degrees to the Pacific ocean.

By the ninth article both Spain and the United States reciprocally renounced all claims for damages that the subjects of either nation may have suffered up to the present time.

By the tenth article the United States agreed to make satisfaction to her own subjects by remunerating them for spoliation by Spanish cruisers to an amount not exceeding \$5,000,000.

Except during the discussion to establish the rightful owners of West Florida and Texas, no attempt was made to locate the boundaries of Louisiana, in determining where the dividing line should run between the two nations.

In a letter from John Quincy Adams to the Spanish minister, dated March 12, 1818, he declined further to discuss the question as to the boundaries of Louisiana. (See annals of fifteenth congress, second session, page 1776.)

To this the Spanish minister replied that the boundary line between Louisiana and the Spanish province of Texas was well known until the line reached the Red river, thence, to use his own words, "it is the boundaries between French Louisiana and the Spanish possessions after that line has crossed the Rio Roxo [Red river], which have never been fixed." (See page 1793, same volume.)

The original claim of La Salle as to the extent of Louisiana included the country drained by the Mississippi, and no more, and this province was put down on Franquelin's map, published in Paris in 1684, limited on the west by a range of mountains, and on the east

by the dividing ridge that turned the waters of this valley in another direction.

By a decree of Louis XIV, dated at Fontainebleau, September 14, 1712, Louisiana was ceded to M. Crozat, limited on the west by "the South sea." This grant was made without a knowledge of the country, and neither Crozat nor any subsequent proprietor or nation who came in possession of it, ever attempted to make it good. It was mentioned in the discussion as to Texas, but produced no more commotion than a revival of the still older grants from the British crown to her Atlantic colonies would have done, which covered the same territory, but were never respected any farther than they were utilized.

The Spanish claims to the Pacific coast north of forty-two degrees, which rested on the voyages of their early mariners who sailed along the coast, have been subordinated by the explorations of the Columbia river by Capt. Robert Gray.* On the 7th of May, 1792, in a vessel owned by Barrell, Bulfinch & Co., of Boston, he entered the mouth of this river, and sailed up its channel on the 11th. He named it the Columbia after the vessel whose eventful career, directed by his enterprising purpose, had revealed the grandeur of Oregon to the world and established an American claim to it as good as that by which La Salle had vested France with Louisiana. Its area extended from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean, and as far south as the parallel of forty-two degrees, except a small corner of southwestern Oregon, drained by the Rouge and Umpqua rivers, too diminutive to angle a national boundary line for. The rule applied to national territorial rights growing out of priority was to concede to the discoverers such territory as was drained by the water courses by means of which the country was entered and explored. This right has its foundation in principles of justice, and the comity of nations made it an unwritten law, from whose binding force there was no appeal short of conquest.

*Capt. Gray returned to Boston by a western route by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus having the honor of being the first one to carry the stars and stripes around the world.

At the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, both France and England wishing to fix a definite boundary separating their respective possessions in North America, it was agreed that the line should begin on the Atlantic coast in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees and thirty minutes, whence it should run in a southwesterly direction, along the dividing ridge between the waters of Hudson's bay and those of the St. Lawrence river, till it reached the water-way connecting the Lake of the Woods with Lake Superior at the intersection of the forty-ninth parallel, and thence indefinitely westward on that parallel.

The establishment of this line extended the limits of Louisiana to the north beyond its original extent, and it formed the basis of the Ashburton treaty subsequently entered into between the United States and England. Added to the discovery of the Columbia river by Capt. Gray were the not less important explorations of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific coast, by order of the president of the United States in 1804, and the trading posts of John Jacob Astor established at the mouth of the Columbia river in 1811, taken by the English in the war of 1812, and restored to the United States by the provisions of the treaty of Ghent. The supremacy of the American claims to the Pacific coast north of forty-two degrees made it impossible to run the boundary line with Spain on any parallel excluding the valley of the Columbia river, without doing lasting injustice to the fame of American explorers and sacrificing both the interests and honor of the nation.

When the Oregon boundary dispute subsequently came up between Great Britain and the United States, American rights to the country were claimed by priority of discovery; nor was any right, supposed to be obtained through France, mentioned in the long and acrimonious debate with the British cabinet on the subject.

It is therefore clear that our title to Oregon came not through the purchase of Louisiana, but through a contingent ultimatum of that purchase many years later, of which more will be said in future pages.

The augmentation of Louisiana to the territory of the United States brought increased responsibilities, and demanded preparations wherewith to utilize it. The British influence among the countless Indian warriors along the upper lakes had been gathering strength by means of half-civilized courtesies, adapted to their tastes, ever since the days of the revolution; and a demonstration of American power to offset this influence was necessary to guarantee safety to the frontier settlements already made, as well as to bring the northern portions of Louisiana at least within hailing distance of its new owners. Already the project of building a fort at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan had been entertained by congress, while negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana were pending, but now its immediate necessity was apparent, and commissioners were promptly sent from Washington to select a suitable place for it.

The mouth of the St. Joseph river, on the east bank of Lake Michigan, was first selected, and preparations made to build the fort, when the Indians of the country withheld their consent for its construction, and the commissioners were obliged to select another place, as they had no power to enforce their demands—the Indian title here never having been extinguished. Across the lake was the portage of Chicago, where six miles square had been ceded to the United States by the Indians in the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. It was a bold push into the interior to establish a fort here, but there was no other available spot, and orders for its construction were issued from the war department early in the summer of 1803. Detroit and Michilimackinac were then the extreme western outposts of the Americans along the lakes. A company of United States soldiers were stationed at the former place, under command of Capt. John Whistler, an officer of the revolution, and to him was intrusted this service. Under his command were two young lieutenants—William Whistler, his oldest son, and James S. Swearington, from Chillicothe, Ohio. To the latter he gave orders to conduct the soldiers across the forests of

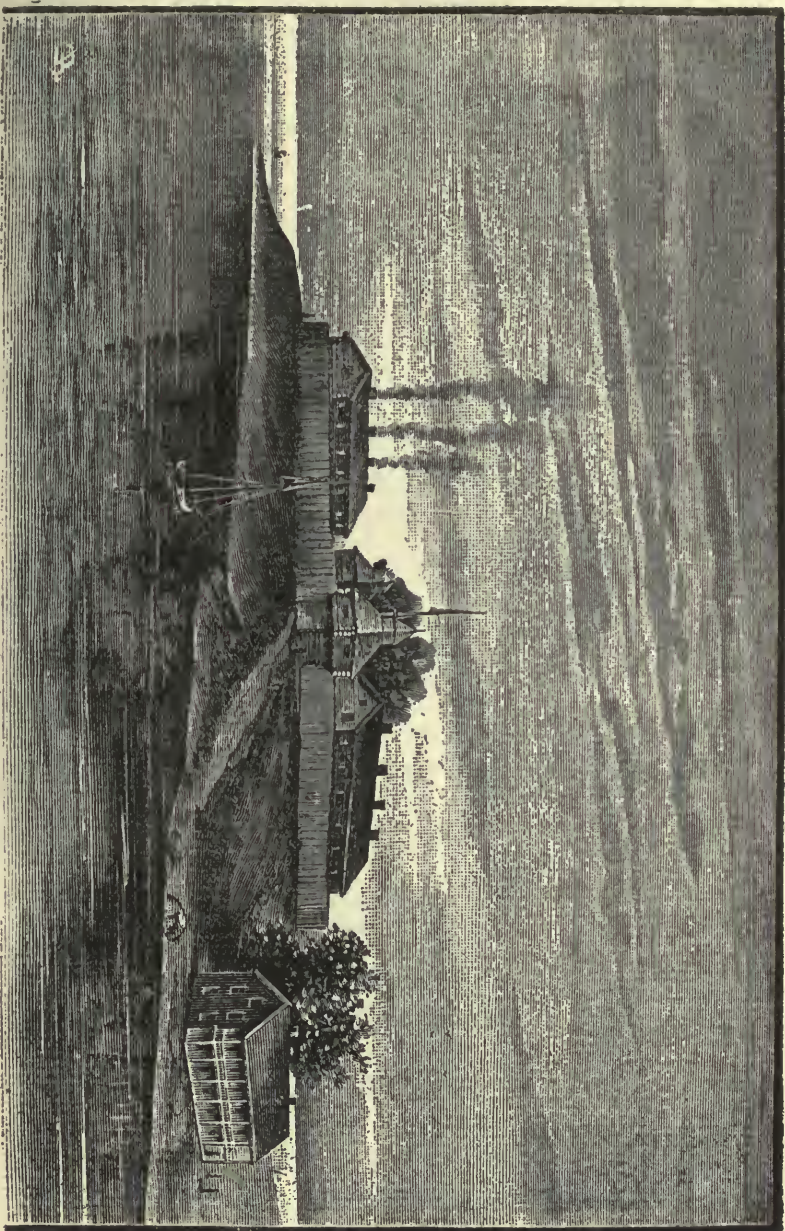
Michigan to Chicago, while he and his wife, his son William and his wife—a young bride—took passage on the United States schooner "Tracy," for the same destination, there to set up the American standard at a spot venerable with the memories of 130 years of transient French occupation, though now inhabited by only three rude huts of French fur traders, each with their usual adjuncts—the Indian wife and the inevitable brood of half breed sprites.

The schooner arrived on the 4th of July, and anchored outside the bar, for the mouth of the river was choked with a sand drift. Here she discharged her freight of ammunition, arms and provisions into small boats, in which they were rowed into the river and landed on the spot where the fort was to be built. Two thousand Indians were assembled, who, with many a grunt of surprise and approbation, beheld these preparations so fatal to their security.

The schooner was the especial object of their admiration. They called it the big canoe with wings. After the freight and passengers were landed, Capt. Tracy, the commander, gave orders to set sail for Detroit, and the ship soon vanished into the distant dip of the sky, and left the new comers among their swarthy associates, cut off from the outside world. Their first business was to build the block house—an easy task but for the hauling of the logs to the ground selected for its site. They had neither oxen nor horses with which to do this, but the soldiers geared themselves with ropes, and performed the onerous toil.

The summer and autumn of 1803 were spent before the fort was finished, but comfortable quarters were secured for the garrison before cold weather had commenced. The defenses consisted of two block houses, one on the southeast and the other on the northwest corner of the grounds inclosed. These were large enough for a parade ground, and were surrounded by a substantial palisade. A sallyport connected the inclosure with the river by means of a subterranean passage. Immediately north of the fort, the main branch of the Chicago river rolled its quiet waters to

OLD FORT DEARBORN, ERECTED IN 1803-4.



the lake, and on the west, half a mile of wet prairie intervened between the fort and the south branch of the Chicago river. On the east were the shifting sand drifts through which the river found its way to the lake by a detour southwardly along the shore half a mile south of its present outlet. Three pieces of light artillery and small arms constituted the armament. Attached to the fort was a two-story log building, sided with clapboards, riven from logs like barrel staves. This was called the United States factory, which meant a place to store goods belonging to the government designed for gratuitous distribution among the Indians. It stood outside of the palisade to the west, and was under the charge of an agent who was sutler to the fort, and was subject to the orders of its commander. The garrison of the fort consisted of one captain, one second lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, one surgeon and fifty-four privates.*

This small force established a nucleus, at no distant day to become a great metropolis, enriched by tribute from the growth of the entire territory westward to the Pacific coast. Without this, Chicago would have been a town on the western verge of a nation; with it, the commercial center of a nation. This unchallenged truth adds interest to the intricate web of fate and fortune woven into the impending issues of three nations, of which America reached the fruitage and Chicago the golden prize.

Says Hon. Zebina Eastman, in his history of Chicago: "This fort then occupied one of the most beautiful sites on the lake shore. It was as high as any other point, overlooking the surface of the lake; commanding as well as any other view on this flat surface could; the prairie extending to the south to the belt of timber along the south branch and on the north side, and the white sand hills both to the north and south, which had for ages past been the sport of the lake winds."

This lonesome hermitage soon became a nucleus around which the restive spirits which forest life had brought into being gathered, not to enrich themselves

* American State Papers, Vol. I, pages 175, 176.

and live in luxurious ease, but to follow the bent of an ambition that led their way into an untrodden path.

What matter if dangers lurked beside it? These were so many stimulants to variegate the path of life and give point to its smoother surface by contrast with its rougher. Daring and muscle then held a high place in frontier accomplishments. They were necessary in order to push the American "idea" far into the forest in advance, to pave the way for other graces which were some day to follow.

Demand begets supply in every essential want of humanity; and when pioneers are wanted to face danger plenty are willing to enlist under an assurance that they will be fully remunerated on the spot by that immunity from restraint which the forest secures to its tenants, and by that dashing style of good fellowship which is ever present between themselves and their comrades. Whatever may be the rough exterior of such men, they are heroes in the estimation of even the most cultured leaders of society, and even the prude regards them with charity, and accepts even their eccentricities without censure. Chicago was unlike Boston, which was settled by Winthrop and the Puritans. She (Chicago) began under the naive elements of frontier life, and after many years graduated under the influence of the seed they (the Puritans) planted on the eastern fringe of the continent, somewhat modified, however, in its march across the intervening country.

Among the venturesome pioneers of Virginia was a backwoodsman named McKenzie. He, with a number of his comrades settled at the mouth of Wolf's creek, where it empties into the Kanawha, in Giles county.

During Dunmore's war on the frontier, the Shawanese, then the great formidable power of the forest, in one of their border forays came suddenly upon the home of McKenzie, killed his wife, and led two of his children into captivity. The names of the young captives were Margaret, ten years old, and Elizabeth, eight years old. They were taken to old Chillicothe, the great Indian town of the Shawanese, where they were adopted into the family of a high bred Indian chief, and raised under

the tender care of his obedient squaw, according to custom.

Ten years later, when the girls were in the full bloom of maidenly beauty, Margaret was allowed to accompany her foster father on a hunting excursion to the St. Mary's river, in the present state of Indiana, near Fort Wayne, under the special care of a matronly squaw who was one of the party. Arriving at the place, a young chief of the same tribe became enamored by the graces and accomplishments of the young captive. But Margaret, who retained vivid memories of her youth, with all the tender associations that clustered around the hearthstone of civilization, recoiled from the savage attentions of her swarthy lover, and determined not to yield her heart to one who had no higher destiny for her than to ornament his leggings with porcupine quills, as one of the highest accomplishments of which a squaw was capable.

Whatever else may be the gifts of an Indian, he knows not how to play the rejected lover with the manly graces by which the impassioned young civilian gently tones up the affections of his hesitating fair, and he (the Indian) attempts by force what he cannot win by grace. Margaret's audacious lover was no exception to this rule, and at midnight approached the camp, where she was sleeping, intending to force her to become his wife. According to the Indian custom a din of yells and the rattle of an Indian drum announced the intentions of the would-be bridegroom to the terrified victim.

Aroused to a full sense of danger, the heroine leaped from her couch and fled into the gloom of the forest for a protection that her friends could no longer give her. Fortunately her dog followed her as she fled down the bank of the St. Mary's river to the stockade, half a mile distant, where the horses were kept. Ere she reached the place, the footsteps of her detestable lover were heard close behind. She turned, set her dog upon him, and while the noble animal was grappling with the wretch, she reached the stockade, unhitched a horse, leaped on his back, and took flight through the wilderness, seventy-five miles to her Indian home at

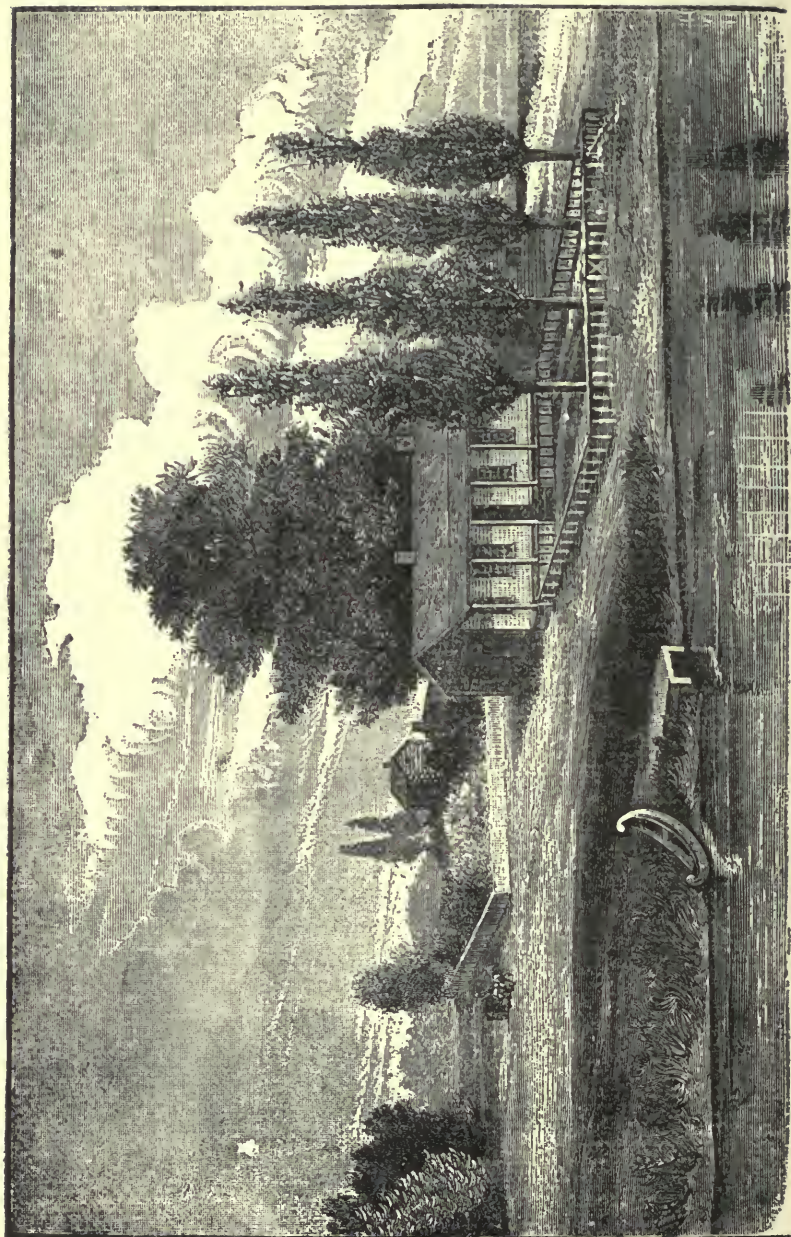
Chillicothe. The fate of the faithful dog was never known, but he was probably killed while fighting in defense of his mistress. The horse died the next day after he had performed so wonderful a feat without rest or sustenance. This heroic girl and her sister Elizabeth afterward became the mothers of some of the first pioneers of Chicago.

In the eventful year of 1763 was born at Quebec a boy destined not only to participate in the romantic riot of forest life as it then was in the great interior, but to fix his name on the page of history, with the honorable distinction as the father of Chicago. This was John Kinzie. His father died in his infancy, and his mother married a Mr. Forsyth, and removed to New York. At the age of ten or twelve, John determined to go back to his native place, and armed with this resolution, went aboard a sloop ready to sail for Albany. The bark was under way before the young truant was missed from the nursery.

The poor mother had lost a former child by her first husband, the remains of whom had been picked up in the woods of Canada, lost and starved to death; and now her heart bled afresh for what she supposed to be the awful fate of Johnny. Fortune, however, had ordered it otherwise. The lad made the acquaintance, on board the sloop, of a gentlemen going to Quebec, who paid his fare, and landed him safely at the place. Here the young adventurer soon got employment as an apprentice to a silversmith,* and won his way to distinction among the restive spirits of his eventful age, and next we find him a fur trader in Detroit during the English occupation of the place.

After the adventure of Margaret, the captive, as just told, she with her sister Elizabeth, were taken to this place by their foster father, who felt proud of his adopted children, and here they became acquainted with John Kinzie. It is not strange that the brilliant young adventurer beheld the beautiful captive Margaret with the eye of a lover, nor that the heroine felt a similar sentiment for him, and they were soon married. Elizabeth at

* Wabum, page 193.



THE OLD KINZIE MANSION.

the same time met a Scotchman named Clark, and married him, and their swarthy foster parent took his path back to Chillicothe alone. The two young couples lived in Detroit about five years, during which time Margaret had three children, William, James and Elizabeth, and Elizabeth had two children, John K. and Elizabeth.

The treaty of Greenville, in 1795, having restored peace to the border, Mr. Isaac McKenzie, the father from whom the captives had been taken almost a quarter of a century before, received tidings of his children, and went to Detroit to see them. As might be supposed, the sight aroused tender emotions that had slumbered for years in painful suspense. Nor were the hearts of the children less moved at the sight of their aged parent, whose memory had never been obliterated, even during their savage training in the tumult of an Indian camp. Under this strong pressure of filial devotion the two mothers, with their children, returned with their father to the old home, to which arrangement both of their husbands consented. A final separation was not intended, but time and distance divorced them forever. Mr. Kinzie afterward removed to Saint Josephs, where he married a Mrs. McKillip, the widow of a British officer. Margaret married a Mr. Benjamin Hall, of Virginia, and Elizabeth married Mr. Jonas Clybourn, of the same place. David, the oldest son of Benjamin Hall and Margaret, made a journey to Chicago in 1822, where he remained three years.

Here a wilderness of shining waters, as the upper lakes then were, nestled amidst an unlimited wilderness of woodland and prairie teeming with fertility hidden beneath a forest studded with overgrown trees, or a prairie ornate with tall grasses and thrifty shrubbery. On his return to Virginia, his flattering account of the place and its future destiny, which he foreshadowed with a truthful forecast, induced a number of persons to emigrate thither. The first of these was Archibald Clybourn, the oldest son of Elizabeth, who remained a permanent resident and an esteemed citizen, well known to thousands of the present inhabitants of Chicago.

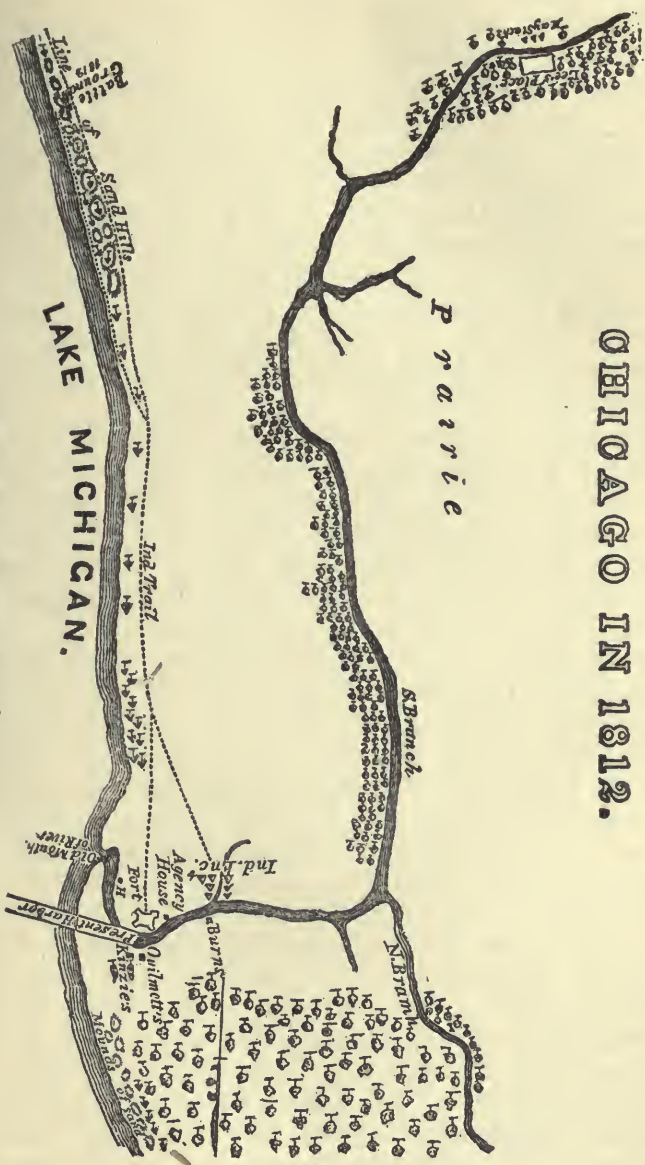
His mother was Elizabeth, the captive, who with her second husband, Mr. Clybourn, soon afterward came to Chicago. More will be said of them in future pages. Mr. Benjamin Hall was another one of Chicago's pioneers who emigrated to the place in consequence of Mr. David Hall's commendations of its future promise. Margaret, the captive, was his aunt, and to him the writer is indebted for the detail of Margaret's and Elizabeth's history.* Mr. Hall is now a resident of Wheaton. He came to Chicago in 1830, and was the proprietor of the first tannery ever established there. He married the sister of the Hon. J. D. Caton, and raised an esteemed family of children, who are now scattered in the west. Elizabeth Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie, by Margaret, became the wife of Samuel Miller, from a respectable Quaker family of Ohio. This woman was highly esteemed by all who knew her for her excellent traits. Her husband kept the Miller house at the forks of the Chicago river, and is still remembered by a few of Chicago's old settlers as a respected citizen. Mrs. Miller died at this house in 1832, leaving three very promising children.

James Kinzie came to Chicago about 1824, and was well received by his father, who assisted him in his first efforts to establish himself in the place. He amassed considerable wealth, but lost the most of it in the crash of 1837, when he removed to Wisconsin, where he died about the year 1860.

We will now return to the early days of the fort, where a few superannuated soldiers stood guard at this frontier post through the winter of 1803-4, like hermits in a wilderness. If they obtained any tidings of what was going on in the outside world, it must have been through the agency of some chance pedestrian messenger, and any news he might bring would lack authenticity. But even this satisfaction was probably not afforded them, in their wild seclusion. The next spring, however, was destined to bring an arrival to their post of a permanent character, whose presence should help

* A partial history of Margaret's captivity is given in Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*, pages 278 and 279.

CHICAGO IN 1812.



MAP OF CHICAGO IN 1812.

to bring around them the social conditions of settled communities.

Mr. John Kinzie himself was then a resident of Detroit, but had determined to make Chicago his future home. His wife was the mother of a daughter by her first husband, which daughter was now a member of his family. The baby, John H. Kinzie, was now about six months old. An Indian trail then led from Detroit through Ypsilanti (then known as Charms trading station), Niles and St. Joseph, around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, thence one branch led to Chicago and another to Rock Island, on the Mississippi river. This was the only way by which Mr. Kinzie could reach the place, and horseback was the only means of transportation.

Accordingly their effects were packed in sacks and lashed to a horse's back, and Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie and the daughter were each mounted on a horse, with Johnny slung in a swaddling pocket from the horn of a saddle, and the journey was begun. Day after day they pursued their wooded trail, camping out each night, till Chicago was reached. Soon after his arrival he purchased a small French trading establishment of a man named LeMai, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter, and from time to time this hut was improved as the home of Mr. Kinzie, till a comfortable house took its place, as shown in its picture on another page. This was the first private dwelling ever built in Chicago as an American city. It stood on the north bank of the river, opposite the fort, fronting toward the south. A small boat, chained to the bank, was always in readiness to ferry forward and back between his home and the fort, and this constituted Chicago as it was then, begun by John Kinzie and three French families who then resided there; one of which was LeMai's, and the other two were Ouilmette's and Pettell's families. Ouilmette remained a permanent resident of Chicago, and was ever true to the American interest, which record was rewarded by a large reservation of land for him north of Chicago, which still perpetuates his memory. Capt. Whistler's wife was then a

bride of but sixteen years. Henry W. Hurlbut, Esq., a present citizen of Chicago, visited her in 1875, and thus describes the interview in his pamphlet on *Chicago Antiquities*, page 24 :

“It was a coveted privilege which we sought, as any one might believe, for it was during the tremendous rain storm of the evening of the 29th of October, 1875, that we sallied out to call on Mrs. Col. R. A. Kinzie for an introduction to that lady’s mother, Mrs. Whistler. When we entered the parlor, the venerable woman was engaged at the center table in some game of amusement with her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, seemingly as much interested as any of the juveniles.

[We will remark here that five generations of this family have lived in Chicago.]

“She claimed to enjoy good health, and was apparently an unusual specimen of well preserved faculties, both intellectual and physical. She is of a tall form, and her appearance still indicates the truth of the common report, that in her early years she was a person of surpassing elegance. A marked trait of her has been a spirit of unyielding energy and determination, which length of years has not yet subdued. Her tenacious memory ministers to a voluble tongue, and we may say briefly, she is an agreeable, intelligent and sprightly lady, numbering only a little over eighty-eight years. ‘To-day,’ said she, ‘I received my first pension on account of my husband’s services.’ Mrs. Whistler resides in Newport, Kentucky. She has one son and several grandsons in the army. Born in Salem, Mass., July 3, 1787, her maiden name was Julia Ferson, and her parents were John and Mary LaDuke Ferson. In childhood she removed with her parents to Detroit, where she received most of her education. In the month of May, 1802, she was married to William Whistler (born in Hagerstown, Md., about 1784), a second lieutenant in the company of his father, Capt. John Whistler, U. S. A., then stationed at Detroit.”

He held command of Fort Dearborn, the name given to the new fortification, till 1811, and during this whole time nothing occurred to disturb the peace of the place.

The Indians kept up a trade in furs with "Shawneawkee," the name they gave to Mr. Kinzie, which, in their language, meant a silversmith. And during this term of years the even measure of justice, as well as the agreeable demeanor of Mr. Kinzie to them, established a friendship between themselves and him which proved a precious deliverance to himself and family when the red man again took the war path.

"Mrs. John H. Kinzie, the authoress of that graphic picture of frontier life (*Wabun*), in speaking of John Kinzie's first days in Chicago, and his experiences in the fur trade, in which he was engaged, says: 'By degrees more remote trading posts were established by him, all contributing to the parent one at Chicago; at Milwaukee, with the Menominees; at Rock river, with the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattamies; on the Illinois river and Kankakee, with the Pottawattamies of the prairies and with the Kickapoos, in what was called 'Le Large'—being the widely extended district afterward created into Sangamon county. Each trading post had its superintendent and its complement of *engagés*—its train of pack horses and its equipment of boats and canoes. From most of the stations the furs and peltries were brought to Chicago on pack horses, and the goods necessary for the trade were transported in return by the same method. The vessels which came in the spring and fall (seldom more than two or three annually), to bring the supplies and goods for the trade, took the furs that were already collected to Mackinaw, the depot of the Southwest and American Fur Companies. At other seasons they were sent to the place in boats coasting around the lake.

"Of the Canadian *voyageurs*, or *engagés*" (continues Mrs. Kinzie), "a race that has now so nearly passed away, some notice may very properly here be given. They were unlike any other class of men. Like the poet, they seemed born to their vocation. Sturdy, enduring, ingenuous and light hearted, they possessed a spirit capable of adapting itself to any emergency. No difficulties baffled, no hardships discouraged them, while their affectionate nature led them to form attach-

ments of the warmest character to their 'bourgeois,' or master, as well as to the native inhabitants among whom their engagements carried them. Montreal, or according to their own pronounciation, Marrialle, was their depot. It was at that place that the agents commissioned to make up the quota for the different companies and traders found material for their selections."

The terms of engagement were usually from four to six hundred livres (ancient Quebec currency) per annum, as wages, with rations of one quart of lyed corn and two ounces of tallow per diem, or its equivalent in whatever sort of food is to be found in the Indian country. Instances have been found of their submitting cheerfully to fare upon fresh fish and maple sugar for a whole winter, when cut off from other supplies. It was a common saying, "Keep an *engagé* to his corn and tallow, and he will serve you well; give him pork and bread, and he soon gets beyond your management."

At this time Michilimackinac was a place of extensive commerce with the Indians. Thither went the distant Sioux and other tribes, both from far and near, to exchange their furs for such necessities as had then become indispensable to the Indians. And there gathered the fearless spirits of the frontier, who gloried in the privations of the wilderness, wilder, if possible, than the natives themselves, and not less hardy. These excitements gave to the place a metropolitan character far above the Chicago portage, which was then only an outpost of old "Mackinaw."

Thus closes a chapter of naive changes in national aspiration, of civil and savage amenities springing into a transitory life, strangely intermingled together, while a young nation, in her fecundity, is giving birth to metropolitan cities. What was then a reality appears, in retrospect, like a dream to us who are rivaling each other in the arts of elegance and luxury, and jostling each other along the paths of life for want of elbow room wherewith to ventilate an ambition more studious in mentality, more psychological, more in accordance with man's nobler nature, but possibly not untarnished

with subtle vices that will be more apparent to the readers of our history a hundred years hence than they are to us now.

The aphorism that history repeats itself is true only to a limited extent. The history of the Northwest can never be reproduced any more than middle age can again assume the *role* of dashing youth.



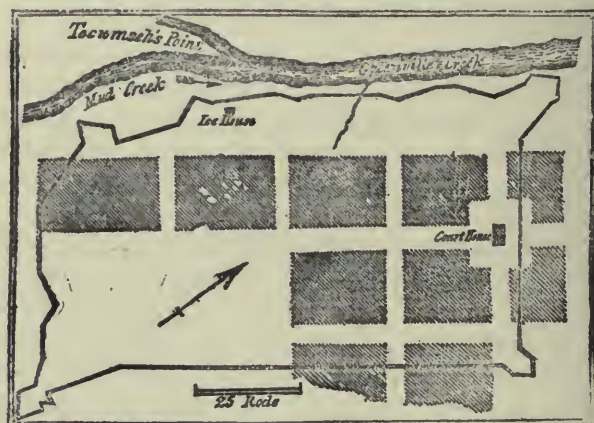
FROM FRANQUELIN'S LARGE MAP, 1684.

CHAPTER XV.

Governor Harrison's Efforts to Extinguish Indian Titles to Lands—Indian Discontents—Tecumseh—The Prophet—Tecumseh's Interview with Harrison—Its Threatening Aspect—Tecumseh's Attempt to Form a Confederacy—Harrison Marches into the Indian Country—Encamps at Tippecanoe—The Prophet Attacks Him—Is Defeated—Tecumseh's Plans Frustrated by the Battle—The Territory of Illinois Organized—Ninian Edwards Appointed Governor.

Under the able administration of Harrison, as governor of the territory of Indiana, and the peaceful appearance of the Indians, emigration increased, and as the lands yet ceded by the Indians to the United States were quite inadequate to the demand, the call was for more. To satisfy this call, the Wyandots ceded that portion of Ohio known as the Western Reserve, on July 4, 1805. On the 21st of August, the same year, the Miamis ceded a tract containing 2,000,000 acres, Governor Harrison being the purchaser; and on the 30th of December, following, the Piankeshaws ceded a tract eighty miles wide, along the west bank of the Wabash, which included all the land between that stream and a cession which the Kaskaskias had made in 1803. While these tribes were relinquishing the Indian hunting grounds to white settlements by piecemeal, unmindful of the results which might grow out of such an abandonment of the forest, there were a few master minds among them who could clearly forecast the end, if such sales were not prevented.

Prominent among these was Tecumseh, chief of the Shawanese, who may be looked upon as the last representative of the original nobility of his declining race. He beheld the cessions of lands to the United States with alarm, and resolved to make one final effort to stay the progress of the woodman's ax, and preserve the remaining forests of the west inviolable to their native owners—a desperate and foolhardy resolution, unless British aid was expected to his cause. But however certain this might appear in his estimation, he commenced the work before him in a peaceable and statesmanlike manner. The first step to be taken was



FORT GREENVILLE.

to form an Indian confederacy, by means of a private council, with representative men among the Indians, the principal object of which should be to prevent the further sale of lands to the United States, except by consent of the confederacy, which was intended to unite the entire Indian population of the northwest.

This council was held at Greenville, about the year 1806. Tecumseh and his brother, who was gifted with prophecy, as was supposed, were the leading spirits comprising it. Billy Caldwell, an educated half-breed,* was private secretary to Tecumseh.

*Billy Caldwell soon afterward became principal chief of the Pottawattamies, and after the war was over made Chicago his residence, till his tribe was removed to the neighborhood of Council Bluffs, in 1835-36. Here he died in 1845. In 1833 Mr. Perkins, who wrote the Western

Tecumseh could read and write, but the book of nature was his most highly prized volume, and the lines of the human face were, in his scrutinizing glance, the plain indexes to the heart. Greenville was from this time his headquarters, where he held his court, and from which place both he and his brother, the prophet, frequently went forth to visit the different tribes of the country, and impress upon them the necessity of a united effort for mutual protection. In this labor the prophet's influence was perhaps greater than that of Tecumseh himself, for it had a leverage from another world wherewith to bear upon life in this, while Tecumseh's logic was circumscribed to public policy.

The prophet dreamed and saw visions, and his earnest zeal was soon rewarded with a great awakening among his swarthy brethren. Both he and Tecumseh lent their powerful influence in favor of temperance, as well as many other causes in which they were engaged. But the cause most at heart was the organization of the great Indian confederacy. In the spring of 1808, they moved their headquarters to the banks of a small stream, called Tippecanoe, which emptied into the Wabash, and here immediately sprang up a modern Mecca, to which swarthy pilgrims came, from far and near, to commune with some transcendent power which was to carry their race safely through the wilderness of their griefs. All this time Tecumseh was running from tribe to tribe to propagate his new political principles, and no evidence exists that he advocated anything but peaceful measures to fulfill his laudable designs, as history is compelled to call them. The following August he visited Gov. Harrison, at Vincennes. The interview was a pleasant one, and won the confidence of Harrison sufficiently to set at rest any misgivings he might formerly have had, as to direct warlike intentions of the distinguished chief. Still his caution never slept, and he was ever on the watch for

Annals, had an interview with him at Chicago, at which time he had a trunk full of papers pertaining to the war, and particularly Tecumseh's participation in it; and it was at this interview that Mr. Perkins learned of the private council which Tecumseh held at Greenville. See Western Annals, page 550.

any new phase which might develop between the two antagonistic elements under his territorial charge, at the head of one of which he stood, while Tecumseh ably represented the other.

Two years later, in 1810, the census of Indiana territory showed a population of 24,520, and there were in the territory 33 grist mills, 14 saw mills, 18 tanneries, 28 distilleries, 3 powder mills, 1,256 hand looms and 1,350 spinning wheels. This showed a quadruple increase in the number of inhabitants, and much more than that in its agricultural and manufacturing interests during the ten years since its first organization as a territory.

That these augmentations to the white settlements had increased the jealousy of Tecumseh and the prophet, was well known. The latter was daily increasing in popularity, as was amply shown by the numbers who gathered around him to hear him foretell the good things in store for the Indian race, and tone up their resolution to verify them.

Meantime Harrison deemed it prudent to try if possible to counteract this influence, and to this end sent messengers to the Miamis, Delawares and Pottawattamies, whose business it was to assure those tribes of the protection and friendship of the United States, and to warn them against the pretensions of the prophet, whose influence had now extended to the tribes around Lake Michigan, and early in May, 1810, the Pottawattamies, Chippewas and Ottawas held a council at St. Joseph, to consider the propriety of joining his standard.

In this council, Win-a-mac, a distinguished Pottawattamie chief, well known to the early settlers of Chicago, used his influence against the prophet. This friendly intervention in favor of the whites was due to the influence which Mr. Kinzie and the officers of Fort Dearborn had exerted over him. It prevailed in the council, and no encouragement was given to the emissaries of the prophet. On the contrary, Win-a-mac sent valuable information to Gov. Harrison as to the numbers of hostile tribes.

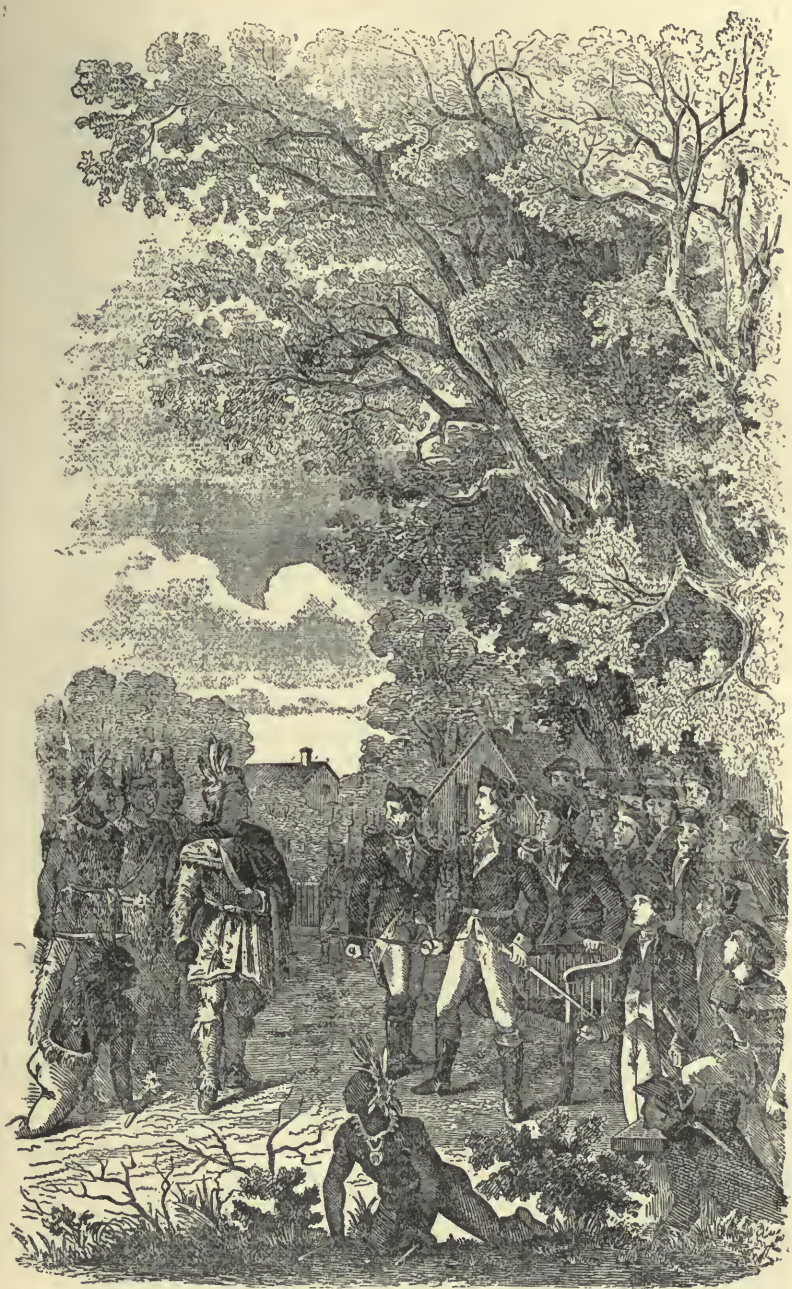
No act of hostility had yet been committed, but signs of brooding discontent were on the increase; among the Shawanese, in particular, who, in their honor-clad armor of independence, refused to receive their annuity of salt which the United States government were accustomed to give, and insulted the agents sent to deliver it, by calling them "dogs." This palpable sign of hostility caused Gov. Harrison to send a messenger forthwith to Prophetstown* to ascertain the causes of discontent.

At first the prophet laid the blame, as usual, on some of his hasty young men; but when pressed by Mr. Dubois, Harrison's faithful messenger, for the real reason, he complained that the Indians had been cheated out of their lands—that no sale was good unless made by all the tribes. In reply to this complaint, Gov. Harrison returned an answer, offering to restore any lands to the Indians that had not been fairly purchased. This message was sent by Mr. Barron, another messenger, with two associates, Brouillette and Dubois. Arriving at the place, they were conducted into the presence of the high priest, with no small measure of ceremony. When within a few feet of his majesty, "he looked at me," said Barron, "for several minutes without speaking or making any sign of recognition, although he knew me well. At last he spoke, apparently in anger. 'For what purpose do you come here?' said he. He then accused them all of being spies, and pointing to the ground, said: 'There's your grave! Look on it.'" Tecumseh, who was present, now interfered, to save the lives of the messengers—assured them of their safety, and received their message. No answer was given to it, but Tecumseh said he would visit Harrison, at Vincennes, in a few days, and reply to him. The messengers now withdrew.

On the 12th of August succeeding (1810), true to his word, Tecumseh, attended by seventy-five warriors, paid his respects to Gov. Harrison. He remained in Vincennes twelve days, holding frequent interviews with him, always with an air of hauteur, which only an

* An Indian town, near Tippecanoe Creek, where the prophet lived.

Indian can assume with grace. On the 20th, addressing the governor, he said: "Brother: Since the peace of Greenville, in 1795, was made, you have killed some of the Shawanese, Winnebagoes, Delawares and Miamis, and you have taken our lands from us, and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you if you continue to do so. You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that are pushing them on to do mischief. You wish to prevent the Indians to do as we wish them, to unite and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take tribes aside and advise them not to come into this measure. The reason I tell you this is, you want, by your distinctions of Indian tribes, in allotting to each a particular tract, to make them to war with each other. You never see an Indian endeavor to make the white people do so. You are continually driving the red people, when at last you will drive them onto the great lake, when they can't either stand or work. Since my residence at Tippecanoe, we have endeavored to level all distinctions—to destroy village chiefs, by whom all mischief is done. It is they who sell our lands to Americans. Brother, this land that was sold, and the goods that were given for it, was only done by a few. The treaty was afterward brought here and the Weas were induced to give their consent, because of their small numbers. The treaty of Ft. Wayne was made through the threats of Win-a-mac, but in future we are prepared to punish those who may propose to sell land. If you continue to purchase of them, it will make war among the different tribes, and at last I do not know what will be the consequence among the white people. Brother, I wish you would take pity on the red people and do what I have requested. If you will not give up the land, and do cross the boundary of your present settlement, it will be very hard and produce great trouble among us. How can we have confidence in the white people? When Jesus Christ came upon the earth you killed Him and nailed Him on a cross. You thought He was dead, but you were mistaken. You have Shakers among you, and you laugh and make light of their worship. Every-



HOSTILE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HARRISON AND TECUMSEH.

thing I have said to you is the truth. The Great Spirit has inspired me. If you think proper to give us any presents, and we can be convinced that they are given through friendship alone, we will accept them."*

To this speech Harrison replied, by contrasting the conduct of the United States toward the Indians with that of other civilized nations toward savages within their jurisdiction, and drawing a comparison favorable to the United States. This stung Tecumseh to the quick, and he leaped to his feet from the ground where he was reposing, and with violent gesticulation declared that both Gov. Harrison and the United States had cheated the Indians. A number of his party, sharing his feelings of resentment, sprang to his side, apparently ready to attack the governor and his party on the spot.

General Gibson, who was then secretary of the territory, instantly brought twelve men armed with sabres to the front, while Harrison himself firmly grasped the hilt of his sword, and boldly confronted the angry chief and his party, whose war clubs, tomahawks and spears flashed defiance. No blow was struck, but Harrison reproached Tecumseh for his conduct, and requested him instantly to depart to his camp, saying at the same time, he would send his speech to his tribe in written form. The next morning Tecumseh made apologies for his hasty ebullition of fury, and begged another interview with Harrison. It was granted, and Tecumseh by his respectful demeanor, made ample amends for his misconduct the day before.

Nothing was settled by the interview, however, but at the close of the council Tecumseh hoped that the Great Spirit would put sense enough into the head of the president to restore the lands in question to the Indians, and took his departure, after saying with emphasis to Harrison: "He may sit in his own town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." The next year (1811), on the 24th of June, Gov. Harrison sent Captain Wilson to confer with

* This report of Tecumseh's speech is but an extract embodying his strong points.

Tecumseh at Prophetstown, for the purpose of conciliating the still dissatisfied chief.

Tecumseh received him with great courtesy, but eloquently expatiated on the causes of which the Indians complained, and promised to come again to Vincennes to confer with Gov. Harrison in the matter. On the 27th of July following he came, attended by 300 of his men. There were then 750 militia ready for duty in Vincennes, and these were placed under arms ready for an emergency. Of course the interview settled nothing, for it was absurd to suppose the land that had been purchased of single tribes could ever be restored to the Indians, and nothing short of this would satisfy Tecumseh.

Soon after this conference ended, Tecumseh, with twenty attendants, started for the distant country of the Chickasaws, Creeks and Choctaws, for the purpose of securing their alliance to his cause in a conflict which he felt was pending. Meantime, the English agents among the Indians were generous in the distribution of presents among them.

There was a belligerent feeling at that time between the British and American people, not only on account of old scores, but new issues had come between the two nations, brought into being by what was called the continental system in Europe, which will be explained in the next chapter; and its effects were felt wherever the English name was known, even to the extreme limits of the frontiers of civilization, in the forests of America, where the unambitious native, gaunt with hunger and offensive with dirt, but loyal to the ensign of St. George, was ready to take the war path for his British father. The British had everything to hope for in his friendship, and nothing to lose by it, which was the reason for this. The Americans could gain nothing by his friendship, but his enmity would be a pretext by which to deprive him of the soil. Under this duress, the unhappy red men were between two fires, fighting the battles of the British in the front, only to be forsaken in the distribution of victory's spoils, whichever way the cause went. While the issue was maturing between the Brit-

ish and Americans, by the indiscretions of the prophet during Tecumseh's absence to bring allies to his cause, the inevitable outbreak came with the Indians. On the 17th of July, 1811, the president authorized Harrison to summon to his aid the Fourth Regiment of infantry, under command of Col. Boyd. On the 26th of September the army took up its march toward Prophetstown, the headquarters of the prophet. Having marched sixty-five miles up the Wabash, Fort Harrison was built, on the 5th of October. On the 31st, the mouth of the Vermillion river was reached, where a block house was built for the protection of the baggage.

Again resuming his march on the night of the 6th of November, he arrived at Tippecanoe, which was situated about seven miles northwest of the present city of Lafayette. Here Harrison was met by a delegation from the camp of the prophet, which was but a short distance away, where a thousand braves were assembled, ready to make a dash at the invaders as soon as a favorable moment came. All hostile intentions, however, were disavowed on both sides, but Harrison ordered his men to encamp that night in order of battle, with their clothes on and their arms by their side; and in case of an attack, the outermost lines were ordered to maintain their ground till reinforced.

At the Indian camp all was silent as the grave. Tecumseh was in the far distant south, in the country of the Cherokees, and had given his brother, the prophet, orders not to commence hostilities; but in his rashness he disregarded them, and laid his plans to attack Harrison the next morning. Before the dawn of day a heavy body of Indians made a dash on the left flank of the Americans. The sentinels were driven in, and the conflict was carried into the very camp of the invaders. In a few minutes the whole front, both flanks, and even the rear, were engaged.

The camp fires still lit up the grounds, for daylight had not yet come to the relief of the Americans, and the Indians poured a destructive fire into their ranks from a covert of darkness. With admirable coolness, Harrison

ordered the fires extinguished, which placed the combatants on equal terms. Now, hand-to-hand encounters, and random shots through the outer darkness, amidst a tumult of yells, raged along the whole line till daylight. A furious charge was then made upon the Indians. They received it with admirable courage at first, but finally fled to an adjacent swamp, where Harrison did not deem it prudent to follow them.

The American loss was thirty-seven killed and 151 wounded; the loss of the Indians was somewhat smaller.

Tecumseh, with a keen insight into the future, had not intended to precipitate the conflict with the Americans till his British friends were ready to render him more substantial aid; and when he returned home and learned that the prophet had disobeyed his orders by making the first attack, and of the disastrous results of it, his passions rose to a dangerous pitch, and it was with difficulty he could be restrained from killing him on the spot.

After the battle, the Indian stores of corn, etc., at Prophetstown were destroyed. The prophet lost his prestige, and nearly all the different tribes of Indians were inclined toward peace. Tecumseh was forced into a lukewarm acquiescence in this state of things among his people, but instead of their taking part in the treaty of peace which followed, went to Malden, in Canada, to take council with his British friends; but the end was not yet.

The Tippecanoe campaign was a great damage to the Indian cause, especially as its result was disastrous to them, and proved an effectual barrier against the Indian confederacy which Tecumseh aimed at, with laudable ambition, as the only means by which his people could be preserved.

The news of the battle spreading through the country came to the ears of John Kinzie, at Charme's trading post (Ypsilanti, Mich.). He was on his way to Detroit, but apprehensive of a general uprising among the Indians, he hastened home to look to the safety of his family, by further strengthening the chain of friendship with the Pottawattamies.*

* Wabun, page 217.

While the events of the late campaign had been maturing to the temporary issue at Tippecanoe, settlements had been progressing with but little interruption, for the late battle was a sudden spasm of ferocity, which the prophet had prematurely thrust into the arena, before Tecumseh's favorite plan of an Indian confederacy had been executed; and no warning against border war had come to the ears of emigrants. Nor had legislation suspended its progressive action respecting the political progress of the western territory.

Congress on February 3, 1809, constituted the new territory of Illinois. On the east it was bounded by the Wabash river from its mouth to Vincennes, thence by a line due north to the Canada line (which line, of course, would cross Lake Michigan lengthwise), on the north by the British possessions, on the west by the Mississippi river, and on the south by the Ohio, between the mouth of the Wabash and the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi.

Ninian Edwards was transferred from the post of chief justice of Kentucky to the governor's chair of the new territory, and Nathaniel Pope, whose home was already at Kaskaskia, was appointed secretary by President Madison. Early in March Mr. Pope organized the territory, and the following June, on the 11th, Mr. Edwards took his seat as governor at Kaskaskia.

The code of Indiana territory, under which the inhabitants had lived for the eight years previous, was at first adopted, but soon afterward detailed penalties were affixed for the punishment of every possible form of offense, some of which have long since been repealed as unwarrantable. St. Clair and Randolph were the first two counties organized. Their limits can hardly be given, in the great waste of unsettled domain over which the jurisdiction of Illinois then extended.

The extreme southern portions of the state were sparsely sprinkled over with new settlements from Virginia and Kentucky. St. Louis was a thriving town, largely composed of French fur traders. Fort Madison had been built on the west bank of the Mississippi, where the city of the same name now stands in Iowa.

Prairie du Chien, then a thrifty trading post, at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, was within the jurisdiction of the new territory, as well as La Pointe and Green Bay, while Chicago was only known as an Indian portage, and the locality of a weakly garrisoned fort.

At Peoria was a French village, established after a hiatus of many years since La Salle first built Fort Crevecœur there.

This second founding was of an uncertain date, but it was many years subsequent to the settlement of the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

Besides the battle of Tippecanoe, three remarkable events occurred during the year 1811 in the northwest. A severe frost almost entirely destroyed the corn crop. The first steamboat that ever made its appearance on western waters made a trip from Pittsburgh, where she was built, to New Orleans. And a violent earthquake was felt throughout the entire country. It took place in December, and continued several days in a succession of violent shocks of the ground, lashing the forest trees against each other with fearful violence. At times, through opening fissures in the ground, steam hissed out like the escapement of pent up and heated vapors, during which phenomenon loud reports, like the muffled sounds of thunder, continued to peal forth, as if from an invisible source. It was felt the severest at New Madrid, on the Mississippi, where a large area of land sank into the bowels of the earth, and, to fill the chasm, the Mississippi from below flowed backward for several hours.

CHAPTER XVI.

Jay's Treaty of 1794—Its Beneficial Effects—Decrees of Berlin and Milan—Retaliatory British Orders—The Continental System—America Victimized by It—The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts—Fruitless Negotiation between Great Britain and the United States—Complications with France—The French Decrees Revoked—The United States Declares War against England—The British on the Lakes—General Hull Reaches Detroit with an Army—Crosses into Canada—Reconnoissance of Colonel Cass—First Hostile Shot in the War of 1812—General Hull Returns to Detroit—Michilimackinac Taken by the English—Tecumseh in the British Service—Indian Raid on Lee's Place—Panic at Chicago—General Hull at Detroit—He Crosses the River into Canada—His Perplexities—His Surrender.

Jay's treaty of 1794 has already been alluded to. A brief detail of the conditions which brought it into being from the master mind that took within its grasp those conditions, and first caused the rights of America, as a member of the family of nations, to be acknowledged by England, forms a bright page in American history; and inasmuch as the most vital part of these conditions grew into being in the northwest, a record of them will here be made.

After the peace of 1783, which guaranteed to us simple independence only, the United States found themselves but a loosely bound confederacy of thirteen colonies, without even a constitution. The English court did not even honor us with a minister till 1789,

and, all the while, excluded our commerce from all their colonial ports, thereby forcing American merchants to trade, largely through English channels, under the monopolizing system that she had established by means of her armament on the high seas, directed by her laws of trade.* Her vessels of war seemed almost omnipresent. They swept the American lakes and constantly supplied their forts, then held on American soil, and from these forts they supplied the Indians with all the material they wanted wherewith to make the border a scene of strife and bloodshed. This aroused the indignation of the western people in particular, and embittered the whole nation against England. Still war was impossible, for we had no means out of which to establish it. Under these circumstances, even while struggling to allay dissensions at home consequent upon uniting under a constitution, and contending against poverty and an onerous public debt, Washington, impressed with the necessity of a treaty to establish our commercial relations on a firmer and more profitable basis, selected Mr. Jay as the fittest one to negotiate it.

His task was a difficult one. As to any commercial relations, the English already had everything as they wanted it, and were reluctant to enter into any obligations which could bring nothing to them.

But Mr. Jay was equal to the emergency. His accomplishments challenged the respect of the British minister, and secured the signing of his famous treaty of 1794, by which American vessels were first allowed to trade direct with the East Indies and other British dependencies. This was all that could be expected in a pecuniary way. Next came the points of honor, so vital to the western spirit of independence, which was that the English should relinquish the western posts. This point they also conceded on the terms stated in a previous chapter, and the treaty was signed in London,

* In 1744, England laid the foundation for her unexampled prosperity as a trading nation by establishing a maxim, monopolizing all the trade of her colonies to herself. In 1760, the machinery for enforcing these conditions became still more perfect, and the United States were, up to 1794, circumscribed within its toils.

November 19, 1794, and promptly ratified by Washington.

A lucrative trade immediately sprang up as a consequence of the treaty, and continued till the sanguinary character which the war between England and France afterward assumed transcended the comity of nations, and swept away not only all treaty rights, but the national rights of neutrals.

Eleven years after Jay's treaty, 1805, England destroyed the French fleet at Trafalgar, after which all opposition to her on the ocean vanished—not a French vessel daring to come within the reach of her guns. Meantime, the eyes of the world turned toward the conquests of Napoleon on the land. The victories of Austerlitz and Jena made him master of southern Europe, and from Berlin, the capital of Prussia, in November, 1806, he issued decrees, followed by the decrees of Milan early the next year, the objects of which were to undermine the power of England. These decrees made not only British vessels and goods liable to confiscation in the ports of France and her allies, but also the ships and goods of neutrals bound for English ports.

To counteract the effect of this blow aimed at the vital fountains of her prosperity, England issued in November, 1807, plenary orders for the confiscation of ships and goods bound for the ports of France and her allies, from wherever they might come; and her ability to execute these orders made them effective, and ultimately recoiled with force against Napoleon, the prime mover in this attempt to fight natural destiny. The United States was victimized by the decrees of both nations, particularly by the English orders, among which were the following:

“All trade directly from America to every port and country in Europe, at war with Great Britain, is totally prohibited. All articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce, exported by America to Europe, must be landed in England, from whence it is intended to permit their re-exportation under such regulations as may hereafter be determined.” Such was the continental

system. It embraced within its toils an issue, vital to the interests of any part of the world that wished to trade with England or France, or their allies, and with dogged resolution these Titanic powers watched both sea and land to augment the force of war by their extreme as well as novel measures.

Smarting under its effects, the United States dipped her oar into the great sea of hostile diplomacy, by passing the embargo act of December, 1807, and the non-intercourse act of March, 1809. These acts, together with certain municipal regulations which preceded them, were designed, first to prohibit certain articles of foreign importation, and finally to cut off all exportation to England and France, by withdrawing American commerce from those countries, under an impression that they could not carry on their wars without our bread supplies, and would as a measure of compromise, modify their indiscriminate laws against trade so as to admit our vessels to their ports.

It required no small measure of sacrifice to take these steps. The people had been enriching themselves out of the misfortunes of Europe in their disuse of the plow and sanguinary practice of the sword, but now this source of wealth was entirely cut off by their own acts, which, instead of improving their condition, made it worse. The resentment of France was aroused, and the April following the embargo act she passed the decrees of Bayonne, and later those of Rambouillet, by which every American vessel in French ports was a lawful prize. The apology for this act was, that any American vessels in their ports were there in violation of the embargo act, and consequently were British property (a deduction that hung on an uncertain contingency, and exhibited more defiance than discretion).

England, armed with iron-clad dignity, took but little notice of these retaliatory measures of the United States, but continued her right of search and its consequent impressment of American seamen into her service, a very questionable prerogative that she had never abandoned since our colonial vassalage, if her necessities required its practice.

The colossal proportions which the war between England and France had now assumed, by which they were daily weakening each other, may have extended the limit of American forbearance to declare war; instead of doing which she made an offer to England to rescind her embargo and non-intercourse acts, if she, England, would abolish her orders of 1807.

This offer England rejected, on the ground that she would not accept a favor from America which might benefit France.

Under this duress the United States were placed in a position in which they must either bear their grievances with patience, or commit the absurdity of declaring war against two nations at war with each other. The following abstract of a report made to the house of representatives, in November, 1809, will show the complex attitude of our grievances which had thus far set negotiation at defiance:

"The aggressions of England and France, affecting almost the whole of our commerce, are no less than a war waged by both nations against our trading interests. It is evident that the only effectual way of resistance is war. A permanent suspension of commerce, after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be resistance. It would be withdrawing from the contest and abandoning an indisputable right to navigate the ocean.

"The present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it against the two most powerful nations of the world, are the causes of hesitation."

Matters remained in these phases of discontent till 1810, up to which time several years of fruitless diplomacy had been wasted in vain attempts to restore American commerce to its natural rights in the family of nations. Two different compromises, almost concluded between England and the United States, had been broken off, one by the president of the United States, because it did not relinquish the right of search, and the other by the British king, because his minister,

Mr. Erskine, had exceeded his instructions as to its terms. Mr. Jefferson, then president, drew upon himself much censure from the New England states for rejecting this compromise (the former) without allowing it to come before the senate, which was then in session.* Its provisions conceded all the United States asked for except the clause as to impressment, and on this point the British government had given Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney, our peace commissioners, informal assurance that its practice should be abandoned.

This satisfied the New England mind, which was ready to seize upon any plausible pretext as a basis of peace by which to bridge over the war spirit of the times till more considerate counsels could be listened to.

Pending this turmoil, the grip of Napoleon's decrees, which had fastened upon all the nations of Europe, except Turkey and Sweden, began to weaken. English goods found their way almost everywhere through clandestine channels, and it became evident that the Berlin and Milan decrees were a failure. As a proof of this, on August 5, 1810, M. de Champagny, the French minister of foreign affairs, proposed to the American minister in Paris to repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees, on the same conditions that had been proposed by the United States herself two years before, and also accepted on the part of the British minister, but rejected by the crown.

These terms were substantially that all hostile legislation as to international trade should cease on both sides. This proposition was hailed with delight by Mr. Madison, who had succeeded Jefferson as president.

* Jefferson's mission to France, terminating in 1789, had well nigh turned his brain, and made it impossible for him to look with candor upon the issue that then hung over the country—so prejudiced was he in favor of the extreme rights of man, as promulgated by the revolutionary spirit of France in that eventful period. This accounts for his rejection of the compromise of England without consulting the senate. Naturally inclined to espouse the cause of the people and gain popular applause, he became the champion of radical democracy in America, and accused Washington, Hamilton, John Adams and the whole body of federalists, of being Anglo-monarchic aristocrats—friends of England and enemies of France in their contest. See his letter to Mazzei, dated Monticello, April 24, 1796. It is published officially in the proceedings of the Hartford convention.—AUTHOR.

A message was issued to take the necessary action by which the proposal should become a permanent international law. But various complex conditions were brought to the surface by the British, relative to how far this comity extended to France should affect the interests of England.

France meantime did repeal her obnoxious decrees, at least upon the contingency that the United States, after opening commercial relations with herself, should still enforce her commercial restrictions against England, unless that power should fully revoke her orders of 1807. Accordingly by official notice of the French revocation of the decrees bearing date of November 1, 1810 (which embodied all her offensive legislation against American trade), was duly sent to the United States, and published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French court at Paris, but no notice of it was sent to the English court. Subsequently, some American vessels, either through ignorance or design, were seized as prizes by the French. From these circumstances, and in default of the formality of a notice of revocation, the English insisted that the Berlin and Milan decrees were still in force. During the progress of these conciliatory overtures from the French nation, a strong appeal was made by the Americans to the English court to repeal their orders of 1807, on the ground that the French decrees had already been repealed. On the 30th of May, 1812, a final reply was made by England to this appeal, from which the following is taken:

“The Berlin and Milan decrees have never been revoked. Some partial and insidious relaxations of them may have been made, in a few instances, as an encouragement to America to adopt a system beneficial to France and injurious to Great Britain; while the conditions on which alone it has been declared that those decrees will ever be revoked are here explained and amplified in a manner to leave no hope of Bonaparte having any disposition to renounce the system of injustice which he has pursued, so as to make it possible for Great Britain to give up those defensive meas-

ures she has been obliged to resort to. * * * It is now manifest that there was never more than a conditional offer of repeal made by France, which we had a right to complain that America should have asked us to recognize as absolute, and which, if accepted in its extent by America, would only have formed fresh matter of complaint, and a new ground for declining her demands." This final reply of the English court was in justification of the declaration made by her the previous month, as follows: "If at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally revoked, then the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, shall be revoked."

To make amends for past grievances against America must have been the incentive of France in abolishing her decrees, but it may well be doubted that England was to share any of the benefits of this measure, inasmuch as the two countries were still at war with each other. That the ambiguous demeanor of France toward England in this affair grew out of a desire to bring about a war between England and the United States was evident, from the arch diplomacy which preceded it, healing, as it did, the differences between their own nations. Meantime, the late official action of the British had indefinitely postponed the time when she would repeal her laws against the rights of neutrals; and notwithstanding the New England people were in favor of peace, the tenacity of the British in adhering to their orders turned the scale.

The United States were now relieved from complications with France, and inasmuch as England had given no encouragement that her rigid restrictions on our commerce or her unjust impressment of American seamen would be discontinued, the United States hesitated no longer, and declared war against England June 18th, 1812.

That the declaration was premature, inasmuch as the United States had made no preparation for war, the disastrous results of the first campaign fully proved;

and yet, to add to the complexity of our position, the declaration might have been made with equal propriety any time within the four years previous, but for our complications with France. Never before in the history of enlightened nations did such a juxta, as well as absurd issue, result in war. The sword was drawn to fight England under a just sense of resentment for grievous practices that she (England) was willing to apologize for, as well as to discontinue, but would not condescend to enter into a treaty to do so. The summing up of the cause between the two nations centered in the following two points: First, as to the impressment of American seamen, which England gave our commissioners, Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney, assurance should be discontinued. Second, the English orders in council against our commerce, which England offered to revoke as soon as Napoleon should revoke the decrees of Berlin and Milan, an act which the United States contended had already been executed, and which act only lacked a bit of red tape (to use a metaphor) to satisfy the English ministers.

But even this gossamer fabric of formality vanished from the English mind five days after the American declaration of war, at which time (the 23d of June) the English did formally revoke the obnoxious orders, in consequence of which the Americans had drawn the sword. But the sword was drawn, and could not very well be sheathed till old scores were avenged. Several thousand American citizens, the victims of impressment, were unwillingly fighting the battles of the British, whose fathers and brothers at home called loudly for revenge; and many a pioneer had fallen a victim to the scalping knife, which had been forged on British anvils.

The British fleet held full command of the lakes, and the various tribes of Indians adjacent had for years been subsidized by presents and honeyed words into friendship for them.

It was, therefore, evident that along these waters the British were the strongest, and here the first blow was to be struck. Detroit was then the most important post which the Americans held west. General Hull,

an officer of the American revolution, was governor of the territory of Michigan, which had been organized in 1805, and now contained about 5,000 inhabitants, and to him was given the command of the troops destined for defensive and offensive operations on the upper lakes. A small garrison of United States troops was stationed at Michilimackinac, and one at Chicago, which were the extreme outposts of the Americans.

Two months previous to the declaration of war, the president had ordered Gov. Meigs, of Ohio, to raise 1,000 men for the western service.

This he promptly did, and adding 300 more to the number, handed them over to General Hull at Dayton, with a patriotic speech, at the close of which the volunteers uncovered, and gave him six rousing cheers.

Agreeable to his orders, General Hull took up his march for Detroit at the head of his little army. The route over which he was to travel had already been made famous by the St. Clair and Wayne campaigns, the scene of whose battle fields he passed, and arrived at the rapids of the Maumee on the 30th of June, twelve days after the war had been declared, but of this he was ignorant.

Here he rested his men, near the ruins of the old fort which the British had built eighteen years before, which had never served any purpose but to amuse the Indians and inflame the resentment of the Americans. The route thence to Detroit lay eighteen miles down the Maumee river, across the western extremity of Lake Erie, and up the Detroit river. Malden was then the most important post of the British on the upper lakes. Ever since they had evacuated the forts on the American side in 1796, it had been headquarters for the distribution of Indian presents, where the western tribes had assembled annually to receive their blankets, tobacco, knives, etc., and here the British had built a fleet of war vessels, which menaced the Americans on our entire lake frontier. It was situated on the Canadian side of the main channel of the Detroit river, and commanded its most direct passage. As ill fortune would have it, while resting at the rapids on the 1st of July,

General Hull dispatched a schooner and a boat to Detroit in advance of his army, which was to reach the place by land. On board the schooner were a few invalids, the hospital stores, and a trunk, containing his official papers from Washington. During the succeeding night the schooner passed the boat, leaving her behind, and kept on her course. The next day she entered the Detroit river, and coming in sight of the "Hunter," an English armed brig, she was obliged to surrender.

The boat fortunately reached her destination unobserved by the English, she having by chance taken the channel of the river west of Boisblanc island. The day after the schooner left the rapids a messenger came to the quarters of General Hull with a letter, of which he was the bearer, from the postmaster at Cleveland. Its contents ran as follows: "Sir: War is declared against Great Britain. You will be on your guard. Proceed to your post (Detroit) with all possible expedition. Make such arrangements for the defense of the country as in your judgment may be necessary, and wait for further orders."

This was from the war department at Washington, and bore date June 18th. Eight days previously he had received dispatches from the war department, through a different source, making no mention of the declaration of war, an oversight on the part of the secretary as inexcusable as it was mysterious.

General Hull now made haste to march for Detroit, and reached the place on the 7th. Here he remained till the 12th, when he crossed over to the Canada shore with his whole army, and issued a spirited proclamation to the French subjects of Great Britain, who lived in the country, many of whom gave in their allegiance to his standard. "*On to Malden!*" was now the watchword that prevailed in his army, but the extreme caution of the commanding general forbade this, especially as his last instructions were to go to Detroit, and await orders. On the 15th, however, orders reached him from Washington to take the offensive. A reconnoissance of 280 men, under command of Col. Cass, was

sent toward the place. Five miles from it they encountered an outpost of the enemy guarding a bridge, crossing Duck creek, and here the war of 1812 began in a spirited skirmish, in which some accounts state that ten Britishers were killed—a doubtful assertion that a handful of picket men should have left that many dead on the ground before falling back from before a superior force.

General Isaac Brock was governor of Upper Canada at this time, whose dashing activity proved to be more than a match for General Hull's excessive caution.

As soon as war had been declared, he planned out his campaign, and Michilimackinac was the first place to be attacked. At the foot of the rapids of the St. Mary's, on the Canadian side, forty-five miles north of the place, was the British post of St. Joseph, garrisoned by two companies of Canadians and a few British regulars. Capt. Roberts, who held command of this post, was the one to whom the execution of the scheme had been confided. Besides his own entire command, he enlisted in his ranks all the loose material which the English Fur Company could bring to his service; and in order to insure success beyond a doubt, he accepted the service of 600 Indians from his immediate neighborhood. Everything being in readiness on the 16th of July, his forces embarked in their bateaux, crossed the strait, and reached the island of Michilimackinac before daybreak. The fort stood on a bluff rock, on the southeast shore, nearly 200 feet above the sparkling waters that chafed and foamed about its base. The original forest with which the island had been covered had been cut down for fuel, and in its place a thicket of second growth covered the ground. At 9 o'clock Lieut. P. Hanks, the commander of the fort, beheld with astonishment such formidable numbers of British taking position on a rocky height, within cannon shot of his fort, while the wooded grounds around were alive with Indians.

The guns of the fort were shotted, and everything made ready for a desperate defense by the commanding officer, who all the while was at a loss to account

for the hostile demonstrations; but at 11:30 o'clock the mystery was explained by a message under a flag of truce. "War had been declared," said the unexpected visitor, and the surrender of the fort and island was demanded. To defend it would have been a vain attempt, and the command was reluctantly complied with, and his entire force (fifty-seven men), including officers, became war prisoners. The village on the island numbered over 300, all but three or four of whom were Canadians or half breeds, who felt quite at home under a British flag, as well as the countless hordes of Indians, who gathered about the place every summer to sell their winter's catch of furs, enjoy the salubrious air, and eat the easily caught fish.

Michilimackinac was then regarded as the most important post in the northwest, except Detroit. It had an annual export trade of furs, amounting to \$240,000, and the custom house duties on imports were about \$50,000 per annum. This successful opening of the war, on the part of the British, fired the heart of the Indians, and made them flock to the standard of their British father.

Tecumseh was already in the field, elevated to the rank of a brigadier general, and while the master mind of General Brock, assisted by the masterly activity of Tecumseh, is circumventing the tactics of General Hull, let us turn our attention to Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, the outermost post of the Americans.

Its garrison had been increased by the insignificant reinforcement of twelve militia, which made in all sixty-six soldiers. The original officers in command had retired the year before, and in their place stood Captain Heald, who had the chief command, and under him was Lieut. Helm, the same who had recently married the step-daughter of John Kinzie, Ensign George Ronan and Dr. Van Voorhees, the surgeon. The armament of the fort consisted of three cannon, and small arms for the soldiers. The defenses were quite sufficient to hold the Indians at bay, whose mode of warfare was ill adapted to a siege, but in the general trepidation which prevailed among the weak garrison, it

was proposed to make the most of every available means in their power, in case of an attack, and to this end the agency house outside the palisade was to be manned with a few sharp-shooters, to minister to the defenses of the fort.

Mr. Kinzie, during his eight years' residence in the place, fortunately had won the confidence and esteem of the Indians by those rare gifts which transcend the angry passions of war, even in the savage breast. And to him all eyes turned for counsel when the war whoop rang through the wilderness, backed by the power of England. Of his children, the oldest was John H., then a lad of eight years, born in Canada, opposite Detroit, but a few months before his parents emigrated to Chicago in 1804.

He was the first prominent resident of Chicago from infancy. Just west of Mr. Kinzie's house was the humble habitation of Ouilmette, a French laborer in his employ, who, like many of his countrymen before him, had married an Indian lassie, and the union had been blessed with the usual number of children. About eighty rods to the west, on the same side of the river, was the residence of Mr. Burns, whose family consisted of a wife and children. Besides these were a few families of half breeds, "the location of whose residences, or perhaps camps, is not known," says Mrs. John H. Kinzie, in *Wabun*. In the fort dwelt the families of Captain Heald, Lieut. Helm and Sergeant Holt, whose wives were destined to become heroines of history, and to their number may be added Mrs. Bisson, sister of Ouilmette's wife, and Mrs. Corbin, wife of a soldier.

Four miles from Fort Dearborn, up the south branch of the Chicago river, lived a Mr. White, as a tenant on a farm known by the name of Lee's place. In his employ were three Frenchmen, whose business was to sow, plow and reap, depending on a Chicago market for a sale of their products. This place, then a lonesome habitation, remote from the incipient town, is now the center of the din of Chicago machinery for manufacturing the wooden luxuries of the age.

At this time Illinois had been under the forms of a territorial government for three years—Ninian Edwards, governor, with Kaskaskia the capital. Camp Russell, the present seat of Edwardsville, in Madison county, was the northern limit of the settled portion of the territory, except Peoria, where a few French families lived, over whom he held no jurisdiction, and the fort at Chicago, which was under United States authority. Around the latter the Pottawattamies roamed, lords of the soil, according to Judge Caton's history of this tribe in a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1870, and afterward published by Fergus in 1876, the data for which were received from one of their oldest chiefs. Their hunting grounds were limited on the south by Peoria lake, and on the west by Rock river. Since the days of the great Pontiac, their alliance with his tribe, the Ottawas, had been cemented into a chain of friendship strong and enduring; both had ever been active allies of the French since 1673, as appears from contemporary history, and both were unrelenting foes to the English during the long and bloody French and Indian war, and Pontiac's war which followed, a period extending from 1755 to 1764; and when their beloved chief Pontiac was basely murdered by an Illinois, both of these tribes took summary vengeance on the whole Illinois tribe, and at Starved Rock slaughtered the last remnant of them, except eleven warriors, who fled under cover of darkness to St. Louis. And this was the victory which gave the Pottawattamies so much ascendancy in northeastern Illinois.*

But since the period of French occupation, the fortunes of the Indians had been changed. Their loving French brothers had been driven out of the country, and the British who drove them out were now their own allies, on whom they depended to beat back the advancing hosts of Anglo-Americans who were rapidly encroaching on their hunting grounds.

The Pottawattamies had not yet felt the weight of their power, but the Shawanese had, and through the earnest solicitation of Tecumseh, who with far-seeing

* Caton's Address.

vision comprehended the situation, some of the Pottawattamies had yielded to his seductive eloquence, joined his standard, and fought with the prophet the year before at the battle of Tippecanoe. Even then Tecumseh had laid his plans to destroy Fort Dearborn,* but the defeat of his braves at that disastrous conflict arrested the execution of these plans until the war of 1812 had again revived them on a far grander scale.

In his erratic wanderings to gain allies for the purpose of driving the white settlers east of the Ohio river, he had visited the Winnebagoes of Rock river, as well as all the other tribes adjacent, and poured out his tales of grief to them against his white neighbors.

But while it is not to be presumed that he had won them all over to participate in his unrelenting hostility to the Americans, it is evident that some of the indiscrete and inflammable material among them had been brought to the surface, an instance of which was shown one day when some Indians of the Calumet had come to Fort Dearborn on business. Seeing Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm playing at a game, one of the swarthy visitors in an unguarded moment said to the interpreter, "The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they are hoeing in our corn fields!" A few weeks later this proved to be more than an idle threat, when, owing to Tecumseh's influence, or some other reason which never can be brought to light, the Winnebagoes made a raid on the settlers immediately adjacent to Fort Dearborn, which contemplated the killing of every one found outside of its palisades.

Their plan was to begin at the outermost house and kill all as they went along. This was Lee's place, and here the work began on the 7th of April. It was late in the afternoon when a party of ten or twelve Indians entered the house and seated themselves with the usual importunity of Indian manners.

Their appearance, however, aroused the suspicions of the inmates, and two of them, under pretense of feeding the cattle from some hay stacks across the

* Brown's History of Illinois. page 305.

river, ferried over in a boat, but instead of coming back as they had promised, betook themselves to the skirt of timber which fringed the river, and made all speed toward the fort. Ere they had proceeded far, the report of two guns confirmed their suspicions against the strange party of Indians who had come so suddenly upon them, and they continued their flight in breathless haste, until the river opposite the house of Burns was reached. The alarm was given by calling loudly across to warn the inmates of danger, and the two fugitives continued their flight to the fort.

Consternation now filled the household of Burns. The mother lay on her couch, with her babe, less than a day old, and Mrs. John Kinzie sat by her side, attending to her wants with the tenderness that mothers can best feel on such occasions. But now the appalling news just received turned her thoughts away from Mrs. Burns and the little nursling beside her, to her own children at home, and she flew thither with the speed that terror lent to her limbs. Rushing in, she cried out, "*The Indians! The Indians!* Killing and scalping!" Mr. Kinzie dropped his violin, with which he was amusing the children, and the amateur quadrille in which they were engaged changed into preparations for flight; all rushed into two boats, which lay moored on the brink of the river, and in a few minutes were safely across, and inside the walls of Fort Dearborn.

Burns' family were not yet rescued, and who would undertake the mission, which the terrified messengers had made to appear so dangerous? Ensign Ronan was the man, and leaping into the boat, with six soldiers equally brave, pulled up the river to Burns', and carried the mother, and her babe on her bed on board, and these, with the rest of the family, were soon safely landed inside the fort, showing by this daring act a heroism not surpassed by Lieut. Hobson in sinking the "*Merrimac*."

The afternoon previous, a party of seven soldiers had obtained leave to row up the south branch to its head waters. for the purpose of fishing. Night had now

come, but they had not yet returned. A gun was fired as a signal of danger, hearing which, the party quit their sport, and pulled silently down the river. Arriving at Lee's place, they landed to rescue the inmates. Approaching the house by the light of a torch, a dead body was discovered, beside which lay a faithful dog. With increased haste they retreated, and now silently continued their way down the stream, and reached the fort at 11 o'clock at night. Early the next morning scouts were promptly sent to the scene. The dead body of the man, already discovered, proved to be one of the Frenchmen in the employ of Mr. White; his dog still lay by his side, in mournful silence; and but a few paces from it was discovered the dead body of Mr. White. Both the murdered men were taken to the fort, and buried just outside the palisade. Besides the families from outside the fort, now safely quartered within its protection, were some families of half-breeds, and a few discharged soldiers. These took refuge in the agency house. For extra protection they planked up the two verandas with which the building was furnished (more for comfort than elegance), and pierced the outer wall thus made with port holes.

Inside the fort was an ample store of provisions, among which such questionable luxuries as spirituous liquors had not been forgotten, and everything was in readiness for a siege. An order was issued to prevent any citizen or soldier from leaving without a guard, and a line of pickets was placed around the premises at night. In a few nights a small party of Indians were descried creeping stealthily through the pasture grounds adjoining the fort, like a group of thugs. They were immediately fired upon, not only by the patrolmen, but by the sentinel from the block house, and one of their number returned the fire by hurling back his hatchet at the patrolman's head. It missed it, however, and spent its force against a wheel of a wagon. The next morning the leveled grass, stained with blood where his victim fell, proved the steady aim of the sentinel.

Soon afterward, another visitation was made of a similar character, probably for the purpose of stealing

horses from a stable outside the fort. But instead of finding horses, some sheep had taken refuge within its treacherous walls and became victims to the rage of the disappointed sneaks. The innocent animals were all stabbed as if they had been so many hyenas. Scouts were sent in pursuit of the miscreants who perpetrated the cruelty, but they could not be overtaken. In a few weeks the effect of these alarms passed away, and the social circle of Fort Dearborn resumed its composure. The Pottawattamies came and went, as ever, but under a masked disguise of a friendship ready to be thrown off at the most opportune occasion.

Let us now turn our attention again to Detroit, the central base of military movements on the upper lakes. Here we find General Hull encamped on British soil, across the river opposite Detroit, evidently under the painfully contending emotions of prudence and activity, with the former in the ascendant. But while this fatal paralysis had taken possession of him, the enemy were acting with a promptness seldom equaled in military annals, and, it may with truth be said, a haste which would have been fatal to them had not their antagonists (the Americans) been acting on the other extreme. In default of positive orders from the war department, to take the offensive, General Hull had at first hesitated to march against Malden; and when such orders came, so much time was consumed in preparation for the enterprise, that General Proctor, by order of Sir George Prevost (the governor general of Canada), had reinforced the place with an English regiment before General Hull was ready to march against it.

This British reinforcement of Malden was effected on the 29th of July, and while it added to the perplexities of General Hull, he still looked for assistance from two different quarters which might extricate him from his perils, and place him in an invulnerable position. Gov. Meigs, of Ohio, had been ordered to send a supply of provisions to him under a military escort, commanded by Captain Brush, which was now on its way; but the most important assistance which he expected was looked for through an attack against the enemy in

another quarter, more vital to them, and which should divide their force and prevent the whole military weight of Canada from concentrating on Detroit. For this purpose, General Dearborn had been ordered to invade Canada from Niagara, but while on his way thither to take command of his army, already on the frontier, at Albany he was met by a flag of truce from the governor-general, borne by Colonel Bayes, from Montreal. This messenger was the official bearer of the news that the English had revoked their orders in council, which had for years been so obnoxious to American commerce, and which had been among the principal causes of the war. Under the influence of such a harbinger of peace, an armistice was proposed.* Unhappily for General Hull and the American cause, General Dearborn, instead of obeying his orders by invading Canada, signed the treacherous truce which relieved the English forces of Canada from any apprehensions of danger to their Niagara frontier while they were concentrating their force against Detroit.

While these contingencies were passing, so fortunately for the British, General Hull's indecision of purpose, which, it must be confessed, grew out of the web of difficulties which encompassed him, had forfeited all confidence in him from his army. On the 8th of August he called a council of war, in which it was decided to advance against Malden, but news of the fatal armistice followed this decision, sent by a messenger from General Porter, who held command on the Niagara frontier, accompanied with the unpropitious assurance that the proposed diversion of the English forces had resulted in a failure.

This dispiriting news prevented him from advancing against the objective point, and he retreated to Detroit. Two and a half miles from the present site of Monroe, Michigan, was a thriving French village, on the banks of the river Raisin, thirty-six miles south of Detroit. The expected convoy of provisions had reached this

* It will not be forgotten that this revocation took place five days after the American declaration of war, as stated in the foregoing pages.

place in safety, but between this point and Detroit Tecumseh interposed his army of braves, and the commander of the convoy, not deeming it prudent to advance with such a numerous foe in his path, sent a messenger to General Hull for a force to open the way.

On the 4th of August, Major Van Horne, of Colonel Findley's regiment of Ohio volunteers, was sent on the mission with a command of 200 men. At Brownstown, nearly opposite Malden, he fell into an ambuscade and was driven back, with serious losses.

On the 9th inst., Colonel Miller was sent on the same dangerous service, with the Fourth Ohio Regiment and a body of militia, in all numbering 600 men.

The fear of an ambuscade along the low and forest clad grounds through which their path lay caused them to proceed with caution, and Captain Snelling was ordered to lead the advance. No enemy was seen till they had reached the Indian village of Monguagon, about half the distance to the river Raisin, where from behind a breastwork of logs a squad of British and Indians obstructed their path. A sharp and bloody battle immediately followed, in which the new American troops fought like veterans, and drove the British from the field; but the Indians, led by Tecumseh, though exposed to the terrible fire of the Americans, in which their loss had been severe, still hung around the skirts of the victorious Americans and made their position dangerous. In this emergency, Colonel Miller dispatched a messenger back to Detroit to obtain provisions for the sustenance of his men, till they could fight their way through the treacherous forest path to meet the convoy. The required provisions were at first ordered to be sent under command of Colonel McArthur, but a storm delayed the departure of the train till General Hull thought best to recall Colonel Miller, rather than reinforce him, and he was ordered back to Detroit.

Arrangements were now made to open communication with the expected convoy by a route further to the west, which was less exposed to the numerous enemy who hovered around the banks of the Detroit river along the road which Colonel Miller had passed, and which

had frequently exposed his men to the fire of the English vessels which patrolled its waters.

Colonels Cass and McArthur were detailed for this service on the 14th, with 400 picked men. General Brock reached Malden the same day, and immediately taking the offensive, advanced to Sandwich, opposite Detroit, and addressed to General Hull the following note:

"SIR: The power at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell and Major Gregg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangements that may prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

"ISAAC BROCK, Major-General, etc.

"His Excellency, Brigadier-General Hull, etc."

The reply was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, DETROIT, Aug. 15, 1812.

"SIR: I have no other reply to make than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make. I am, etc.,

"WILLIAM HULL, Brigadier-General.

"His Excellency, Major-General Brock, etc."

Says General Hull in his official account of the attack of Detroit and its surrender: "On the 15th, as soon as General Brock received my letter, his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, three miles below Detroit. At daylight on the 16th, the cannonade recommenced, and in a short time I received information that the British army and Indians were landing below the Spring Wells, under the cover of their ships

of war. At this time the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops and unaccustomed to camp life; having performed a laborious march; having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen and more had received wounds; in addition to which a large number being sick and unprovided with medicine and the comforts necessary for their situation; are the general causes by which the strength of the army was reduced. * * * It now became necessary to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood and no possible advantage, because the contest could not have been sustained more than a day for want of powder, and but a few days for want of provisions.

"In addition to this, Colonels McArthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. * * * I well know the high responsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it myself. It was dictated by a sense of duty and a full conviction of its expediency."

The surrender of the garrison of Detroit, together with the town and the entire territory of Michigan, took place on the 16th. It forms a humiliating page in American history, for which the tardiness in the government in sustaining General Hull was more responsible than General Hull himself; albeit, it is but a just tribute to English heroism to admit that it had a potent influence in the work. That General Hull could have taken Malden at first, and thus saved Detroit, is probable; but in default of this, that he could have held Detroit was impossible. No wonder the fall of the

place stung the American heart, when thousands of our old revolutionary soldiers were yet living, who beheld the triumph of English arms with indescribable bitterness. General Hull was tried by court martial, and sentenced to be hung. Happily for humanity's sake, the president pardoned him. The sentence appeased the pride of the nation, as well as to help conceal the mistakes of the government, till history in its own destined time should vindicate truth, even at the expense of the government.

NOTE.—The following is an item from a journal kept by the father of Hon. L. W. Claypool, of Morris, Ill., who was a soldier in the Ohio ranks at the surrender. It is inserted as a simple statement of the facts, which verify the English account of the surrender, as well as Hull's statement. It was furnished the author by Hon. Wm. Bross, Chicago:

"Aug. 15.—British began firing opposite Detroit at 6 o'clock. Continued till after night. Ended by throwing a few shells. They received heavy firing from our side. The day following, at 6 o'clock, renewed the firing. The compliment was returned. Firing continued three hours. We ceased firing first. Sent over a flag of truce. British officers came over. Talked of capitulation, well understanding that 1,000 British had crossed at Spring Wells, and that a vast number of Indians were back of the fort (perhaps 1,500). Under consideration of these facts, surrendered the whole to the British. They took possession at 11 o'clock. We gave up our arms at 12 o'clock. In the evening, went on board the schooner 'Nancy.' Continued here till the 18th. Sailed to Malden. Lay there till the 20th: Six in the morning till 12 o'clock. Sailed twenty-three miles. Anchored all night; 21st—wind unfavorable; 22d, Sunday—cast anchor at Puttaut Bay island; weighed anchor at 4 o'clock Sunday; 23d of August—landed at the mouth of Black river; 24th—marched twenty-seven miles down Lake Erie to the town of Cleveland, Cuyahoga county, Ohio."



GOVERNOR HULL'S RESIDENCE, 1812, TAKEN FROM FARMER'S HISTORY OF DETROIT.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fort Dearborn in Danger—Its Evacuation Ordered by General Hull—Win-a-mac, the Friendly Messenger—Vacillating Policy of Captain Heald, the Commander—Inflexibility of Ensign Ronan—John Kinzie, his Wise Counsel—Council with the Pottawattamies—Bad Faith of Captain Heald in the Destruction of Arms, etc.—Honorable Confession of Black Partridge—Arrival of a Heroic Friend—The Fort Evacuated—Indian Treachery—Mrs. Helm's Graphic Account of the Massacre which Followed.

During the waning fortunes of General Hull at Detroit, ere he had surrendered the place, evidently apprehensive of his fate, he determined to send a messenger to Fort Dearborn to apprise its inmates of the situation, and give them timely warning to save themselves by retreating to Fort Wayne, if the garrison were not in a situation to hold out till succor could come to their relief. Win-a-mac, the Pottawattamie chief, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter, was in his camp, and to him the mission was intrusted. He started from Detroit on the 28th of July, with an order from General Hull to Captain Heald, who held command of Fort Dearborn, and arrived safely at Chicago on the 7th of August, according to the account given in Wabun; but Lanman states that he arrived on the 9th, which appears more consistent, as to the time it would take to travel the long wilderness path connecting the two places. He brought exciting news. War had been declared by the United States against England; Michilimackinac

had fallen without resistance, and Detroit was closely pressed by the British and their swarthy allies. Under these adverse circumstances the evacuation of Fort Dearborn was ordered, providing they had not means to defend it, as the only means of safety left open to the garrison. Captain Heald was further instructed to distribute all the goods in the fort and agency house among the Indians after leaving the post.

Had all these conditions come upon them in their natural routine, better preparation could have been made to meet them, but the news coming as it did, fell like an avalanche upon the unsuspecting tenants of the fort. To add to their perplexities the relations between the commanding officer and his subordinates, particularly Ensign Ronan, were not harmonious. This young officer was bold, perhaps an erratic, and certainly an outspoken free thinker, regardless of any restraining limit, dictated by policy or conservatism, to the expression of his sentiments. For this, and without doubt for other causes, Captain Heald took no counsel with his subordinate officers as to what was to be done, but resolved in his own mind to evacuate the fort, although this decision was against the advice of both Win-a-mac, who had amply proved the sincerity of his friendship, and Mr. Kinzie, whose long and successful career among the Indians entitled his opinions to respect, and in vain did both of them exert themselves to dissuade him from the hasty resolution.

First, Win-a-mac had at a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, strongly advised that the garrison should shut themselves up in the fort, and remain till reinforced; but if evacuation was determined on, let it be done immediately, before the Indians, through whose country they must pass, should become acquainted with the news he had brought from Detroit. To this advice Captain Heald replied, that inasmuch as he had determined to leave the fort, it would be necessary to wait till the Indians of the neighborhood could be collected to receive an equal distribution of the property ordered to be given to them. Win-a-mac then suggested an immediate evacuation, with everything left standing,

and while the Indians were dividing the spoils the garrison might escape.

This plan was also recommended by Mr. Kinzie, but was rejected, and the next morning the order for evacuating the post according to the original plan of Captain Heald, was read at the roll call. The impolicy of this plan being apparent to the subordinate officers, in the course of the day they sought an interview with Captain Heald to remonstrate against it. They represented to him the frail tenure by which the treacherous chain of friendship now bound the Indians to the American interest. That good will toward the family of Mr. Kinzie was its only hold, and it was not to be expected that the few chiefs who showed this feeling toward this one household would be able to restrain the turbulent passions of the whole tribe when the war whoop was once raised. That their retreat must be slow, incumbered as it would be with women, children and invalids. That succor might arrive before an attack could be made from the British, who had just taken Michilimackinac; but if not it were far better to fall into their hands than expose themselves to the fury of the savages.

To these suggestions Captain Heald replied that a special order had been issued from the war department that no post should be surrendered without a battle, and his force was inadequate for this, and that he should be censured for remaining when a prospect for a safe retreat appeared probable, to insure which he proposed, after distributing the goods to the Indians, to promise them further reward for escorting his command safely to Fort Wayne. From this time the under officers, seeing the impossibility of changing his purposes, remained silent on the subject, but Mr. Kinzie was still persistent, and while conversing with him one day on the parade ground, on the subject, Captain Heald, in reply to his arguments, said, "I could not remain if I thought best, for I have but a small store of provisions." "Why, Captain," said an impulsive soldier, "you have cattle enough to last six months." To this the unoffended Captain replied, "I have no salt to preserve the meat."

"Then jerk it, as the Indians do their venison," continued the persistent soldier.*

As the weary days advanced, the Indians assumed an air of insolence quite inconsistent with the spirit of friendship. Impertinent squaws cast malignant glances at the fort, as they thronged around its gates as if a jubilee was about to reward their watching, and uncouth warriors sometimes pressed through the gates, heedless of the sentinel's protest, and once a gun was discharged in the ladies' parlor by one of these unwelcome visitors.

On the 12th, a council was held with the Pottawattamies, who had by this time assembled in considerable numbers around the fort. The conference took place on the parade ground just outside the palisades. Captain Heald laid aside his prejudices and invited all the officers of the fort to take part in its deliberations, but they had lost all faith in the pretensions of the Indians, and declined. Moreover, they had been informed that it was to be made the occasion of a massacre of the officers, the truth of which rumor was strengthened by perhaps well grounded suspicions. Under these apprehensions they betook themselves to the block house, where the cannon were shotted ready for any hostile demonstration which might show itself. Captain Heald, however, with undiminished faith in the Indians, accompanied by Mr. Kinzie, convened the council. At its sitting, the Indians were informed of his plans to withdraw from the fort, and were promised the gift of all the goods, not only in the fort itself, but of those in the agency house, including the ammunition and provisions. The Pottawattamies on their part promised an escort to conduct them safely to Ft. Wayne, for which they were to receive a liberal reward on the spot, and an additional one on their arrival at the place. Thus closed the council with apparent good will and confidence on the part of Captain Heald, not shared by his junior officers or soldiers. As already stated, Win-a-mac had brought to the garrison the news of the fall of Michilimackinac, but

* As beef or venison was preserved by drying and smoking, in the early day, which process was called jerking.—AUTHOR.

from prudential motives the Indians were not informed of it. This attempt at concealment, however, was unavailing, for Tecumseh had sent a messenger to them to secure their co-operation in the general warfare which he was waging against the Americans as a British ally, by telling them the news so auspicious to their cause. No sooner had the council closed and the chiefs withdrawn than Mr. Kinzie, alarmed at its impolitic terms, protested against furnishing the Indians arms, which would probably be used against themselves, and Captain Heald himself, for the first time awakened to a sense of surrounding danger, determined to destroy all the arms and ammunition not wanted for his own use, instead of giving it to the Indians, as stipulated in the council.

The next day the goods were distributed, all but the ammunition, arms and the liquors, of which there was a plentiful store. The Indians were far from being satisfied. The things they most coveted were still withheld, and at night they hung about the premises, crawling prostrate through the tall grass, wherever it afforded concealment within hearing of what was going on at the fort. When night came, their serpentine toil was rewarded with a full discovery of what they had suspected. With indignation they beheld the destruction of the muskets, the fragments of which, together with powder, shot, flints and gun screws, were thrown into a well at the extremity of the sally port. Next came the casks of liquor. These were rolled to the bank of the river, the heads knocked in and the contents given to intoxicate the fish. The Indians, however, got a taste of the precious nectar, which, diluted as it was, they sipped from the surface of the water, under cover of night, while drinking which they declared that the whole river tasted like strong grog.

However agreeable such a spoliation might be to modern apostles of temperance, it was offensive to the Indians to the last degree. Aside from such a waste of property, they looked upon it as a piece of treachery on the part of Captain Heald, which had deprived them of the most essential part of the promised gifts. This

last act was the most fatal error yet committed, as it compromised all the good fellowship that existed between the Indians and the garrison, on which alone Captain Heald had based a frail hope of security.

Up to this time the leading chiefs of the Pottawattamies (it is fair to infer), felt their ability to restrain the war spirit among the young braves who longed for a chance to achieve notoriety by ornamenting their belts with the scalp of an enemy, and were as unscrupulous as to the means employed to obtain it as some of our modern politicians are as to the issues that party strife thrusts into the arena of what should be the policy of the nation.

Black Partridge was conspicuous among the friendly and considerate chiefs, but after the destruction of the



BLACK PARTRIDGE'S MEDAL.

arms, etc., feeling that he could no longer restrain the war spirit of his people, he entered the quarters of Captain Heald with deep dejection. "Father," said the high minded chief, "I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship, but our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy." Whatever effect this startling disclosure produced on the minds of the garrison, it was now too late to make any change in their plans; for nothing was left on which to subsist or with which to defend themselves, as only twenty-five rounds

of ammunition to the man and one extra box of cartridges had been reserved from the general distribution.

This was the situation on the night of the 13th when the devoted garrison returned to rest, perhaps for the last time. While this suspense was continuing at the fort, succor was on the way to them. The wife of Captain Heald was the daughter of Colonel Samuel Wells, of Kentucky, whose brother (afterward Captain William Wayne Wells) when thirteen years old had been taken captive by the Indians, in one of the border skirmishes, which were frequent occurrences in those early times.* He was adopted into the family of Little Turtle and bred in the lofty virtues of which that distinguished chief was so able an exponent.

At the defeat of St. Clair, Mr. Wells had been in the front and maintained the position till a wall of dead bodies of the American artillery men shielded him from the tempest of bullets which assailed his men. Notwithstanding he had won laurels with the people of his adoption whom he had thus far successfully defended, in his reflective moments he clearly foresaw their declining fortunes, and resolved to abandon them to a fate from which it was impossible to extricate them. As might be supposed, this resolution filled his heart with contending emotions, painful beyond the power of but few to conceive. On the one hand were the associations which had gathered around his maturing years, perhaps all the more tender because hardships and toil had been ever present with them. On the other was his ambition to cast his lot among his own people, who alone could elevate him to a position that his talents deserved. But as treachery with him was impossible, he plainly told his adopted father, Little Turtle, his intentions, and with much pathos bade him good-by, as he left him, and allied himself to the army of General Wayne, in 1794. With him he fought during the campaign and after the peace which followed it, he again joined Little Turtle, who now fully shared his sentiments, and both went to Philadelphia together, in 1798, to take measures to bring civilization to their race.

* See *Western Annals*, page 615.

Here the celebrated traveler, Mr. Volney, met Mr. Wells, and has left an interesting record of the interview.* He was also received with marked respect by the Quakers at the place, who never lost an opportunity to extend the open hand to help the Indian race. He then returned to Fort Wayne, where he remained till the war of 1812.† The war whoop was now again ringing through the forest, and he was once more thrust into its theater. Rumors of the disaffection of the Pottawattamies, who hung around Fort Dearborn, reached him, and he promptly flew to the defense of his friends at the place, one of whom (Mrs. Heald) was his blood relation.

He arrived there on the 14th and found things in a desperate condition.

It was too late to defend the fort, and the only resource left was to retreat in the face of a savage foe, dangerous from their numbers at best, but now irritated by the destruction of the arms and liquors which had been promised to them. Hope revived in the hearts of the devoted garrison when he, at the head of fifteen Miamis, entered the walls of the fort, and, consoled by this small reinforcement, all but the sentinels retired to rest.

The morning of the 15th arrived. All things were in readiness, and 9 o'clock was the hour named for starting.

Mr. Kinzie had volunteered to accompany the troops in their march, and had intrusted his family to the care of some friendly Indians, who had promised to convey them in a boat around the head of Lake Michigan to a point‡ on the St. Joseph's river; there to be joined by the troops, should the prosecution of their march be permitted them.

Early in the morning Mr. Kinzie received a message from To-pee-nee-bee, a chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that mischief was intended by the Potta-

* Volney's View, page 357.

† Whiting's Historical Discourses, delivered at Detroit, 1832.

‡ The spot now called Bertrand, then known as *Parc aux Vaches*, from its having been a pasture ground to an old French fort in the neighborhood.

wattamies who had engaged to escort the detachment; and urging him to relinquish his design of accompanying the troops by land, promising him that the boat containing himself and family should be permitted to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.

Mr. Kinzie declined acceding to this proposal, as he believed that his presence might operate as a restraint upon the fury of the savages, so warmly were the greater part of them attached to himself and his family.

The party in the boat consisted of Mrs. Kinzie and her four younger children, their nurse Grutte,* a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants and the boatmen, besides the two Indians who acted as their protectors. The boat started, but had scarcely reached the mouth of the river, which, it will be recollected, was here half a mile below the fort, when another messenger from To-pee-nee-bee arrived to detain them where they were.

In breathless expectation sat the wife and mother. She was a woman of uncommon energy and strength of character, yet her heart died within her as she folded her arms around her helpless infants, and gazed upon the march of her husband and eldest child to certain destruction.

As the troops left the fort, the band struck up the Dead March. On they came in military array, but with solemn mien. Captain Wells took the lead at the head of his little band of Miamis. He had blackened his face before leaving the garrison, in token of his impending fate. They took their route along the lake shore. When they reached the point where commenced a range of sand hills intervening between the prairie and the beach, the escort of Pottawattamies, in number about 500, kept the level of the prairie, instead of continuing along the beach with the Americans and Miamis.†

* Afterward Mrs. Jean Baptiste Beaubien.

† William Wells, interpreter for the Miamis, and whose wife was of that nation, himself uncle to Mrs. Heald, the lady of the commandant at Fort Dearborn, Chicago, went from Fort Wayne with a party of twelve or fifteen Miamis to that place, with a view of favoring the escape of the garrison to Fort Wayne. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than this, for Wells was peculiarly obnoxious to the Potta-

They had marched perhaps a mile and a half, when Captain Wells, who had kept somewhat in advance with his Miamis, came riding furiously back. "They are about to attack us," shouted he; "form instantly and charge upon them."

Scarcely were the words uttered, when a volley was showered from among the sand hills. The troops were hastily brought into line, and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran of seventy winters, fell as they ascended. The remainder of the scene is best described in the words of an eye witness and participator in the tragedy, Mrs. Helm, the wife of Captain (then Lieutenant) Helm, and step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie:

"After we had left the bank the firing became general. The Miamis fled at the outset. Their chief rode up to the Pottawattamies and said:

"'You have deceived the Americans and us. You have done a bad action, and (brandishing his tomahawk) I will be the first to head a party of Americans to return and punish your treachery.' So saying he galloped after his companions, who were now scouring across the prairie.

"The troops behaved most gallantly. They were but a handful, but they seemed resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Our horses pranced and bounded, and could hardly be restrained as the balls whistled among them. I drew off a little, and gazed upon my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavored to forget

wattamies, and especially to the chief, "the Black Bird," who was the leading warrior on the occasion. The Pottawattamies were alone in arms against us, at the time, in that part of the country. The presence of Wells was fatal to the safety of the troops; the chief, "Black Bird" had often spoken to myself in very bitter terms against him. * * * On the morning of the 15th of August, the troops marched out to commence their journey, and had proceeded but a short distance, when they were attacked by the Indians. Wells, seeing that all was lost, and not wishing to fall into their hands, as he well knew that in that case, a cruel and lingering death awaited him, wetted powder and blacked his face, as a token of defiance, mounted his horse and commenced addressing the Indians with all the opprobrious and insulting language he could think of. His purpose evidently was to induce them to dispatch him forthwith. His object was accomplished. They became so enraged at last with his taunts and jeers, that one of them shot him off his horse, and immediately pouncing upon him, cut his body open, took out his heart and ate it.—*McDonald's Sketches of Wayne's Campaign.*

those I loved, and prepare myself for my approaching fate.

"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. Van Voorhees, came up. He was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his face was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me: 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"'Dr. Van Voorhees,' said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us make what preparation is yet in our power.'

"'Oh! I cannot die,' exclaimed he, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful!'

"I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee.

"'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.'

"'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever!'

"At this moment a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was intended for my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, toward the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized as I passed them the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, for he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint with which he was disguised, the Black Partridge.*

"When the firing had nearly subsided, my preserver bore me from the water and conducted me up the sand banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stooped and took off my shoes to free them from the sand with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them.

"When we had gained the prairie, I was met by my father, who told me that my husband was safe and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back toward the Chicago river, along the southern bank of which was the Pottawattamie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, Black Partridge, and partly by

*As to Francis Assikinack (Black Partridge), the following is part of a communication from the department of Indian affairs at Ottawa, including a facsimile of his signature.

"Francis Assikinack entered the Indian office at Cobourg, on the 10th of August, 1849, as clerk and interpreter, which position he continued to hold, both there and in the Indian office, Toronto, up to the date of his death, which occurred on the 21st of November, 1863."

The following is an extract from a letter received from Mr. W. R. Bartlett, who was in charge of the Indian office, Toronto, reporting the illness of Assikinack :

"TORONTO, July 1st, 1863.

"I very much fear the poor fellow will never live to come back. I sincerely trust he may recover, for he will be a great loss to the department, and especially to this branch of it."

"I attach to this letter an original signature of Francis Assikinack, as follows :

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

F. Assikinack

"WILLIAM SPRAGGE, Esq.,

"*Dy. Supt. Indian Affairs, Quebec.*"

another Indian, Pee-so-tum, who held dangling in his hand a scalp, which by the black ribbon around the queue I recognized as that of Captain Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of Wau-bee-nee-mah, a chief from the Illinois river, was standing near, and seeing my exhausted condition she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a stream that flowed near, threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand gave it to me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many horrors, touched me most sensibly, but my attention was soon diverted to other objects.

"The fort had become a scene of plunder to such as remained after the troops marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead or dying around. This work of butchery had commenced just as we were leaving the fort. I well remembered a remark of Ensign Ronan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes!'

"'Well, sir,' said the commanding officer, who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

"'No,' replied the high spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face'; and his subsequent gallant behavior showed this to be no idle boast.

"As the noise of the firing grew gradually less, and the stragglers from the victorious party came dropping in, I received confirmation of what my father had hurriedly communicated in our *rencontre* on the lake shore; namely, that the whites had surrendered after the loss of about two-thirds of their number. They had stipulated, through the interpreter, Peresh Leclerc, for the preservation of their lives, and those of the remaining women and children, and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by traders in the Indian country. It appears that the wounded prisoners were not considered as included in the stipulation, and a horrible scene ensued upon their being brought into camp.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes around her, seemed possessed by a demoniac ferocity. She seized a stable fork and assaulted one miserable victim, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the scorching beams of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected under such circumstances, Wau-bee-nee-mah stretched a mat across two poles, between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared in some degree a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. The following night five more of the wounded prisoners were tomahawked.

"The Americans after their first attack by the Indians, charged upon those who had concealed themselves in a sort of ravine intervening between the sand banks and the prairie. The latter gathered themselves into a body, and after some hard fighting, in which the number of whites had become reduced to twenty-eight, this little band succeeded in breaking through the enemy, and gained a rising ground, not far from the Oak Woods. The contest now seemed hopeless, and Lieutenant Helm sent Peresh Leclerc, a half-breed boy in the service of Mr. Kinzie, who had accompanied the detachment and fought manfully on their side, to propose terms of capitulation. It was stipulated that the lives of all the survivors should be spared, and a ransom permitted as soon as practicable.

"But, in the meantime, a horrible scene had been enacted. One young savage, climbing into the baggage wagon containing the children of the white families, twelve in number, tomahawked the children of the entire group. This was during the engagement near the sand hills. When Captain Wells, who was fighting near, beheld it, he exclaimed:

"Is that their game, butchering the women and children? Then I will kill, too!"

"So saying, he turned his horse's head, and started for the Indian camp, near the fort, where had been left their squaws and children.

"Several Indians pursued him as he galloped along. He laid himself flat on the neck of his horse, loading and firing in that position, as he would occasionally turn on his pursuers. At length their balls took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment he was met by Winnemeg* and Wau-ban-see, who endeavored to save him from the savages who had now overtaken him. As they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death blow from another Indian, Pee-so-tum, who stabbed him in the back.†

"The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She was a Mrs. Corbin, and had, from the first, expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were always subjected to tortures worse than death.

"When, therefore, a party came upon her, to make her a prisoner, she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured, by signs, of safety and kind treatment; and literally suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.

"Sergeant Holt, who, early in the engagement, received a ball in the neck, finding himself badly wounded, gave his sword to his wife, who was on horseback near him, telling her to defend herself—he then made for the lake, to keep out of the way of the balls. Mrs. Holt rode a very fine horse, which the Indians were desirous of possessing, and they therefore attacked her, in hopes of dismounting her.

"They fought only with the butt ends of their guns, for their object was not to kill her. She hacked and hewed at their pieces as they were thrust against her, now on this side, now on that. Finally, she broke

* Winamac (sometimes spelled with a "g" as a final letter).—AUTHOR.

† Captain Wells' heart was afterward taken out, cut in pieces and distributed among the tribes. After being scalped, his remains were left unburied, as were also those of the children massacred, and the soldiers and women slain in battle. Billy Caldwell, an Indian chief, the next day finding the head of Captain Wells in one place and his body in another, caused a hole to be dug in the sand and his remains to be interred.—*Brown's Illinois*.

loose from them, and dashed out into the prairie. The Indians pursued her, shouting and laughing, and now and then calling out:

“‘The brave woman! do not hurt her!’

“‘At length they overtook her again, and while she was engaged with two or three in front, one succeeded in seizing her by the neck behind, and dragging her, although a large and powerful woman, from her horse. Notwithstanding that their guns had been so hacked and injured, and even themselves cut severely, they seemed to regard her only with admiration. They took her to a trader on the Illinois river, by whom she was restored to her friends, after having received every kindness during her captivity.*

“‘Those of the family of Mr. Kinzie, who had remained in the boat, near the mouth of the river, were carefully guarded by Kee-po-tah and another Indian. They had seen the smoke—then the blaze—and immediately after the report of the first tremendous discharge sounded in their ears. Then all was confusion. They realized nothing until they saw an Indian come toward them from the battle ground, leading a horse on which sat a lady, apparently wounded.

“‘‘That is Mrs. Heald,’ cried Mrs. Kinzie. ‘That Indian will kill her. Run, Chandonnai,’ to one of Mr. Kinzie’s clerks, ‘take the mule that is tied there, and offer it to him to release her.’

“‘Her captor, by this time, was in the act of disengaging her bonnet from her head, in order to scalp her. Chandonnai ran up, offered the mule as a ransom, with the promise of ten bottles of whisky, as soon as they should reach his village. The latter was a strong temptation.

“‘‘But,’ said the Indian, ‘she is badly wounded—she will die. Will you give me the whisky, at all events?’

“‘Chandonnai promised that he would, and the bargain was concluded. The savage placed the lady’s bonnet on his own head, and after an ineffectual effort, on the part of some squaws, to rob her of her shoes and stockings, she was brought on board the boat,

* Mrs. Holt was believed to be still living (in 1879) in the state of Ohio.

where she lay moaning with pain from the many bullet wounds she had received in both arms.

"The horse she had ridden was a fine spirited animal, and, being desirous of possessing themselves of it, uninjured, the Indians had aimed their shots so as to disable the rider, without injuring her steed.

"She had not lain long in the boat, when a young Indian of savage aspect was seen approaching. A buffalo robe was hastily drawn over Mrs. Heald, and she was admonished to suppress all sound of complaint, as she valued her life.

"The heroic woman remained perfectly silent, while the savage drew near. He had a pistol in his hand, which he rested on the side of the boat, while, with a fearful scowl, he looked pryingly around. Black Jim, one of the servants who stood in the bow of the boat, seized an ax that lay near, and signed to him that if he shot, he would cleave his skull; telling him that the boat contained only the family of Shaw-nee-aw-kee.* Upon this the Indian retired. It afterward appeared that the object of his search was Mr. Burnett, a trader from St. Joseph's, with whom he had some account to settle.

"When the boat was at length permitted to return to the mansion of Mr. Kinzie, and Mrs. Heald was removed to the house, it became necessary to dress her wounds.

"Mr. K. applied to an old chief who stood by, and who, like most of his tribe, possessed some skill in surgery, to extract a ball from the arm of the sufferer.

"'No, father,' replied he, 'I cannot do it—it makes me sick here' (placing his hand on his heart).

"Mr. Kinzie then performed the operation himself with his penknife.

"At their own mansion the family of Mr. Kinzie were closely guarded by their Indian friends, whose intention it was to carry them to Detroit for security. The rest of the prisoners remained at the wigwams of their captors.

* The Indian name for Mr. Kinzie.—AUTHOR.

"The following morning the work of plunder being completed, the Indians set fire to the fort. A very equitable distribution of the finery appeared to have been made, and shawls, ribbons and feathers fluttered about in all directions. The ludicrous appearance of one young fellow who had arrayed himself in a muslin gown and the bonnet of one of the ladies, would, under other circumstances, have afforded matter of amusement.

"Black Partridge, Wau-ban-see and Kee-po-tah, with two other Indians, having established themselves in the porch of the building as sentinels, to protect the family from any evil that the young men might be excited to commit, all remained tranquil for a short space after the conflagration.

"Very soon, however, a party of Indians from the Wabash made their appearance. These were, decidedly, the most hostile and implacable of all the tribes of the Pottawattamies.

"Being more remote, they had shared less than some of their brethren in the kindness of Mr. Kinzie and his family, and consequently their sentiments of regard for them were less powerful.

"Runners had been sent to the villages to apprise them of the intended evacuation of the post, as well as of the plan of the Indians assembled to attack the troops.

"Thirsting to participate in such a scene, they hurried on, and great was their mortification on arriving at the river Aux Plains, to meet with a party of their friends, having with them their chief Nee-scot-nee-meg, badly wounded, and to learn that the battle was over, the spoils divided, and the scalps all taken.

"On arriving at Chicago they blackened their faces, and proceeded toward the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie.

"From his station on the piazza, Black Partridge had watched their approach, and his fears were particularly awakened for the safety of Mrs. Helm (Mr. Kinzie's step-daughter), who had recently come to the post, and was personally unknown to the more remote Indians. By his advice she was made to assume the

ordinary dress of a French woman of the country; namely, a short gown and petticoat, with a blue cotton handkerchief wrapped around her head. In this disguise she was conducted by Black Partridge himself, to the house of Ouilmette, a Frenchman with a half-breed wife, who formed a part of the establishment of Mr. Kinzie, and whose dwelling was close at hand.

"It so happened that the Indians came first to this house, in their search for prisoners. As they approached, the inmates, fearful that the fair complexion and general appearance of Mrs. Helm might betray her for an American, raised a large feather bed and placed her under the edge of it, upon the bedstead, with her face to the wall. Mrs. Bisson, the sister of Ouilmette's wife, then seated herself with her sewing upon the front of the bed.

"It was a hot day in August, and the feverish excitement of fear and agitation, together with her position, which was nearly suffocating, because so intolerable, that Mrs. Helm at length entreated to be released and given up to the Indians.

" 'I can but die,' said she; 'let them put an end to my misery at once.'

"Mrs. Bisson replied: 'Your death would be the destruction of us all, for Black Partridge has resolved that if one drop of the blood of your family is spilled, he will take the lives of all concerned in it, even his nearest friends, and if once the work of murder commences, there will be no end of it, so long as there remains one white person, or half breed, in the country.'

"This expostulation nerved Mrs. Helm with fresh resolution.

"The Indians entered, and she could occasionally see them from her hiding place, gliding about, and stealthily inspecting every part of the room, though without making any ostensible search, until, apparently satisfied that there was no one concealed, they left the house.

"All this time Mrs. Bisson had kept her seat upon the side of the bed, calmly sorting and arranging the patchwork of the quilt on which she was engaged, and

preserving an appearance of the utmost tranquillity, although she knew not but that the next moment she might receive a tomahawk in her brain. Her self-command unquestionably saved the lives of all present.

"From Ouilmette's house the party of Indians proceeded to the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie. They entered the parlor in which the family were assembled with their faithful protectors, and seated themselves upon the floor in silence.

"Black Partridge perceived from their moody and revengeful looks what was passing in their minds, but he dared not remonstrate with them. He only observed in a low tone to Wau-ban-see:

" 'We have endeavored to save our friends, but it is in vain—nothing will save them now.'

"At this moment a friendly whoop was heard from a party of new comers on the opposite bank of the river. Black Partridge sprang to meet their leader, as the canoes in which they had hastily embarked touched the bank near the house.

" 'Who are you?' demanded he.

" 'A man—who are you?'

" 'A man like yourself, but tell me who you are'—meaning, 'tell me your disposition, and which side you are for.'

" 'I am the Sau-ga-nash!'

" 'Then make all speed to the house—your friend is in danger, and you alone can save him.'

"Billy Caldwell,* for it was he, entered the parlor with a calm step, and without a trace of agitation in his manner. He deliberately took off his accouter-

* Billy Caldwell was a half breed, and a chief of the nation. In his reply, "I am a Sau-ga-nash," or Englishman, he designed to convey, "I am a white man." Had he said, "I am a Pottawattamie," it would have been interpreted to mean, "I belong to my nation, and am prepared to go all lengths with them.—*Waubun*.

Billy Caldwell, who died but a short time since, was familiarly known to many of our citizens in Chicago. His presence of mind unquestionably saved his friends from massacre. He was a half or quarter breed. His father was an officer in the British army; his mother a Wyandot woman; he was well educated in Montreal before he came hither. Previous to the war of 1812 he was received and adopted as a chief among them—and called the Sau-ga-nash.—*Brown's Illinois, Published in 1844.*

ments and placed them with his rifle behind the door; then saluted the hostile savages.

"How now, my friends! A good day to you. I was told there were enemies here, but I am glad to find only friends. Why have you blackened your faces? Is it that you are mourning for the friends you have lost in battle?' (Purposely misunderstanding this token of evil designs.) 'Or is it that you are fasting? If so, ask our friend here, and he will give you to eat. He is the Indian's friend, and never yet refused them what they had need of.'

"Thus taken by surprise, the savages were ashamed to acknowledge their bloody purpose. They therefore said modestly that they came to beg of their friends some white cotton in which to wrap their dead, before interring them. This was given to them with some other presents, and they took their departure peaceably from the premises.

"Along with Mr. Kinzie's party was a non-commissioned officer who had made his escape in a singular manner. As the troops were about leaving the fort it was found that the baggage horses of the surgeon had strayed off. The quartermaster-sergeant, Griffith, was sent to collect them and bring them on, it being absolutely necessary to recover them, since their packs contained part of the surgeon's apparatus, and the medicines for the march.

"This man had been for a long time on the sick report, and for this reason was given the charge of the baggage, instead of being placed with the troops. His efforts to recover the horses being unsuccessful, he was hastening to rejoin his party, alarmed at some appearances of disorder and hostile indications among the Indians, when he was met and made prisoner by To-pee-nee-bee.

"Having taken from him his arms and accouterments, the chief put him into a canoe and paddled him across the river, bidding him make for the woods and secrete himself. This he did, and the following day, in the afternoon, seeing from his lurking place that all appeared quiet, he ventured to steal cautiously into the

garden of Ouilmette, where he concealed himself for a time behind some currant bushes.

"At length he determined to enter the house, and accordingly climbed up through a small back window, into the room where the family were. This was just as the Wabash Indians left the house of Ouilmette for that of Mr. Kinzie. The danger of the sergeant was now imminent. The family stripped him of his uniform and arrayed him in a suit of deerskin, with belt, moccasins, and pipe, like a French engagé. His dark complexion and large black whiskers favored the disguise. The family were all ordered to address him in French, and although utterly ignorant of the language, he continued to pass for a Ween-tee-gosh,* and as such to accompany Mr. Kinzie and his family, undetected by his enemies until they reached a place of safety.

"On the third day after the battle, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the clerks of the establishment, were put into a boat, under the care of Francois, a half-breed interpreter, and conveyed to St. Joseph's, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of To-pee-nee-bee's band. They were then conducted to Detroit, under the escort of Chandonnai and their trusty Indian friend, Kee-po-tah, and delivered up as prisoners of war, to Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent.

"Mr. Kinzie was not allowed to leave St. Joseph's with his family, his Indian friends insisting on his remaining and endeavoring to secure some remnant of his scattered property. During his excursions with them for that purpose, he wore the costume and paint of the tribe, in order to escape capture and perhaps death at the hands of those who were still thirsting for blood. In time, however, his anxiety for his family induced him to follow them to Detroit, where, in the month of January, he was received and paroled by General Proctor.

"Captain and Mrs. Heald had been sent across the lake to St. Joseph's the day after the battle. The former had received two wounds, the latter seven, in the engagement.

* Frenchman.

“Lieutenant Helm, who was likewise wounded, was carried by some friendly Indians to their village on the Au Sable, and thence to Peoria, where he was liberated by the intervention of Mr. Thomas Forsyth, the half brother of Mr. Kinzie. Mrs. Helm had accompanied her parents to St. Joseph, where they resided in the family of Alexander Robinson,* receiving from them all possible kindness and hospitality for several months.

“After their arrival in Detroit, Mrs. Helm was joined by her husband, when they were both arrested by order of the British commander, and sent on horseback, in the dead of winter, through Canada to Fort George, on the Niagara frontier. When they arrived at that post, there seemed no official appointed to receive them, and notwithstanding their long and fatiguing journey, in weather the most cold and inclement, Mrs. H., a delicate woman of seventeen years, was permitted to sit waiting in her saddle without the gate for more than an hour, before the refreshment of fire or food, or even the shelter of a roof was offered them. When Col. Sheaffe, who had been absent at the time, was informed of this brutal inhospitality, he expressed the greatest indignation. He waited on Mrs. Helm immediately, apologized in the most courteous manner, and treated both her and Lieut. H. with the most considerate kindness, until, by an exchange of prisoners, they were liberated, and found means to reach their friends in Steuben county, N. Y.

“Captain Heald had been taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who had a strong personal regard for him, and who, when he saw the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. H., released her husband, that he might accompany his wife to St. Joseph’s. To the latter place they were accordingly carried, as has been related, by Chandonnai and his party. In the meantime, the Indian who had so nobly released his prisoner, returned to his village on the Kankakee, where he had the mortification of finding that his conduct had excited great dissatisfaction among his band.

* The Pottawattamie chief, so well known to many of the citizens of Chicago, residing at the Aux Plaines.

So great was the displeasure manifested, that he resolved to make a journey to St. Joseph's and reclaim his prisoner.

"News of his intention being brought to To-pee-nee-bee and Kee-po-tah, under whose care the prisoners were, they held a private council with Chandonnai, Mr. Kinzie and the principal men of the village, the result of which was a determination to send Captain and Mrs. Heald to the island of Mackinac, and deliver them up to the British.

"They were accordingly put in a bark canoe, and paddled by Robinson and his wife a distance of 300 miles along the coast of Michigan, and surrendered as prisoners of war to the commanding officer at Mackinac.

"As an instance of the procrastinating spirit of Captain Heald, it may be mentioned that even after he had received certain intelligence that his Indian captor was on his way from the Kankakee to St. Joseph's to retake him, he would still have delayed another day at that place, to make preparation for a more comfortable journey to Mackinac.*

"The soldiers, with their wives and surviving children, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawattamies upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock River and at Milwaukee, until the following spring, when they were, for the most part, carried to Detroit, and ransomed.

"Mrs. Burns, with her infant, became the prisoner of a chief, who carried her to his village and treated her with great kindness. His wife, from jealousy of the favor shown to 'the white woman' and her child, always treated them with great hostility. On one occasion she struck the infant with a tomahawk, and narrowly missed her aim of putting an end to it altogether.† They were

* Captain (subsequently Major) Heald, his wife and family, settled in the country of St. Joseph, Mo., after the war, about 1817, where he died, about fifteen years since. He was respected and beloved by his acquaintance. His health was impaired by the wounds he received.—*Western Annals, Published in 1850.*

† Twenty-two years after this, as I was on a journey to Chicago in the steamer "Uncle Sam," a young woman, hearing my name, introduced herself to me, and raising the hair from her forehead, showed me the mark of the tomahawk which had so nearly been fatal to her.—*Mrs. Helm.*

not left long in the power of the old hag, after this demonstration, but on the first opportunity carried to a place of safety.

"The family of Mr. Lee had resided in a house on the lake shore, not far from the fort. Mr. Lee was the owner of Lee's place, which he cultivated as a farm. It was his son who ran down with the discharged soldier to give the alarm of 'Indians' at the fort on the afternoon of the 7th of April. The father, the son and all the other members of the family had fallen victims on the 15th of August, except Mrs. Lee and her young infant. These were claimed by Black Partridge, and carried to his village on the Au Sable. He had been particularly attached to a little girl of Mrs. Lee's, about twelve years of age. This child had been placed on horseback for the march, and as she was unaccustomed to the exercise, she was tied fast to the saddle, lest by any accident she should slip off or be thrown.

"She was within reach of the balls at the commencement of the engagement, and was severely wounded. The horse set off in a full gallop, which partly threw her, but she was held fast by the bands which confined her, and hung dangling as the animal ran violently about. In this state she was met by Black Partridge, who caught the horse and disengaged her from the saddle. Finding her so much wounded that she could not recover, and that she was suffering great agony, he put the finishing stroke to her at once with his tomahawk. He afterward said that this was the hardest thing he ever tried to do, but he did it because he could not bear to see her suffer.

"He took the mother and her infant to his village, where he became warmly attached to the former—so much so, that he wished to marry her, but as she very naturally objected, he treated her with the greatest respect and consideration. He was in no hurry to release her, for he was in hopes of prevailing on her to become his wife. In the course of the winter her child fell ill. Finding that none of the remedies within their reach were effectual, Black Partridge proposed to take the little one to Chicago, where there was now a French

trader living in the mansion of Mr. Kinzie, and procure some medical aid from him. Wrapping up his charge with the greatest care, he set out on his journey.

"When he arrived at the residence of M. Du Pin, he entered the room where he was, and carefully placed his burden on the floor.

"'What have you there?' asked M. Du Pin.

"'A young raccoon, which I have brought you as a present,' was the reply, and opening the pack, he showed the little sick infant.

"When the trader had prescribed for its complaint, and Black Partridge was about to return to his home, he told his friend his proposal to Mrs. Lee to become his wife, and the manner in which it had been received.

"M. Du Pin entertained some fears that the chief's honorable resolution might not hold out, to leave it to the lady herself whether to accept his addresses or not, so he entered at once into a negotiation for her ransom, and so effectually wrought upon the good feelings of Black Partridge that he consented to bring his fair prisoner at once to Chicago, that she might be restored to her friends.

"Whether the kind trader had at the outset any other feeling in the matter than sympathy and brotherly kindness we cannot say—we only know that, in process of time Mrs. Lee became Madame Du Pin, and that they lived together in great happiness for many years after.

"The fate of Nau-non-gee, one of the chiefs of the Calumet village, who is mentioned in the early part of the narrative, deserves to be recorded.

"During the battle of the 15th of August, the chief object of his attack was one Sergeant Hays, a man from whom he had received many acts of kindness.

"After Hays had received a ball through the body, this Indian ran up to him to tomahawk him, when the sergeant, collecting his remaining strength, pierced him through the body with his bayonet. They fell together. Other Indians running up soon dispatched Hays, and it was not until then that his bayonet was extracted from the body of his adversary.

"The wounded chief was carried after the battle to his village on the Calumet, where he survived for several days. Finding his end approaching, he called together his young men, and enjoined them in the most solemn manner to regard the safety of their prisoners after his death, and to take the lives of none of them, from respect to his memory, as he deserved his fate from the hands of those whose kindness he had so ill-requited."*

* Mrs. Helm, who, after the return of the Kinzie family to Chicago, became the intimate friend of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, has drawn a vivid picture of the Chicago massacre, seldom equaled by a historic pen. In *Wabun* it has been reproduced in Mrs. Kinzie's lucid style, whose freshness can never be equaled by any future historian, since the hand of time has spread its mantle of oblivion over the incidents of that day. For this reason it has been transferred to these columns.

Lake Michigan, ne'er "born to blush unseen,
Nor waste its sweetness on the desert air,"
In nature's negligence was laid between
Two sylvan shores, a tuneful solitaire,
Till hither came the watchful pioneer,
To reconnoiter on the wild frontier.

Here was an empire held in nature's hands,
A wilderness of waves and fallow lands,
Peopled with native tribes who ne'er had known
The servile homage due a regal throne.

These braves were pleased, when first the pale face came
To smoke the calumet, and share their game;
And when Fort Dearborn stood upon their shore,
'Twas just a trading post, and nothing more.
Thus to its gate their offerings they brought,
And blankets, guns and fire water bought.

Thus smoothly ran these grooves of harmony,
When suddenly there came from o'er the sea,
Of war's alarms the distant battle cry,
Whose echoes wafted through a frowning sky.

'Twas Jonathan and Johnny Bull at odds,
Each had unloosed, of war, the spiteful dogs.
Each vied with each, their subtle arts to ply,
To gain the Indian braves for his ally.

In this attempt our fathers got the best,
And Indian war whoops rang throughout the west,
But brief the triumph of the transient hour
Till pale faced pioneers returned to power.



BRONZE MEMORIAL GROUP OF THE CHICAGO MASSACRE OF 1812. PRESENTED TO THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY GEORGE M. PULLMAN, JUNE 22, 1893.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The British Take the Offensive—Fort Wayne Besieged by Their Indian Allies—Timely Warning to Its Defenders—General Harrison Marches to Its Defense—Desperate and Successful Defense of Fort Harrison by Captain Taylor—Daring Achievement of Captain Oliver—Arrival of General Harrison at Fort Wayne—Its Besiegers Fly—Expedition against the Indian Towns on the Illinois River—Its Bootless Termination—Governor Reynolds in the Ranks—His Statement—Relentless Attack on Peoria—The English on the Upper Mississippi—Black Hawk's Historical Narration.

No human vision could forecast the future destiny of the country around the upper lakes after the surrender of Michilimackinac, Chicago and Detroit. That the Indians would ever be driven entirely out of the country was an event that no British Canadian ever deemed possible, and accordingly Tecumseh was, in the eyes of General Brock, the head and front of a permanent dynasty to live in the future on the soil. He had accomplished all that was required of him in the late campaign, which had terminated so gloriously to British arms. And now a new one was contemplated, which was to carry the war into the very vitals of the northwest, by taking Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, which was built by General Harrison during his Tippecanoe campaign. There were then no maps of the country obtainable in the British camp; but to supply this deficiency Tecumseh drew a sketch of its rivers, which indeed were nearly all that could be shown at that time.

General Brock was agreeably surprised at his versatility of talent, and with all confidence counseled with him as to future plans. Fort Wayne was the important objective point, and no time must be lost in seizing upon it, lest the Americans should reinforce the place before the attack was made. It was therefore ordered that the Indians should march against the place immediately, and environ it to prevent the escape of the garrison, till a British army could arrive at the spot and make its conquest certain. Prominent among the tribes who volunteered in this enterprise were the Pottawatamies, whose achievement at Chicago had emboldened them and whetted their appetites for plunder. The part they were to take was planned in a council at St. Joseph, where their chiefs met the British agents, and were promised if they would lay siege to the place and prevent the escape of the garrison till the British forces came up, they should be allowed to plunder the fort when taken. This inducement was sufficient, and promptly joining their forces to some Shawanese and Miamis, they appeared before the place in August.

True to their time honored custom, they made no direct attack, but bent all their efforts to gain the place by strategy, kill the sentinels, and throw the gates of the fort open to their braves, who all the while were crouching in a covert near by. But before this was to be done, the Miamis wished to save their friend, Antoine Bondie, a French trader who had married one of their tribe, and had won their affections by a residence of thirty-eight years among them. Metea, a Pottawatamie chief, was deputed to go privately to his cabin, inform him of the Indians' intentions, and make arrangements for the rescue of himself and family.

This news placed the trader in an embarrassing situation, and he was in a dilemma to know what to do, but finally resolved to betray the confidence of the Indians, and even forfeit their protection, by revealing the plot to Major Stickney, the Indian agent. This he did the next morning under an injunction of secrecy, and from him the information was soon given to Captain Rhea, the officer who held command of the fort.

All the while the agent was skeptical as to the truth of the news, but on thinking the matter over, both he and Captain Rhea concluded to take the necessary steps to meet the emergency, in case it should come upon them, and immediately sent a messenger to General Harrison, then at Cincinnati, and one to Governor Meigs, of Ohio, asking assistance, and a third messenger to Fort Harrison, to warn its inmates of danger. This done, preparations for defending the fort were made.*

While the slender garrison were hotly pressed by their swarthy foes, a furious attack was made on Fort Harrison. It was situated on the Wabash river, ten miles above its present intersection of the eastern boundary line of Illinois. On the 3d of September the Shawanese had visited the Pigeon Roost settlement, not far from the place, with a destructive raid, in which twenty persons were killed, whose scalps were soon dangling from the belts of these merciless knights of the tomahawk.

This fresh alarm drove the immediate settlers around Fort Harrison within its walls for protection. Young Captain Taylor, the same who afterward became president of the United States, held command of the place, to defend which he had but eighteen men. Nine women and their children had taken refuge within its walls, in fearful suspense, for the forests were alive with Indians on the war path. On the night of the 4th, at 11 o'clock, the inmates of the fort were aroused from their disquiet slumbers by the report of a rifle. Captain Taylor sprang from his couch, and found that the shot came from one of his sentinels firing at the skulking foe, who, in great numbers, immediately began the attack. One of the block houses was soon set on fire, and two panic stricken soldiers leaped over the barricades and fled into the forest for an asylum from the scalping knife, while the terrified women pressed their babes to their breasts in despair.

Young Taylor's voice now rose above the din of yells without and wailings within, giving orders to throw off

* Brice's History of Fort Wayne.

the roof of the building which connected the burning block house with the main defenses. This arrested the progress of the flames. The sharpshooters now kept the attackers at bay till morning, when they withdrew, to the great relief of the garrison.

Of the two soldiers who forsook the fort in a panic, one was killed and the other, after being wounded, took refuge behind a barrel close by the palisades. On the 13th, Captain Taylor found means to send a messenger to General Harrison, and on the 16th he was rescued from his perilous position by Colonel Hopkins, then at the head of 1,200 volunteers, on their way to the Illinois territory. Turning again to Fort Wayne, we find both besiegers and besieged waiting for reinforcements. The Indians kept up their wily devices wherewith to gain peaceable admittance to the fort in sufficient numbers to overpower the sentinels, and even the old friendly chief, Winamac, was a leading spirit in this attempted treachery. At one time he was admitted under a white flag, with thirteen of his comrades, but he found the guard ready to overpower his band when the critical moment came, and the discomfited dissemblers retired by virtue of the same flag by which they had gained admittance.

The next day two soldiers outside of the fort were fired upon by the Indians, and both killed. This was an overt act, and made any future pretension of friendship on the part of the Indians a gossamer fabric of pretense. The beleaguered garrison, which numbered but eighty men, commanded by a drunken parvenu, and surrounded by a countless host of savages thirsting for their blood, were in desperate extremities. While thus eking out their hours of unremitting watchfulness, a yell of triumph saluted their ears from the northern gate, and through its opening ajar rushed their old friend, William Oliver, and three friendly Indians at his back. His story was soon told to the anxious garrison, who had not received any tidings from the outside world since their messengers had been sent to General Harrison to apprise him of their danger. Oliver was at Cincinnati on a brief visit, when the news of the

attack on Fort Wayne came to General Harrison, and he instantly resolved to hasten back to the beleaguered post, of which he was sutler, to inform them that Harrison would soon arrive at the place with sufficient force to raise the siege, and to assist in its defense till he came. The adventure was a desperate one, which could only be conceived by a bold spirit of hardihood which pioneer life in that day had brought into being on the frontier. Starting from Cincinnati immediately on his mission, he pursued the forest road to the St. Mary's river, where Thomas Worthington commanded an encampment of Ohio militia (the same who afterward became governor of Ohio). To him Oliver communicated his plan, and animated by Oliver's heroism, Worthington joined him with sixty-eight militia and sixteen friendly Shawanese. At the head of this force, the two bold leaders advanced down the St. Mary's river toward the place, but on the second day thirty-six of the militia and ten of their Indian allies deserted.

One day's march now brought the reduced but courageous band within the hearing of the enemy's guns, who had crouched around Fort Wayne on every side, to prevent the escape of the garrison.

What was to be done? To attempt with this small force to pierce the lines of the enemy by a direct attack was not to be thought of, and Oliver, with three Indian companions, determined to steal their way to the fort through grounds not occupied by the besiegers. Pursuing the main road leading to the fort, five miles distant from it they found the enemy's rifle pits, which, happily for Oliver and his party, were not occupied; but fearing to advance further along the road, they made a *detour* to the east through the woods, and came to the banks of the Maumee, one and one-half miles below the fort. Here they tied their horses in a thicket, and crept carefully toward the fort to see if it was still in possession of the Americans. After a nearer approach, they beheld the American flag elevated above the bastions, and soon afterward saw the measured pace of the sentinels at their post. The

party then returned, and, mounting their horses, put them into a keen run till the inside of the fort was safely reached. "Harrison is coming"; this was the news he brought to the almost spent garrison.*

Harrison had just received from the governor of Kentucky the appointment of major general by brevet, and to him was given the command of 2,000 Kentucky troops, which the patriotic governor had raised for the defense of the northwest. To these were added 700 Ohio volunteers, who joined the Kentucky forces at Piqua, Ohio, from whence they advanced toward the objective point with all possible speed.

When within seventeen miles of the place, General Harrison wrote to the secretary of war as follows: "The necessary arrangements for the procuring of provisions and ammunition, added to the trouble of establishing an issuing commissary department, in consequence of the failure of the contractor, has prevented me from reaching Fort Wayne as soon by one day as I expected. I shall, however, reach it to-morrow; but I have every reason to believe it will not be without a severe contest. No information has been received from the fort since the 3d inst., and should the Indians have been assisted by a British detachment, I fear it would not have been able to hold out. A small detachment which I sent to endeavor to penetrate to the fort has just returned, without accomplishing their object, although they defeated a small party of the enemy."†

The next day, the 12th of September, General Harrison arrived at the place, when the Indians, as they had not been reinforced by the British, fled in hot haste, some to their wilderness lodges, and others to the military headquarters of their English father, still breathing vengeance.

Since the destruction of Chicago there were no white inhabitants in the whole territory of Illinois, north of a line drawn from Shawneetown to Greenville, Bond county, thence to the Mississippi river, a little north of Alton, except some sparse settlements on the west

* Howes' Great West; Brice's History of Fort Wayne.

† Dawson, page 290.

bank of the Wabash, opposite Vincennes, the old town of Peoria, which had never been brought within the jurisdiction of the territorial government, and Prairie du Chien, which was then within the limits of Illinois territory. At the latter place lived thirty-seven families of mixed nationalities, consisting of French, English, half-breeds and Americans. An Indian agent named Campbell, appointed by the governor of Illinois, acted as magistrate, to dispense justice, and appears to have exercised these functions to the entire satisfaction of his motley charge. Among his judicial records, which are still extant, are his fees for marrying, which were 100 pounds of flour, while his fees for divorce were 200 pounds.*

The whole territory was divided into two counties—St. Clair and Randolph—and Ninian Edwards was governor. It contained 12,284 inhabitants, 168 of whom were colored slaves.

While General Harrison was marching to the relief of Fort Wayne, an expedition was set on foot against the Kickapoo towns on the Illinois river, which was to be composed of 2,000 men, raised by Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, and 350 United States rangers and Illinois volunteers, stationed at Camp Russell, where Edwardsville, Ill., now stands, subject to the orders of Ninian Edwards, then governor of Illinois.

The command of the Kentucky volunteers was given to General Hopkins, who was to move up the Wabash, destroy the Indian towns on its west bank, and then march westward across the country, to form a junction with the rangers from Camp Russell. He reached Fort Harrison on the 26th of October, 1812, where Captain Taylor, with his little handful of men, who had just distinguished themselves by their desperate defense of the place, joined his expedition, and he turned his course to the west into the Illinois prairies.

After continuing his march three or four days, the signs of insubordination became apparent among the restive spirits which composed his army. Most of

* See early history of Prairie du Chien, by D. S. Durrie, Librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

them were raw recruits, who had never seen a shot fired in earnest. Many of them, when they enlisted, mistook a spirit of wild adventure for patriotism; but after a few days of camp discipline, with the possibility of a tough Indian battle, or worse, an ambuscade, before them, they became unruly. This spirit unfortunately spread from rank to rank, till a majority of the army shared it, and General Hopkins was forced to return, without making any further attempts to form the expected junction with the forces from Camp Russell.

Meantime the forces under Governor Edwards marched single handed against the Indian towns on the Illinois river. Says Governor Reynolds, in his history of his own times: "Colonel Russell marched in the campaign and seemed to take, considerably, the immediate command under Governor Edwards. Judge Pope, Nelson Rector and a Lieutenant McLaughlin, of the army, acted as aides. Colonel Russell was a plain old man dressed in Kentucky jeans or linsey, seemed to need no aides and had none, but was a good and efficient officer himself. We left Camp Russell, marched up the northwest side of Cahokia creek, nearly to its source, thence across the prairie to Macoupin creek, not far above the present Carlinville. The privates (and myself one) did not know or care much where we were marched, whether into danger or a frolic. We crossed the Sangamon river east of the present Springfield, and passed not far on the east of the Elkheart grove. We next reached an old Indian village on Sugar creek, where we saw on the bark of the wigwams much painting, generally the Indians scalping the whites. We set it in flames, and traveled in the night toward Peoria. We were afraid that the Indians would know of our approach and leave the villages. We traveled on till toward midnight, and camped. We had guides along who conducted the army to the village of Pottawattamie Indians known as the Black Partridge Village,* situate at the Illinois river bluff opposite the upper end of Peoria lake. We camped within four or

* The same who the previous year had saved the life of Mrs. Helm, as told in relation of the Chicago massacre.

five miles of the village, and all was silent as a graveyard—as we expected a night attack as was the case at Tippecanoe. When troops are silent, sulky and savage, they will fight. One thing I recalled, I had a white coat on me, and I considered it too white at night. I hulled this coat off in double-quick time. It is said every one with a white coat on in the battle of Tippecanoe was killed. The next morning in a fog, our company of spies met two Indians, as we supposed, and our captain fired on them. Many of us, before he shot, begged for mercy for the Indians, as they wanted to surrender. But Judy* said anybody will surrender when they cannot help it, and that he did not leave home to take prisoners. I saw the dust rise off the Indian's leather shirt when Judy's bullet entered his body.

“The wounded Indian commenced singing his death song, the blood streaming out of his mouth and nose. He was reeling, and a man from the main army, Mr. Wright, came up within a few yards, but the Indian had just pointed his gun at some of us near him, when we darted off our horses, quick as thought, and presented the horses between him and us. But Wright was either surprised, or something else, and remained on his horse. The Indian, as quick as a steel trap, shot Wright, and expired. The other Indian, supposed to be a warrior, proved to be a squaw; but before the fact was known, many guns were fired at her. It is singular that so many guns fired at the squaw missed her, but when the whites surrounded her and knew her sex, all was over. She cried terribly, and was taken prisoner, and at last delivered over to her nation. Many of the French in the army understood her language, and made her as happy as possible. In this small matter I never fired my gun, as I saw no occasion for it.”

The foregoing words of Governor Reynolds have been used to show the ruling spirit of the expedition, which was the first one ever sent against the Indians of Illinois by the Americans. After relating these advent-

* One of the spies.

ures, which certainly reflect no credit on those engaged in them, the same historian proceeds to give a history of the burning of Peoria by Captain Craig, and says:

“While the army were in the neighborhood of the old village of Peoria, Captain Craig had his boat lying in the lake adjacent to Peoria. * * * The Captain, supposing the few inhabitants of Peoria favored the Indians, burnt the village. Thomas Forsyth, Esq., was in the village at the time, acting as Indian agent, appointed by the government, but Craig and none others knew it, except at Washington city. It was supposed by the president that Mr. Forsyth would be more serviceable to both sides if his old friends, the Indians, did not know his situation. He acted the honorable part to ameliorate the horrors of war on both sides, and risked his life often among the Indians to obtain some of the prisoners who had been captured at the massacre at Chicago. In the rage of Captain Craig, he placed the inhabitants of Peoria (all he could capture) on board his boat, and landed them on the bank of the river, below Alton. These poor French were in a starving condition, as they were turned away from their homes, and left their stock and provisions. They were landed in the woods—men, women and children—without shelter or food.”*

Before the army of Governor Edwards left the neighborhood, it entered the village of Black Partridge, opposed only by a few shots from the swamps around it. The warriors had fled, and a few wretched squaws and children were all the prisoners taken. The village, with its stores of corn, was burned. The rangers only remained a few hours, but while there a stately warrior approached the place until within rifle shot, discharged his gun at the invaders, laughed defiantly, and walked

* Captain Craig's expedition was executed by the authority of Governor Edwards. It consisted of an armed boat which was rowed or poled up the Illinois river, for the purpose of taking Peoria, where some of the early French settlers lived in harmonious relations with the Indians, and were accused of furnishing them the means wherewith to make war on the Americans. Mr. Craig, in his official dispatches, admits that he abducted the French inhabitants from Peoria, and that he made them furnish their own rations. See Balance History of Peoria, pages 30 and 31.

away with the lofty gait that only an Indian can assume. This brave was supposed to be Black Partidge.

While these events were transpiring in Indiana and Illinois, the English were taking steps to secure the alliance of the Sacs and Foxes, who then occupied the country along Rock river. Robert Dickson, an English fur trader, who lived at Prairie du Chien, was the English agent to accomplish this design; and to this end he visited all the tribes along the Mississippi. Black Hawk was then a young chief of more than common promise, and readily became a disciple to the teachings of the English emissary. His remarkable career now began, which made him a conspicuous actor in the last Indian war in Illinois, which terminated in 1832. The Sacs and Foxes, of whom he was a subordinate chief, were then in their glory and prime, and as a bulwark of defense against them, the United States had built Fort Madison in 1804, on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite to the Des Moines rapids. The consent of the Sacs and Foxes for the construction of it had been obtained under a pretense that it was only to be used as a trading post.

The following extract of a statement from Black Hawk is a concise piece of documentary history, which adds interest to the points treated on by general history, and furnishes some items not noticed by any other writer. His statement begins by disclaiming against a treaty executed at St. Louis in 1804, by which his people, unwittingly, as he says, relinquished a part of their territory, after which his story runs as follows. It is copied verbatim from Smith's History of Wisconsin:

"Black Hawk proceeds to relate that some time after this treaty was made, a war chief with a party of soldiers came up the Mississippi in keel boats, and encamped a short distance above the head of the Des Moines rapids, and commenced cutting timber and building houses; this was at the site of Fort Madison, and within the country ceded by the treaty. He also says that council after council was held in the Indian villages, to ascertain what was the intention of the

Americans in building at that place; and having learned that the soldiers had great guns with them, he and a number of his people went down the river to see what was doing, and they found the whites were building a fort.

“The chiefs held a council with the officers of the party, which Black Hawk did not attend; but he says, ‘he understood that the Americans’ war chief had said, they were building houses for a trader who was coming there to live, and would sell the Indians goods very cheap, and that the soldiers were to remain to keep him company.’ The Indians were pleased at this information, but doubted its truth, and were anxious that the building should be discontinued, and that the soldiers should descend the river again. Many more Indians arrived, the whites became alarmed, and an attempt was made by a dancing party of the Indians to enter the fort by stratagem, but it was frustrated; and Black Hawk acknowledges that if it had been successful, and the Indians had got into the fort, all the whites would have been killed, as the British soldiers had been, at Mackinaw, many years before.”

The Indians returned to Rock Island, and the fort party received a reinforcement from St. Louis.

Black Hawk proceeds with the following relation: “Soon after our return from Fort Madison, runners came to our village from the Shawnee prophet (while others were dispatched by him to the villages of the Winnebagoes) with invitations for us to meet him on the Wabash. Accordingly a party went from each village.

“All of our party returned, among whom came a prophet, who explained to us the bad treatment the different nations of Indians had received from the Americans, by giving them a few presents, and taking their land from them. I remember well his saying, ‘If you do not join your friends on the Wabash, the Americans will take this very village from you.’ I little thought then that his words would come true. We agreed not to join him, and he returned to the Wabash, where a party of Winnebagoes had arrived, and prepar-

ations were making for war; a battle soon after ensued, in which several Winnebagoes were killed.

"As soon as their nation heard of this, they started war parties in different directions: one to the mining country, one to Prairie du Chien, and another to Fort Madison. This last returned by our village, and exhibited several scalps which they had taken. Their success induced several other parties to go against the fort. We arrived in the vicinity during the night. The spies that we had sent out several days before, to watch the movements of those at the garrison, gave the following information: 'that a keel boat had arrived from below, that evening, with seventeen men; that there were about fifty men in the fort, and that they marched out every morning at sunrise, to exercise.'"

Black Hawk then relates his stratagems to destroy the soldiers when they came out, and for the Indians to rush into the fort. They were unsuccessful: three whites were killed—the Indians besieged the fort for three days, during which time an attempt was made to set fire to it, by means of arrows. It succeeded so far as to fire the buildings several times, without effect, as the fire was soon extinguished. The ammunition of the Indians being expended, and finding they could not take the fort, they returned home, having had one Winnebago killed, and one wounded, during the siege.

Soon after their return, news reached them that a war was going to take place between the British and Americans. Runners continued to arrive from different tribes, all confirming the report of the expected war. The British agent, Colonel Dickson, was holding talks with, and making presents to the different tribes. Black Hawk says: "I had not made up my mind whether to join the British, or remain neutral." But he soon afterward took an active part with the British, having been, as he alleges, "forced into war by being deceived." His own account of the causes of his conduct is as follows:

"Several of the chiefs and head men of the Sacs and Foxes were called upon to go to Washington, to see their Great Father. On their return they related what

had been said and done. They said the Great Father wished them, in the event of a war taking place with England, not to interfere on either side, but to remain neutral. He did not want our help, but wished us to hunt and support our families and live in peace. He said that British traders would not be permitted to come on the Mississippi to furnish us with goods, but we should be well supplied by an American trader. Our chiefs then told him that the British traders always gave us credits in the fall for guns, powder and goods, to enable us to hunt and clothe our families. He replied, that the trader at Fort Madison* would have plenty of goods; that we should go there in the fall, and he would supply us on credit, as the British traders had done. The party gave a good account of what they had seen, and the kind treatment they received.

“This information pleased us all very much. We all agreed to follow our Great Father’s advice, and not interfere with the war. In a short time we were ready to start to Fort Madison to get our supply of goods, that we might proceed to our hunting grounds. We passed merrily down the river, all in high spirits. I had determined to spend the winter at my old favorite hunting ground on Skunk river, and left part of my corn and mats at its mouth, to take up when I returned; others did the same. Next morning we arrived at the fort and made our encampment. Myself and principal men paid a visit to the war chief at the fort. He received us kindly and gave us some tobacco, pipes and provisions. The trader came in, and we all rose and shook hands with him, for on him all our dependence was placed, to enable us to hunt and thereby support our families. We waited a long time, expecting the trader would tell us that he had orders from our Great Father to supply us with goods; but he said nothing on the subject. I got up and told him in a short speech what we had come for, and hoped he had plenty of goods to supply us, and told him he should be well paid in the spring; and concluded by informing him that we

* On the Mississippi, in the Sac and Fox country.

had determined to follow our Great Father's advice and not go to war.

"He said he was happy to hear that we intended to remain at peace. That he had a large quantity of goods; and that if we made a good hunt, we should be well supplied; but remarked that he had received no instructions to furnish us anything on credit—nor could he give us any, without receiving the pay for them on the spot.

"We informed him what our Great Father had told our chiefs at Washington, and contended that he could supply us if he would, believing that our Great Father always spoke the truth. But the war chief said that the trader could not furnish us on credit, and that he had received no instructions from our Great Father at Washington. We left the fort dissatisfied, and went to our camp. What was now to be done we knew not. We questioned the party that brought us the news from our Great Father, that we should get credit for our winter supplies at this place. They still told the same story, and insisted upon its truth. Few of us slept that night; all was gloom and discontent.

"In the morning a canoe was seen ascending the river. It soon arrived, bearing an express, who brought intelligence that La Gutrie,* a British trader, had landed at Rock Island with two boats loaded with goods, and requested us to come up immediately, because he had news for us, and a variety of presents. The express presented us with tobacco, pipes and wampum.

"The news ran through our camp like fire in the prairie. Our lodges were soon taken down, and all started for Rock Island. Here ended all hopes of our remaining at peace, having been forced into war by being deceived.

"Our party were not long in getting to Rock Island. When we came in sight and saw tents pitched, we yelled, fired our guns and commenced beating our drums. Guns were immediately fired at the island, re-

* La Gutrie, or La Goterie, was an Indian trader at Portage des Sioux—a Canadian Frenchman, probably of mixed blood.

turning our salute, and a British flag hoisted. We landed and were cordially received by La Gutrie, and then smoked the pipe with him, after which he made a speech to us, that had been sent by Colonel Dickson, and gave us a number of handsome presents, a large silk flag and a keg of rum, and told us to retire, take some refreshments and rest ourselves, as he would have more to say to us on the next day.

"We accordingly retired to our lodges, which had been put up in the meantime, and spent the night. The next morning we called upon him and told him that we wanted his two boat loads of goods to divide among our people, for which he should be well paid in the spring with furs and peltries. He consented; told us to take them and do as we pleased with them. While our people were dividing the goods he took me aside and informed me that Colonel Dickson was at Green Bay with twelve boats, loaded with goods, guns and ammunition, and wished me to raise a party immediately and go to him. He said that our friend, the trader at Peoria, was collecting the Pottawattamies, and would be there before us. I communicated this information to my braves, and a party of 200 warriors were soon collected and ready to depart. On our arrival at Green Bay we found a large encampment and were well received by Colonel Dickson and the war chiefs that were with him. He gave us plenty of provisions, tobacco and pipes, and said he would hold a council with us the next day.

"In the encampment I found a large number of Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, Ottawas and Winnebagoes. I visited all their camps and found them in high spirits. They had all received new guns, ammunition and a variety of clothing. In the evening a messenger came to me, to visit Colonel Dickson. I went to his tent, in which there were two other war chiefs and an interpreter. He received me with a hearty shake of the hand and presented me to the other chiefs, who shook my hand cordially and seemed much pleased to see me. After I was seated Colonel Dickson said: 'General Black Hawk, I sent for you to explain to you

what we are going to do, and the reasons that have brought us here. Our friend, La Gutrie, informs us in the letter you brought from him what has lately taken place. You will now have to hold us fast by the hand. Your English Father has found out that the Americans want to take your country from you, and has sent me and his braves to drive them back to their own country. He has likewise sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and we want all your warriors to join us.'

"He then placed a medal around my neck and gave me a paper* (which I lost in the late war†) and a silk flag, saying: 'You are to command all the braves that will leave here the day after to-morrow to join our braves near Detroit.' I told him I was very much disappointed, as I wanted to descend the Mississippi and make war upon the settlements. He said he had been ordered to lay the country waste around St. Louis; that he had been a trader on the Mississippi many years; had always been kindly treated, and could not consent to send brave men to murder women and children. That there were no soldiers there to fight; but where he was going to send us there were a number of soldiers, and if we defeated them, the Mississippi country should be ours. I was pleased with this speech; it was spoken by a brave.

"The next day arms and ammunition, tomahawks, knives and clothing were given to my band. We had a great feast in the evening, and the morning following I started with about 500 braves to join the British army. The British war chief accompanied us. We passed Chicago. The fort had been evacuated by the American soldiers, who had marched for Fort Wayne. They were attacked a short distance from that fort and defeated.‡ They had a considerable quantity of powder in the fort at Chicago, which they had promised to the Indians; but the night before they marched they destroyed it. I think it was thrown into the well. If

* This paper was found at the battle of Bad Axe—it was a certificate of his good behavior, and attachment to the British.

† In 1832.

‡ Slaughtered, being defenseless.

they had fulfilled their word to the Indians, I think they would have gone safe.

“On our arrival I found that the Indians had several prisoners. I advised them to treat them well. We continued our march and joined the British army below Detroit, and soon after had a fight. The Americans fought well and drove us with considerable loss. I was surprised at this, as I had been told* that the Americans could not fight.

“Our next movement was against a fortified place. I was stationed with my braves to prevent any person going to or coming from the fort. I found two men taking care of cattle, and took them prisoners. I would not kill them, but delivered them to the British war chief. Soon after, several boats came down the river full of American soldiers. They landed on the opposite side, took the British batteries, and pursued the soldiers that had left them. They went too far without knowing the forces of the British, and were defeated. I hurried across the river, anxious for an opportunity to show the courage of my braves; but before we reached the ground all was over. The British† had taken many prisoners, and the Indians were killing them. I immediately put a stop to it, as I never thought it brave, but cowardly, to kill an unarmed and helpless enemy.

“We remained here some time. I cannot detail what took place, as I was stationed with my braves in the woods. It appeared, however, that the British could not take this fort,‡ for we were marched to another, some distance off. When we approached it, I found it a small stockade,§ and concluded that there were not many men in it. The British war chief sent a flag; Colonel Dickson¶ carried it and returned. He said a young war chief|| commanded, and would not give up without fighting. Dickson came to me and said: ‘You will see to-morrow how easily we will take

* By the British.

† General Proctor.

‡ Fort Meigs.

§ Fort Stephenson.

¶ He is mistaken in the name—Chambers and Mason carried the flag.

|| Lieutenant Croghan.

that fort.' I was of opinion that they would take it, but when the morning came I was disappointed. The British advanced, commenced an attack and fought like braves, but by braves in the fort were defeated, and a great number killed. The British army were making preparations to retreat. I was now tired of being with them, our success being bad; and having got no plunder, I determined on leaving them and returning to Rock Island, to see what had become of my wife and children, as I had not heard from them since I started. That night I took about twenty of my braves and left the British camp for home. We met no person on our journey until we reached the Illinois river."

The foregoing piece of history from Black Hawk is certified to by Antoine L. Claire, United States interpreter, dated at the Indian agency, Rock Island, October 16, 1832, as copied from Smith's Documentary History of Wisconsin, Vol. III. The remaining part of his statement refers to the Sac war of 1832, and will be noticed in its proper place.

The appearance of the British on the upper Mississippi, and their threatened invasion of southern Illinois, is verified by Black Hawk's statement, and without doubt, the fear of such a calamity was the chief incentive to Governor Edwards' attack on Peoria and the Indian towns adjacent. At that time the British had received no check in their victorious career, Michigan and Wisconsin both being in their possession, while the Indian tribes of the country were largely inclined to join their fortunes with them, as the best means by which to preserve their hunting grounds from the greed of their white neighbors. That Illinois was spared such an invasion was due to the activity with which the Americans were at the same time pushing the campaign against Detroit, under General Harrison, to oppose whom all the British forces and their Indian allies finally proved insufficient.*

The war soon began to rage on the Niagara border, as well as along the Detroit, and the death of General Brock, who was slain in battle there, was the severest

* See Reynolds' history of his own times, page 130.

blow the British had yet received. General Proctor, who was opposed to General Harrison in the famous campaign of 1813, was deficient in those high and soldierly qualities which distinguished General Brock, who had done so much honor to English arms in the campaign of 1812, which had terminated in the surrender of General Hull. The tide was now turning, as will be seen in succeeding pages.



SECTION OF MOLL'S MAP OF 1720.

It will be seen from the above map that the whole Indian population around Chicago had been changed between 1720 and 1812, the date of the Chicago massacre.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Harrison Appointed to the Command of the Northwestern Army—Ten Thousand Men Raised to Reclaim Detroit and Invade Canada—A Wilderness of Mud Interposes between the Combatants—General Winchester Reaches the Rapids of the Maumee—Advances to Frenchtown, on the River Raisin—Battle of the River Raisin, Ending in Defeat, Capitulation and Treacherous Slaughter of War Prisoners—Fort Meigs Built at the Rapids—General Proctor Advances against the Place—Desperate Attack and Successful Defense of the Post—The British Retreat and Attack Fort Stephenson—The Masked Six-pounder and Its Fatal Effects—Rout of the British—The War Transferred to Canada—The American War Fleet Sails from Erie—The Naval Battle—The American Army in Canada—Battle of the Thames—Tecumseh Slain—Michigan Reclaimed—Peace.

The last campaign was now at hand, which was substantially to complete the conquest of the northwest from the Indians, who up to this time had not entirely relinquished the hope that they could establish a permanent boundary between themselves and the whites, which should stop farther encroachments on their territory. This had been the early hope of Tecumseh, in which fatal dream he was at least not disheartened in his confidential councils with the British. In him were centered the last hopes of the Indians; and he may be set down as the last of that illustrious line of chiefs whose eloquence and commanding power and inflexible resolution have challenged admiration, not only from

the world, but from the foes against whom they fought. Under him the red man was still powerful, though tainted with the vices of civilization, without being elevated by its virtues.

On the part of the white settlers all eyes were turned toward General Harrison, whose star had risen the year before on the field of Tippecanoe, and under pressure of an intelligent popular will he was appointed commander-in-chief of the northwestern army on the 17th of September.

This news reached him on the 24th, while at Piqua, on his way to relieve Fort Wayne, at the head of 2,000 Kentucky volunteers, as told in the foregoing chapter. At his disposal were placed 10,000 men, composed of volunteers from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, together with a regiment from the regular army. The full quota had been raised, and in Kentucky the backwoods men, brimming over with patriotism, came forward in such numbers that many had to be refused admittance into the service after the ranks were full. The instructions to General Harrison were first to provide protection to the frontier, after which Detroit was to be taken, Michigan reclaimed from British rule, and lastly Canada was to be invaded. This was an undertaking of no small magnitude; but western blood was up, and nothing short of its fulfillment would satisfy the frontierers.

The only posts that the Americans held on the entire chain of the lakes were Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland and Sandusky, any one of which was ever liable to a hostile visitation from the English fleet on the lakes. The volunteers were impatient to come to battle with the British, but ere this could be brought about, a broad wilderness had to be traversed, whose spongy soil was an almost bottomless pool of mud in the low grounds, and whose unbridged streams, with their alluvial margins, were a treacherous path for the ponderous machinery of war. To overcome these obstacles, Harrison immediately set himself to work. The rapids of the Maumee were the strategic point to be made the

base of his movements, and he gave orders to the different army corps to proceed to this place.

Of these there were three detachments, one to march by way of Upper Sandusky, another by Urbana and a third by the way of the Auglaize river. Each of these divisions had struggled through the oozy savannas with which the forest abounded, as fast as their zeal and muscle could carry them; but so slow was their progress that it was not till the 10th of January, 1813, that the rapids were reached by the advance corps, led by General Winchester, while General Harrison himself was still at Upper Sandusky, with the right wing of the army, and General Tupper, of whom McAfee, the contemporary historian, speaks very disparagingly, was at Fort McArthur with the center.

The following is copied from Dawson's *Life of Harrison*:

"The roads were bad beyond description; none but those who have actually seen the state of the country seem ever to have formed a correct estimate of the difficulties to be encountered. The road from Loramie's block house to Ste. Mary's, and thence to Defiance, was one continuous swamp, knee deep on the pack horses and up to the hubs of the wagon. It was found impossible in some instances to get even the empty wagons along, and many were left in the mire, the wagoners being glad to get off with the horses alive. Sometimes the quartermaster, taking advantage of a temporary freeze, would send off a convoy, which would be swamped by a thaw ere it reached its destination. These natural difficulties were also increased by a great deficiency of funds and inadequacy of the other resources which were requisite in the quartermaster's department. The only persons who could be procured to act as pack horse drivers were generally the most worthless creatures in society, who took care neither of the horses nor the goods with which they were intrusted. The horses were, of course, soon broken down, and many of the packs lost. The teams hired to haul were also commonly valued so high on coming into the service

that the owners were willing to drive them to death with a view to get the price. In addition to this, no bills of lading were used or accounts kept with the waggoners. Of course each one had an opportunity to plunder the public without much risk of detection."

Shortly after the arrival of General Winchester at the rapids, messengers came to him from Frenchtown on the River Raisin, imploring his protection from the British and Indians, who had taken possession of the place soon after the surrender of General Hull at Detroit.

The request was granted, and on the 17th 550 men were sent on this mission, under command of Colonel Lewis, supported by 110 more under command of Colonel Allen. They reached the place the next day, attacked the British and drove them out. As soon afterward appeared, this advance was hazardous in the extreme, Malden, the headquarters of General Proctor, who had recently been appointed as commander of the British troops, being only eighteen miles distant, from which place a superior force could be brought against the post in a few hours. Notwithstanding this, General Winchester unwisely determined to maintain the position, and reinforced the place with 250 more men from the rapids, accompanying them in person. As might be supposed, the British were no idle spectators of the situation, and stealthily marched against the place on the night of the 21st with a heavy force. The next morning General Winchester beheld with surprise the batteries of the enemy erected within commanding distance of his camp.

An obstinate battle immediately ensued, which is best described by Dawson, in his *Life of Harrison*, as follows: "The American army in this affair lost upwards of 290 in killed, massacred and missing. Only thirty-three escaped to the rapids. The British took 547 prisoners and the Indians about forty-five. The loss of the enemy, as the Americans had no chance to ascertain it, was, of course, never known to the public. From the best information that could be obtained, it is believed to have been, in killed and wounded, between

300 and 400. The Indians suffered greatly, and the Forty-first regiment was very much cut up.* Their whole force in battle was about 2,000—one-half regulars and Canadians, commanded by Colonels Proctor and St. George; the other composed of Indians, commanded by Round Head and Walk-in-the-Water—Tecumseh was not there; he was still on the Wabash collecting the warriors in that quarter." The prisoners were transported to Amherstburg, where they were crowded into a muddy wood yard without shelter. A heavy rain fell upon them the succeeding night, which greatly increased their suffering in that inclement season, especially as they were thinly clad and without blankets. Here they remained till the 26th, when they were marched, in two divisions, through upper Canada to Fort George, on the Niagara, where they were paroled and returned home by the way of Erie and Pittsburg, and thence down the Ohio river.

The conditions of their parole were that they were not to bear arms against his majesty or his allies during the present war until exchanged. On the reception of these terms, some of the inquisitive Kentuckians asked who were his majesty's allies. The question was designed as a rebuke to the British, for accepting an alliance with the Indians. The reply was that: "His majesty's allies were well known."† Besides the prisoners thus paroled were the forty-five taken by the Indians, a few of whom were massacred, but most of them held for ransom at Detroit.‡

Soon after this General Proctor issued a proclamation, requiring the citizens of Michigan to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty or leave the state.§

As stated in a previous chapter, after the massacre at Chicago, the Kinzie family were sent to Detroit,

*The large number of Americans killed was the result of the merciless slaughter by the Indians immediately after some retreating fragments of the army had surrendered to them.

† Dawson's *Life of Harrison*, page 357.

‡ Dawson; Wabun.

§ Against this, Judge Woodard, of Detroit, remonstrated, averring that it was contrary to the law of nations; that a subject cannot transfer his allegiance in time of war, without incurring the penalty of treason.

where they were living as paroled prisoners at the time of the River Raisin horror. The house occupied by them was their old mansion on the corner of Jefferson and Wayne streets.*

The calamitous result of this affair well nigh frustrated the plan of General Harrison to maintain his position at the rapids, and on his arrival at the place the next day after the battle its few survivors came in with such alarming news that he, after holding a council of war, thought it prudent to retreat as far as Portage river, which he did the day following, after destroying the provisions and burning the block house. Here, being reinforced on the 1st of February, he again

* It had been a stipulation of General Hull at the surrender of Detroit, that the inhabitants of that place should be permitted to remain undisturbed in their homes. Accordingly, the family of Mr. Kinzie took up their quarters with their friends, in the old mansion, which many will recollect as standing on the northeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Wayne street.

The feelings of indignation and sympathy were constantly aroused in the hearts of the citizens during the winter that ensued. They were almost daily called upon to witness the cruelties practiced upon the American prisoners brought in by their Indian captors. Those who could scarcely drag their wounded, bleeding feet over the frozen ground were compelled to dance for the amusement of the savages, and the exhibitions sometimes took place before the Government House, the residence of Colonel McKee. Some of the British officers looked on from their windows at these heart rending performances; for the honor of humanity, we will hope such instances were rare.

Everything that could be made available among the effects of the citizens was offered, to ransom their countrymen from the hands of these inhuman beings. The prisoners brought in from the River Raisin—those unfortunate men who were permitted, after their surrender to General Proctor, to be tortured and murdered by inches, by his savage allies, excited the sympathies and called for the action of the whole community. Private houses were turned into hospitals, and every one was forward to get possession of as many as possible of the survivors. To effect this, even the articles of their apparel were bartered by the ladies of Detroit, as they watched from their doors or windows the miserable victims carried about for sale.

In the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, one large room was devoted to the reception of the sufferers. Few of them survived. Among those spoken of as objects of the deepest interest were two young gentlemen of Kentucky, both severely wounded, and their wounds aggravated to a mortal degree by subsequent ill usage and hardships. Their solicitude for each other, and their exhibition in various ways of the most tender fraternal affection, created an impression never to be forgotten.

The last bargain made was by black Jim and one of the children, who had permission to redeem a negro servant of the gallant Colonel Allen, with an old white horse, the only available article that remained among their possessions.

A brother of Colonel Allen afterward came to Detroit, and the negro preferred returning to servitude, rather than remaining a stranger in a strange land.—*Wabun, Page 249.*

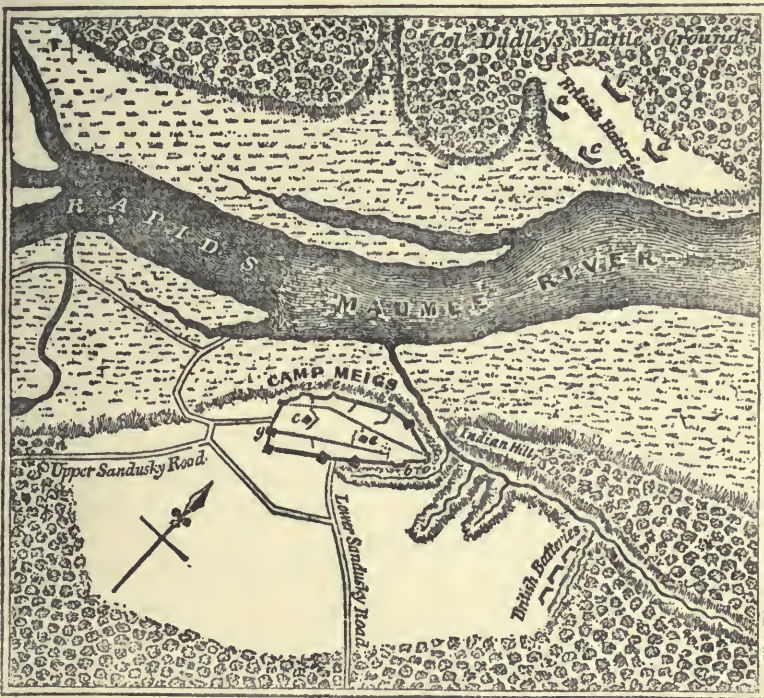
advanced to the rapids, and determined to make a stand against the audacious enemy.

A fort was built, which was named Fort Meigs, in honor of the governor of Ohio. It was situated on the east bank of the Maumee, opposite the battle ground where General Wayne, eighteen years before, had overwhelmed the Indians with defeat under the very guns of the English, who at that time had a fort on this historic ground, on the north side of the river just below the present site of Fort Meigs.

Harrison was now in a critical position. Of the 10,000 men which had been raised for his service, many were lingering on the way under the duress of a mud blockade; some were posted at points where a force was necessary to overawe the Indians, and not a few had been wasted with the malarious diseases of the country, whose immense valleys had not yet been disinfected by the smoke of the pioneer. The British, by means of their vessels on the lake, could quickly bring to the front all the supplies they wanted for the campaign, while the Americans had to transport their camp supplies over 100 miles of quagmire, and the same difficulties that had beset the path of General Hull* now threatened General Harrison. The most he could hope was to defend Fort Meigs and Sandusky till reinforced with sufficient numbers to pursue the original plan of the campaign by advancing on Detroit. Well knowing that General Proctor was better prepared to take the offensive than himself, and rightly judging that he would do so, General Harrison made the earth defenses of Fort Meigs as perfect as military skill could make them, and awaited their approach.

* Says General Harrison, in his report to the war department, a few weeks previous to this time: "If there were not some important political reason urging the recovery of Michigan territory and the capture of Malden as soon as those objects can possibly be effected, and that to accomplish them a few weeks sooner, expense was to be disregarded, I should not hesitate to say, that if a small proportion of the sums which will be expended in the quartermaster's department in the active prosecution of the campaign during the winter was devoted to obtaining the command of Lake Erie, the wishes of the government, in their utmost extent, could be accomplished without difficulty," in the months of April and May.—*Dawson, Page 333.*

The winter passed with but little freezing weather, and a boundless sea of mud interposed between Fort Meigs and its expected reinforcements, till General Proctor and Tecumseh appeared before the place with 3,000 British and Indian troops. It was now the 26th of April, and an active summer campaign was at hand, for which General Harrison was by no means prepared. The tenants of Fort Meigs now beheld the enemy planting their batteries upon the high bank on the op-



FORT MEIGS.

posite side of the river, which were soon to vomit forth a tempest of hot shot and shells into Fort Meigs.

While these preparations were being made on the part of the British, their red allies under Tecumseh crossed the river and took a position in the rear of the fort among the forest trees. To encourage them, General Proctor had promised an easy victory over the Americans to Tecumseh. It was said with doubtful

authority that he promised to deliver to Tecumseh General Harrison's person, as war prisoner, as soon as Fort Meigs should be taken. A furious fire was now opened upon the fort from the British batteries by day and night, while the Indians climbed the tall forest trees and kept up a fire of small arms against the garrison. To protect themselves from the bursting shells which were constantly exploding inside the fort, the soldiers dug burrows in the ground and crept into them when a shell fell near by, remaining till it had exploded, from which circumstance the Indians said they fought like ground hogs. Day after day the attack was kept up with unrelenting fury, the fire of the defenders all the while responding.

On the 3d of May, after three days of unusually heavy firing, General Proctor sent a flag of truce to General Harrison, demanding the surrender of the place. Major Chambers was its bearer, and, when introduced to General Harrison, the following words passed between them:

"MAJOR CHAMBERS: General Proctor has directed me to demand the surrender of this post. He wishes to spare the effusion of blood.

"GENERAL HARRISON: The demand under the present circumstances is a most extraordinary one. As General Proctor did not send me a summons to surrender on his first arrival, I had supposed that he believed me determined to do my duty. His present message indicates an opinion of me that I am at a loss to account for.

"MAJOR CHAMBERS: General Proctor could never think of saying anything to wound your feelings, sir. The character of General Harrison as an officer is well known. General Proctor's force is very respectable, and there is with him a larger body of Indians than has ever before been embodied.

"GENERAL HARRISON: I believe I have a correct idea of General Proctor's force; it is not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest, whatever shape he may be pleased hereafter to give to it. Assure the general, however, that he will never

have this post surrendered to him upon any terms. Should it fall into his hands, it will be in a manner calculated to do him more honor and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government than any capitulation could possibly do."

The messenger then returned to the British camp, and the attack began again with increased fury.

At the opening of the siege, General Harrison had sent messengers for the purpose of hurrying forward reinforcements, and in response to them, General Green Clay, at the head of 1,200 Kentucky and Ohio volunteers, were now within three hours' march of Fort Meigs, on the banks of the Maumee, just above the rapids; but the danger of an ambuscade was so imminent that he durst not advance another step till he had communicated with General Harrison. Who dared undertake such a dangerous mission? The first man who volunteered to do this was Capt. Leslie Combs, of Kentucky. At the head of a few picked men, he crept within a mile of the fort, when he was discovered by the enemy, and nearly all of his party were killed, Combs himself narrowly escaping the fate of his daring companions.

Fortunately Capt. William Oliver was in the camp, the same dashing young ranger who had penetrated through the Indian lines around Fort Wayne a few months before and carried a message to its defenders, that Harrison was marching to their relief; and now, by the changing fortunes of war, it became his lot to take a message to General Harrison, that relief was at hand for him. Fifteen brave Ohioans promptly volunteered to follow him in this dangerous adventure. Late in the evening on the 4th they seated themselves in their boat and silently rowed down the Maumee till the camp fires of the besiegers were visible, when the party landed and crept along the margin of the river toward the fort. Inside of it silence and darkness reigned, for their fires had been extinguished, lest they might afford direction for the enemy's shot. The sentinels were on the alert, for there was a purpose there brooding over the situation in the darkness of their

vengeful solitudes, and when Oliver's party came to the gate they were mistaken for the enemy, about to make an assault, and were fired upon; fortunately none of them were wounded, and they soon found means to make themselves known, and entered the fort, Oliver immediately going to the quarters of General Harrison.

Now the whole situation was changed. The beleaguered garrison could take the offensive. A hardy messenger (Captain Hamilton, of the Ohio volunteers), was immediately dispatched to General Green Clay, to advance and attack the British batteries on the north side of the river opposite the fort, with 800 men, while with the remaining 400 men he was to fight his way through the enemy's lines into the fort. While these movements were in progress, a sortie was to be made from the fort against the British batteries, farther up the river on the south side. Early the next morning, Clay made his appearance according to orders, and suddenly the enemy found their whole line of batteries attacked by a foe whom they had hitherto beheld with contempt. Colonel Miller led the assault on the south side, drove the gunners from their guns, spiked them and returned to the fort, while Colonel Dudley, from Clay's command, attacked the batteries on the north side. They were also taken, but unfortunately in the flush of victory the dashing Kentuckians followed in hot pursuit after the retreating columns. This was contrary to the orders of General Harrison, who beheld from the fort the fatal pursuit with deep anguish. The pursuers were led into an ambuscade, and all but 150 of the gallant 800 were killed or taken prisoners. The Indians kept on their work of slaughter after they had surrendered, till Tecumseh interposed his authority, to put a stop to the fiendish work.*

The results of the day were that Harrison was reinforced by over 500 men, notwithstanding his losses, and many of the besiegers' guns were spiked. Besides these advantages, General Proctor had received the first lesson in volunteer practice, which was quite

* Drake, Howe's History of Ohio.

sufficient to convince him that Fort Meigs could not be taken. He therefore determined to retreat, lest he might be attacked by fresh reinforcements. Complete preparations for this were made by the 9th, when his force, consisting of 600 regulars, 800 Canadian militia and 1,800 Indians, suddenly withdrew down the river, giving one tremendous discharge from their cannon, back toward the fort as they left.* This parting salute killed ten in the fort, and wounded as many more. Said one of the officers: "We were glad enough to see them off on any terms." Of this whole army retreating from American soil not one felt the sting so bitterly as Tecumseh. Little did he then think he should never again return. His unrelenting courage, however, was not shared by his army of 1,800 Indians. Not that they lacked the dashing qualities of good soldiers, but the ordinary discipline by which the armies of civilized nations are held together is wanting in an Indian army, for it has no provision against desertion.

If the meanest soldier gets discouraged, or takes a homesick fit to return to his lodge and see his squaw, the chief has no other means but moral suasion to prevent it. As long as the Indian sees progress and a hope of booty, he will cheerfully endure hunger and other discomfitures; but he is a poor dependence for besieging well defended forts, and the English, much to their chagrin, found this to be the case before the war was over, although it was to them they owed their first successes at its opening. After giving up the siege of Fort Meigs, General Proctor and Brigadier General Tecumseh (to give him his title) determined to make a sudden dash against some vital point occupied by the Americans. Of such points, Upper Sandusky, where a large amount of provisions and other military stores were collected, and Erie, where a fleet was being built, were by far the most important. Apprehensive of an attack on Upper Sandusky, General Harrison stationed himself, with what forces he could command, at Seneca, which laid in the path between Sandusky bay and

* Howe's History of Ohio, page 531.

this place, as by means of his scouts he had ascertained that the enemy were massing their forces in this direction.

At the head of navigation on the Sandusky river was Fort Stephenson, a small stockade defended by less than 200 men under command of Captain Crogan, a nephew of the famous Gen. George Rogers Clark, whose timely conquest of the Illinois country in the days of revolutionary memory will not be forgotten. Fort Stephenson also lay in the path of the enemy on their way to Upper Sandusky, the vital point of the Americans. Meantime, while General Proctor's fleet had put into Sandusky bay and were approaching Fort Stephenson, Tecumseh's Indians had crossed the country by a hasty march and were threatening Upper Sandusky. Under these circumstances, instructions were sent to Captain Crogan to retire from Fort Stephenson, if he could do so with safety, but the orders did not come in time to effect the retreat with a reasonable hope of success, and he determined on defending the post.

On the 31st of July the British fleet made their appearance before the place, commanded by General Proctor himself, his force consisting of 500 regulars and as many Indians, the vigilant Tecumseh all the while lying back with his army ready to intercept any intended reinforcements to the place from Fort Meigs, as well as to co-operate with General Proctor in a descent on Upper Sandusky as soon as Fort Stephenson should fall into their hands. After the usual investment, which occupied the time till the 2d of August, General Proctor sent a summons to Captain Crogan to surrender. This he promptly refused to do, and when admonished of the fate which awaited them from the vengeful Indians, in case the fort had to be taken by assault, Mr. Shipp, with whom the messenger conferred, replied: "There will none of us be left to kill."

The messenger now retired, and the attack began by a heavy cannonading, to which the besieged could only retort with a single six-pounder.

Little execution was done on either side by this method, and General Proctor, not wishing to waste his time by the slow process of a siege before so insignificant a post, ordered an assault. This had been expected by Captain Crogan, and he had made ample provision for it by masking his cannon so as to command the ditch where the attack was to be made. The piece was loaded with a double charge of small shot and destructive missiles, and but half a charge of powder, as he intended before firing it to wait till the attackers were close enough to get the full force of the contents, which, with its light charge of powder, would scatter and mow down all the larger swath of men when near enough to receive it at its greatest force.

Unconscious of immediate danger, the assailants approached within thirty feet of its muzzle, when the piece was unmasked and fired at their solid phalanx of men, who were advancing with the scaling ladders in their hands, with which to climb the walls of the fort. Never before in the history of the war was the effect of a single cannon shot so terrible; more than fifty men fell, of whom above half never rose again. An instantaneous discharge of small arms from the defenders followed, and when the smoke was lifted from the scene of slaughter, the immense army of besiegers were seen flying from the field, while 150 of their number were left dead or dying behind.* Crogan's loss was one killed and five wounded.† Proctor's hopes of penetrating the country, so as to take Upper Sandusky, thus dashed to the ground, he resolved to retreat, and so apprehensive was he that Harrison would attack his rear, that he left a sloop load of stores behind, as his

* The besieged let down palls of water from the wall of the fort, for the relief of the wounded, immediately after the assault had ceased.—*Howe's History of Ohio.*

† Black Hawk was at this siege, which he describes in his statement, already given in the foregoing pages, thus: "Dickson came to me and said, 'You will see to-morrow how easily we will take that fort.' I was of the opinion they would take it, but when the morning came I was disappointed. The British advanced, commenced an attack and fought like braves, but by braves were defeated, and a great number killed."

vanquished army in hot haste crowded sail down the Sandusky river.*

The disappointed Indians, balked of their prey, vanished into the forests, wending their way northwardly toward their British attraction, as the needle turns toward the pole. While this ill-starred expedition of Proctor's had been in progress, another one was planned against Erie, intended to destroy the American fleet, now almost ready to sail from the place.

This was intrusted to Captain Barclay, and sailed from Malden down the lake on the 18th of July. After reconnoitering the American defenses it returned without making the attempt.†

"On to Malden," again became the watchword throughout the northwest. Ohio proposed to raise

*General Harrison's fame now stood so high, especially in the estimation of the friendly Indians, that the most prominent chiefs among the Delawares and Senecas, and even some of the Shawanese chiefs, offered their services to him with their respective braves. They were accepted and joined his army at Seneca, his headquarters on the Portage river; but among the Shawanese chiefs, one named Blue Jacket (not the one of the same name whose high-bred virtues had made him conspicuous in bringing about the peace of Greenville), perhaps under an impression that if General Harrison could be killed the Indian cause would be gained, determined on assassinating him. True to the Indian custom, he confided this secret resolution to his best friend, and begged his assistance in the affair. Such assistance his friend was not bound to give, according to the measure of Indian honor, but he was bound to preserve the secret. Here was a dilemma. He loved Harrison, not only for his charity for the Indian race, but for the kindness he had shown him from his early youth, ever since his father had been executed by the laws of his tribe for the crime of sorcery. Moreover, he was impressed with a full sense of the bad consequences sure to result to his tribe (the Delawares), should the intentions of Blue Jacket be carried out. While thus painfully brooding over the issue a few days later, the would-be assassin came into his presence in a towering rage. Colonel McPherson, an officer in General Harrison's army, had just turned him out of his presence for some breach of decency, and he swore vengeance on him for the insults, declaring he would kill him also. This roused the indignation of the young chief to whom the murderous intention had been confided, and he felled him to the ground with a single blow from his tomahawk, and dispatched him with a second. He next ordered his dead body sent to his tribe, and bade defiance to popular resentment for the act.

Instead of passing an unfavorable verdict upon the hero, he was applauded, and two years later General Cass made him a handsome present as a reward for his fidelity to General Harrison. The name of this chief was the Beaver; he now became a great favorite with General Harrison, and later with Commodore Perry, who christened him "The General's Mameluke."—*Dawson's Life of Harrison*, Page 415.

†The impossibility of his larger vessels getting over the bar might have been his reason for relinquishing the attack, more than his fear of the American defenses.

10,000 volunteers for the service, and Kentucky was not less zealous in the cause, but the government had proposed to furnish regulars for the service, and it was not possible to accept all the volunteers who felt eager to take a hand in the invasion of Canada. A clamor of discontent among the Ohio militia was the result, and General Harrison wrote a letter to Governor Meigs to allay it, of which the following is a part:

"The exceptions you have made, and the promptitude with which your orders have been obeyed, to assemble the militia and repel the late invasion, are truly astonishing, and reflect the highest credit on your state. * * * It has been the intention of the government to form the army destined for operation on Lake Erie exclusively of regular troops, if they could be raised. The number was limited to 7,000. The deficiency of regulars was to be made up from the militia. * * * I have, therefore, called on the governor of Kentucky for 2,000 men; with those there will still be a deficiency of about 1,200. Your excellency has stated to me that the men who have turned out on this occasion have done it with the expectation of being effectually employed, and that should they be sent home, there is no prospect of getting them to turn out hereafter, should it be necessary. To employ them all is impossible. With my utmost exertions, the embarkation cannot be effected in less than fifteen or eighteen days, should I even determine to substitute them for the regular troops which are expected. To keep so large a force in the field, even for a short period, would consume the means which are provided for the support of the campaign. Under these circumstances, I would recommend a middle course to your excellency, viz., to dismiss all the militia but two regiments. * * * It appears that the venerable governor of Kentucky is about to take command of the troops of that state. Could your excellency think proper to follow his example, I need not tell you how highly grateful it would be, dear sir, to your friend,

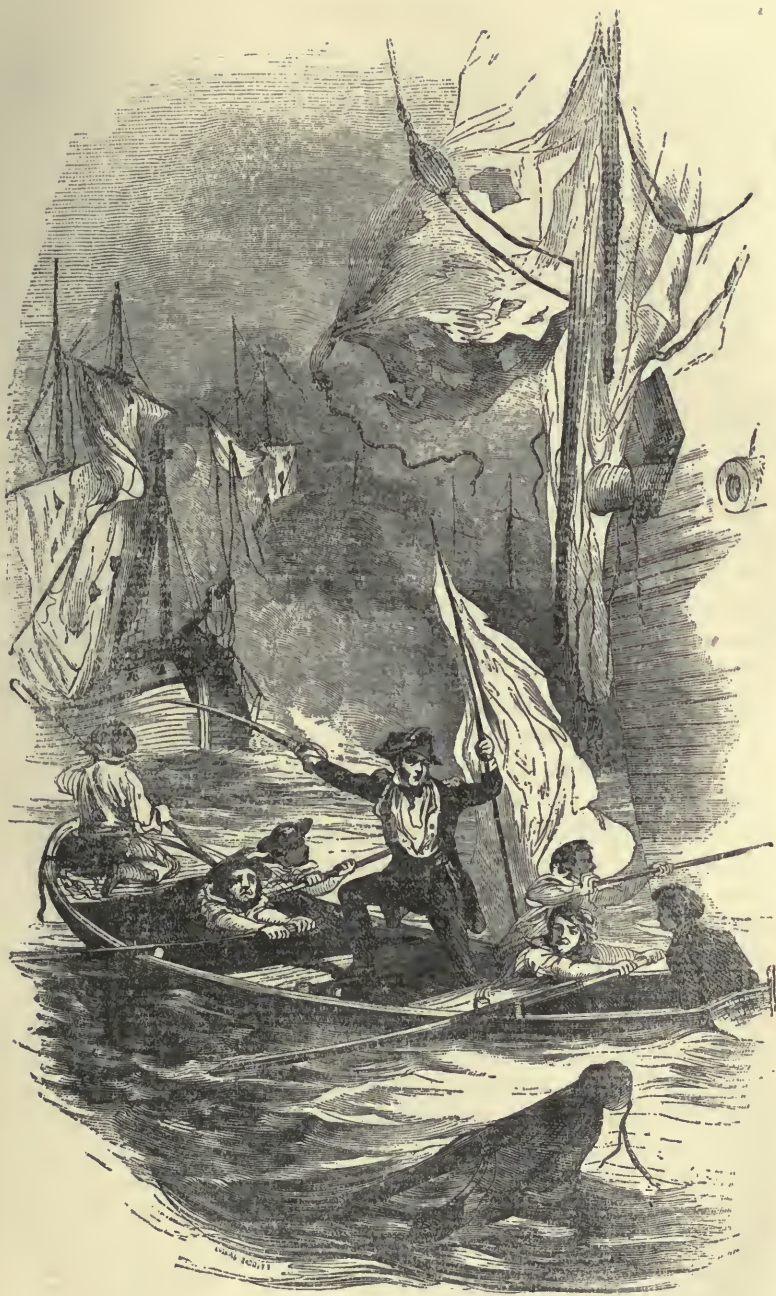
W. H. HARRISON."*

* Dawson's Life of Harrison, page 412.

Agreeable to the request of General Harrison, the 2,000 Ohio volunteers were sent to Upper Sandusky by Governor Meigs, to await his orders, but unfortunately their enlistment had only been for forty days, and on these terms General Harrison declined to accept their services. This raised a storm of indignation against the commanding general, unjust as it was fleeting, for it could hardly be supposed that raw recruits could accomplish the requirements of the campaign in so short a time. The new American fleet had now cut loose from its moorings, and for the first time the American Jack was thrown to the breeze on Lake Erie. It sailed up the lake to Sandusky about the 18th of August, where Commodore Perry, who held command of it, anchored off the harbor and conferred with General Harrison, who came on board his vessel. The fleet was still deficient in men, and General Harrison furnished him 150 to complete his crew. The commodore now sailed for Malden, where the English fleet lay protected by the land batteries.

In vain the American flag was flaunted in full view; the English fleet did not accept the challenge, and Commodore Perry retired to Put-in-bay, on the American side. On the 10th of September, however, the English fleet left Malden, and Commodore Perry immediately sailed out to meet it. The following is his own account of the battle which followed:

"At fifteen minutes before twelve the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before twelve the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the "Lawrence," I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow line being shot away, she became unmanageable. * * * The "Lawrence," which was the flagship, finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her. * * * At half past two the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the "Niagara," into close action. I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish, by volunteering to bring the



PERRY'S VICTORY.

schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. * * * At forty-five minutes past two the signal was made for close action. The "Niagara" being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance.

"The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and a sloop making a vain attempt to escape."*

The furious cannonading of the battle was heard at Malden, while its smoke rose in portentous clouds into the calm autumn sky that overhung the lake, dying away in the distant haze of its tranquil face. Who had won the victory? was the question that rang through the lines of Proctor's army of 4,000 white and red soldiers, assembled there awaiting its issue. Besides these were many American prisoners not less anxious, among whom was John Kinzie, who had been brought to the place in the following manner, as told in Wabun:

"Mr. Kinzie, as has been related, joined his family at Detroit in the month of January. A short time after suspicions arose in the mind of General Proctor that he was in correspondence with General Harrison, who was now at Fort Meigs, and who was believed to be meditating an advance upon Detroit. Lieutenant Watson, of the British army, waited upon Mr. Kinzie one day, with an invitation to the quarters of General Proctor, on the opposite side of the river, saying he wished to speak with him on business. Quite unsuspecting, he complied with the invitation, when to his surprise he was ordered into confinement, and strictly guarded in the house of his former partner, Mr. Patterson, of Sandwich. Finding that he did not return to his home, Mrs. Kinzie informed some of the Indian chiefs, his particular friends, who immediately repaired to the headquarters of the commanding officer, demanded their 'friend's' release, and brought him back to his home.

* American state papers, Vol. II, page 295.

After waiting a time until a favorable opportunity presented itself, the general sent a detachment of dragoons to arrest him. They had succeeded in carrying him away, and crossing the river with him. Just at this moment a party of friendly Indians made their appearance.

“‘Where is the Shaw-nee-aw-kee?’ was the first question. ‘There,’ replied his wife, pointing across the river, ‘in the hands of the red coats, who are taking him away again.’

“The Indians ran to the river, seized some canoes that they found there, and crossing over to Sandwich, compelled General Proctor a second time to forego his intentions.

“A third time this officer was more successful, and succeeded in arresting Mr. Kinzie and conveying him, heavily ironed, to Fort Malden, in Canada, at the mouth of the Detroit river. Here he was at first treated with great severity, but after a time the rigor of his confinement was somewhat relaxed, and he was permitted to walk on the bank of the river for air and exercise.

“On the 10th of September, as he was taking his promenade under the close supervision of a guard of soldiers, the whole party was startled by the sound of guns upon Lake Erie, at no great distance below. What could it mean? It must be Commodore Barclay firing into some of the Yankees. The firing continued. The time allotted the prisoner for his daily walk expired, but neither he nor his guard observed the lapse of time, so anxiously were they listening to what they now felt sure was an engagement between ships of war. At length Mr. Kinzie was reminded that the hour for his return to confinement had arrived. He petitioned for another half hour.

“‘Let me stay,’ said he, ‘till we can learn how the battle has gone.’

“Very soon a sloop appeared under press of sail, rounding the point, and presently two gun boats in chase of her.

“ ‘She is running—she bears the British colors,’ cried he. ‘Yes, yes, they are lowering—she is striking her flag! Now,’ turning to the soldiers, ‘I will go back to prison contented—I know how the battle has gone.’

“The sloop was the ‘Little Belt,’ the last of the squadron captured by the gallant Perry on that memorable occasion, which he announced in the immortal words:

“ ‘We have met the enemy, and they are ours!’ ”

On the 17th of September, Shelby, the venerable revolutionary father and governor of Kentucky, arrived at Harrison’s headquarters on the Portage river, with 2,000 Kentucky troops. On the 21st everything was in readiness and the embarkation of the troops for the invasion of Canada began. All the available water craft of the Americans, together with the captured British fleet, were brought into service, and with the assistance of all these, the army had to be transported by piecemeal, part of them being conveyed at a time to the Middle Sister island. While the transportation of the troops was going on, General Harrison and Commodore Perry made a reconnoissance off Malden, to select a place for the debarkation of the army. This done, the troops were quickly transported from the island to the Canada shore, and Malden was entered by them on the 27th.

Governor Shelby led the advance, but the enemy had fled, and in their place a deputation of well dressed women met him, with those irresistible courtesies which always win the heart of a gallant soldier. Their request for protection was granted, and the army passed on in pursuit of Proctor and Tecumseh, who were in full retreat up the valley of the Thames. On the 5th of October they were overtaken, and the battle of the Thames followed, a description of which is here given, in General Harrison’s official report, taken from Dawson, page 427:

“The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under His Excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and

Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above 3,000. No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

"While I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank, to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground they would be unable to do anything on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security. I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry; the measure was not sanctioned by anything that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery), its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the

enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the Twenty-seventh regiment, under their colonel (Paull), occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front line and General Desha's division was an important point. At that place, the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aides-de-camp, the acting assistant adjutant general, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aide-de-camp, and Brigadier-General Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy; and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the

enemy receiving a severe fire in front and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat."

Tecumseh was slain in this battle.* Colonel Richard M. Johnson, afterward vice-president of the United States, without doubt believed himself to be the one who achieved the honor. There is good testimony that he killed an Indian whom he thought to be he,† but there is conflicting testimony as to who killed Tecumseh. Shabonee, whose integrity may be vouched for by many of the old settlers of Chicago who are still living, was near Tecumseh when he was killed, and attributed his death to Colonel Johnson.‡

Mr. William Hickling, a well known citizen of Chicago, was familiarly acquainted with Shabonee and Caldwell, who both lived at Chicago in her early day, and in a paper which he read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1877 the following statement is made, which brings to light some new facts relative to the battle of the Thames:

"Caldwell held in high regard, and often spoke of the military genius and other qualifications of Tecumseh, looking upon him as the greatest warrior chief of his time. Caldwell, like his leader Tecumseh, during the last year of their military career, while operating in connection with the British on our frontier, and in Canada, lost all confidence in the ability of General Proctor, the British commander. It is well known that Tecumseh was bitterly opposed to the evacuation of Fort Malden, and subsequently, when the British commander halted in his retreat, and formed his lines for a combat at the Moravian towns, it was because General Tecumseh informed him that he and his Indians thought

* Sleep well, Tecumseh, in thy unknown grave,
Thou mighty savage, resolute and brave!
Thou master and strong spirit of the woods,
Unsheltered traveler in sad solitudes,
Yearner o'er Wyandot and Cherokee,
Couldst tell us now what hath been and shall be!

—Charles Mair, in *His Drama*, "Tecumseh."

† See Hist. Coll. State Hist. So. of Wis., page 372.

‡ See Hist. Coll. State Hist. So. of Wis., page 373.

the army had retreated far enough, and were not going any further without first having a fight. Tecumseh was summoned to the British headquarters to discuss the plan of battle. We have the authority of Caldwell to say that Tecumseh and General Proctor had a violent quarrel over the plans laid out by the latter for the conflict; that Tecumseh left the British headquarters in disgust, after only a short interview, and returned to the old position occupied by him an hour or so previous, and then sent Caldwell to see General Proctor, and urge upon him the necessity of changing his plan of battle. Soon after the departure of Caldwell from his Indian allies, the battle commenced with great fury. The death of Tecumseh and the rout of the British and Indian forces are well known in history. Caldwell was not able to again join his Indian friends, until after the battle was over. He always expressed himself as well satisfied that had General Tecumseh, instead of General Proctor, held command over both armies (British and Indians) the result of the campaign, and especially its fatal finale at the 'Thames,' would have been different. Shabonee, Tecumseh, Caldwell and Black Hawk were in counsel together, sitting on a log or fallen tree, smoking their pipes, and talking over the events of the times, when the messenger from General Proctor arrived, summoning Tecumseh to his headquarters."

The soil of the northwest was now unpressed by the foot of any armed foe except at Michilimackinac. The campaign thus closed, Governor Shelby's volunteers were honorably discharged, and General Harrison, with his force of regulars, embarked from Detroit on the 23d of October, in obedience to orders from the war department, after having appointed General Cass as provisional governor of Michigan, and leaving a force of 1,000 troops under his command. Early the next spring, in 1814, the government authorities of St. Louis, apprehensive of a British invasion from Michilimackinac, sent a detachment of soldiers to repair the old fort at Prairie du Chien and defend the place against an attack.

That these apprehensions were well grounded soon became apparent, for a large force of British and Indians shortly afterward came down the Wisconsin river, under Colonel McKay, and laid siege to the place. It was taken after an obstinate defense, its garrison paroled and sent to St. Louis. In the month of July, the same year, an expedition was fitted out at Detroit to capture Michilimackinac, Commodore Sinclair commanding the fleet, and Colonel Crogan, the hero of Fort Stephenson, the land forces. The latter landed on the island, but fell into an ambuscade in approaching the fort, and were severely repulsed, when the expedition returned without effecting its object, and Michilimackinac, as well as Prairie du Chien, remained in British possession till given up by the terms of peace, at the close of the war. The first hostile blow in this war had fallen upon the northwest on the upper lakes, under an impression that having conquered this part of the country, and guaranteed a goodly portion of it to certain Indian tribes as independent nations, the New England states would, through their influence in the English end of the scale, put an end to the war in a peaceful solution of the question. Even with these conditions, and in that early age, such a solution of the issue, to English eyes, seemed possible, especially as it was no secret to English diplomatists that if the counsels of the New England states had ruled alone, the war would not have been declared, at least till more time had transpired to tone down the pretentious spirit of the English, goaded to frenzy, as they were, by the formidable conquests of their great adversary, Napoleon.

In this dream the English calculated without their host, for when the pinch came the New England states manifested no disposition to desert the west, or to give it up, either to English or Indian hands, although from conscientious scruples they did object to invading Canada. The attempt to establish an independent nation of savages north of the Ohio river was equally impracticable, and, as might have been supposed, resulted in the English breaking faith with the Indians when peace was made, without fulfilling their obligation. The

proof that such an obligation was entered into by the English with the Indians is implied by the tenacity with which they insisted (even as a *sine qua non* to a treaty of peace) on the integrity of an Indian confederacy, with its distinct boundaries.

The boundary was to be the same as that established at the treaty of Greenville in 1795. It would have given the Indians the northern portions and the larger half of the entire northwest.

At or before the breaking out of the war this allure-ment was held out to Tecumseh, and by it his alliance secured and his masterly energies brought to bear in favor of the English, notwithstanding the fatal results of the prophet's defeat at Tippecanoe. Besides, the manifest evidence of this, which was brought to the surface during the peace negotiations at Ghent, is the oral testimony of two witnesses, Rev. Mr. Ruddel, of Kentucky, and Billy Caldwell, chief of the Pottawatamies, who lived at Chicago. Mr. Ruddel was taken captive by the Shawanese, raised by them to manhood and delivered up to his kindred at the treaty of Greenville. On coming into the walks of civilization, he soon educated himself and became an efficient minister of the Gospel in the Christian denomination. After the close of the war of 1812 he felt a strong desire to visit his early friends among the Shawanese, and especially those of Tecumseh, to learn what he could of the history of the fallen chief; and from them he learned that the English did pledge to Tecumseh to secure for the Indians, as allies, permanent possession of the territory not included in the lands relinquished to the whites, at the treaty of Greenville. With this guarantee Tecumseh again took up the sword, although his tribe had made peace with General Harrison, after the Tippecanoe campaign. The first year of the war justified his expectations, but when the recoil came, and Proctor retreated from American soil, Tecumseh became dissatisfied and doubted the ability of the English to fulfill their obligations. This he freely expressed at a private conference with his chiefs just before the battle of the Thames. Billy Caldwell was at this conference,

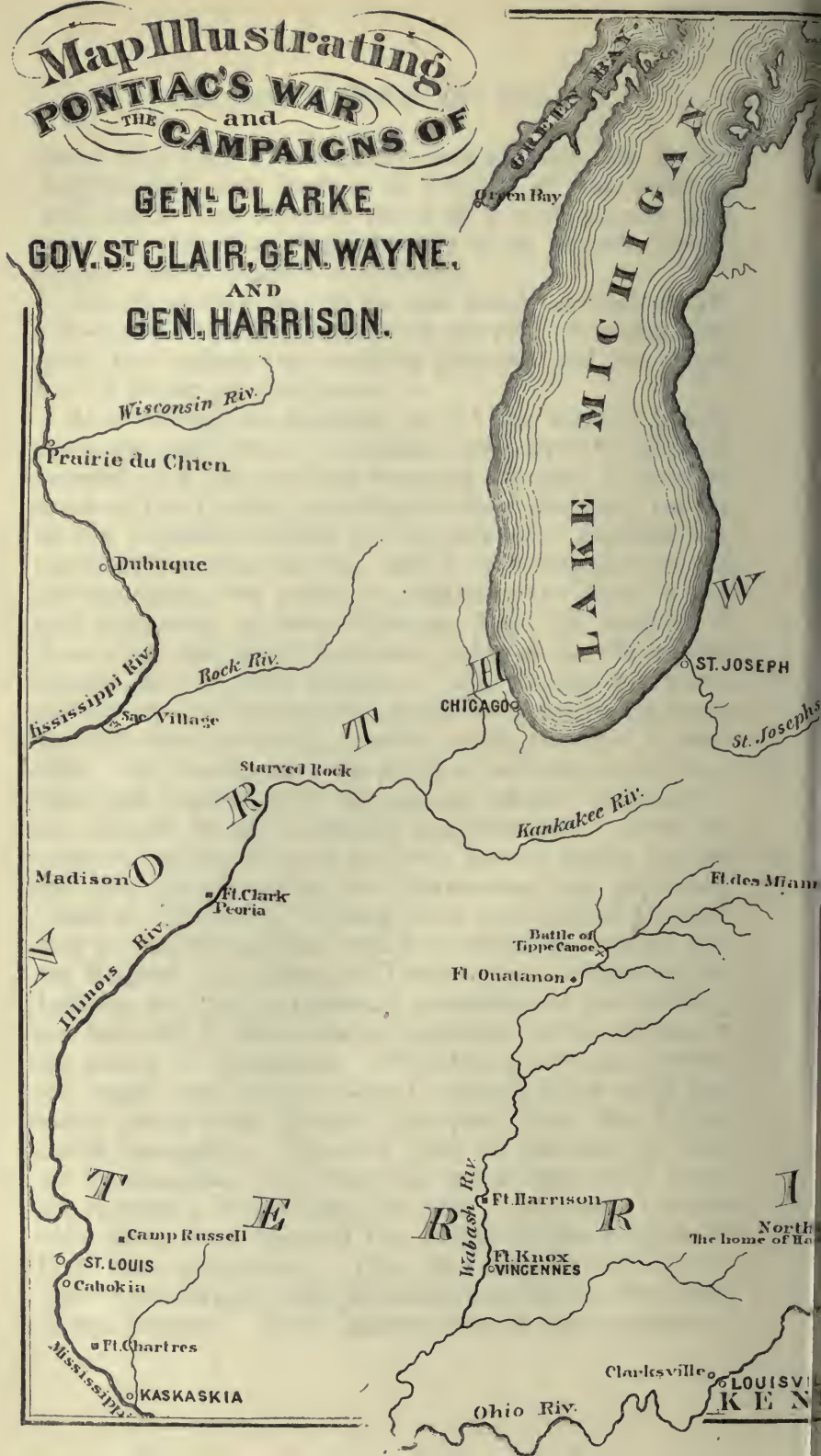
Geological Survey
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF GEOLOGY

WATER RESOURCES DIVISION
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
WASHINGTON, D. C.



Map Illustrating PONTIAC'S WAR and THE CAMPAIGNS OF

GEN. CLARKE
GOV. ST. CLAIR, GEN. WAYNE,
AND
GEN. HARRISON.







and at Chicago in 1833, when interviewed by Mr. Peck, the author of the *Western Annals*, verified the statements of Mr. Ruddel.

Says Mr. Peck, in his history, page 647:

"He was anxious to find some trustworthy American citizen to write the biography of Tecumseh, and gave as a reason that no British officer should ever perform that service to his distinguished friend," remarking at the same time: "The British officers promised to stand by the Indians until we gained our object. They basely deserted us, got defeated, and after putting in our claims in the negotiations at Ghent, finally left us to make peace with the Americans on the best terms we could. The Americans fairly whipped us, and then treated with us honorably, and no Briton shall touch one of my papers."

"Mr. Caldwell had a trunk well filled with papers and documents, pertaining to Tecumseh."

The conditions and issues that came before both the English and Americans at the negotiations of peace at Ghent were peculiar. It was necessary, in order to bring about peace, that both nations should make humiliating concessions.*

The following is copied from reports of the American peace commissioners at Ghent, to the secretary of state, asking instructions:

"GHENT, 19th of August, 1814.

"It was a *sine qua non* that the Indians should be included in the pacification and as incident thereto; that the boundaries of their territory should be permanently established. Peace with the Indians is so simple as to require no comment.

* What is the probable result of this negotiation is hard to suppose. The question of a speedy peace, we rather apprehend, depends on the prospects of things in Europe and the turn of events in the congress of Vienna. In case peace should not be made, this fact will be apparent to every one, that the war, on our part, if offensive in its onset, will be purely defensive in its future progress and termination. With the general pacification of Europe, the chief causes for which we went to war with Great Britain have, from the nature of things, ceased to affect us; it is not for us to quarrel for forms. Britain may pretend to any right she pleases, provided she does not exercise it to our injury.—*Niles Register*, December 10, 1814.

"With respect to the boundary which was to divide their territory from that of the United States, the object of the British government was that the Indians should remain as a permanent barrier between our western settlements and the adjacent British provinces, to prevent them from being conterminous to each other; and that neither the United States nor Great Britain should ever hereafter have the right to purchase or acquire any part of the territory thus recognized as belonging to the Indians. British state papers, Vol. I, Part II, page 1589."

Peace was necessary for both nations; England had been in the vortex of European war for twelve years; American discontent was cropping out in protests from the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut,* and from the Hartford convention, composed of delegates from throughout New England.

The handiwork of the sword had exhausted Europe, and he who would try to prolong its devastations was an enemy to mankind. Conservatism was above par, and the American government set the example by instructing her peace commissioners to add no fuel to the council fires at Ghent, by mentioning the subject of "Right of Search or Impressment of American Seamen." This was an admission that time, and not the sword, had won our cause. It also rebuked the policy of Jefferson, which rejected the terms offered by England to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney in 1808, which were that an informal assurance should be given that the practice of right of search should be discontinued.† History would fail to fulfill its mission if it did not state here that when the war was declared Napoleon was in

* Early in 1814 the legislature of Connecticut passed a resolution to consider what measures should be taken to preserve the liberties and rights of her citizens, when the secretary of war called upon her for troops to invade Canada; and on the 7th of October, the same year, the governor of Massachusetts convened an extra session of the legislature to take into consideration the dangers of an English invasion of her state, as a consequence of the war, which many of her statesmen deemed unnecessary.

† Jefferson's rejection of the terms was because he declined to insert them in the treaty. Perhaps his residence in Paris as American minister had dazzled his eyes with French glory to the detriment of England, and he was not unwilling to exact from her both the letter and the spirit of radical justice.

the height of his power. Now he was an exile at Elba, and England's well drilled army was released from the service at home which had placed him there, and consequently ready for an American campaign.

Still she was not ambitious to undertake it, choosing rather to relinquish her first terms than prolong the war. Besides her plan for an independent Indian nation in the northwest was another provision, which was to bar the Americans from building any fortifications on the shores of the lakes, or placing any armed vessels of war on their waters,* on the ground that such a provision was necessary to preserve Canada from the danger of an American invasion. These impracticable terms being given up, an attempt was made to define the boundary between the two governments on the northeastern and on the northwestern frontier, but this involved more complications than were expedient to be undertaken at the time, and the matter was left for future adjustment, and so remained till settled by the Ashburton treaty of 1846. The treaty was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified at Washington on the 17th of February, 1815.†

The battle of New Orleans was fought during this interval, after the signing of the treaty, for then its combatants had not heard the news of the peace.

The war was not without its glories to American arms, though its main issue was a dead one a few days after its declaration, when the British revoked their orders in council which had been so obnoxious to American interests, as told in a previous chapter.

Treaties of peace with the various western tribes of Indians who had been victimized into participation in

* Am. State Papers, 1811 to 1815, page 607.

† In considering the conditions of the peace, as we have been informed of them, we cannot but regard them as honorable to this country. The American government began the war on account of the orders in council, and to enforce the relinquishment of impressment on board their merchant vessels. The orders in council were repealed by our government before they knew of the commencement of the war. The war was continued by America after she knew of the repeal of the orders in council, to compel us to relinquish the right of impressment. It was America, and not Great Britain, which claimed stipulation on this point. The war is concluded by a peace in which no such stipulation is made.—*London Courier*, December 27, 1814.

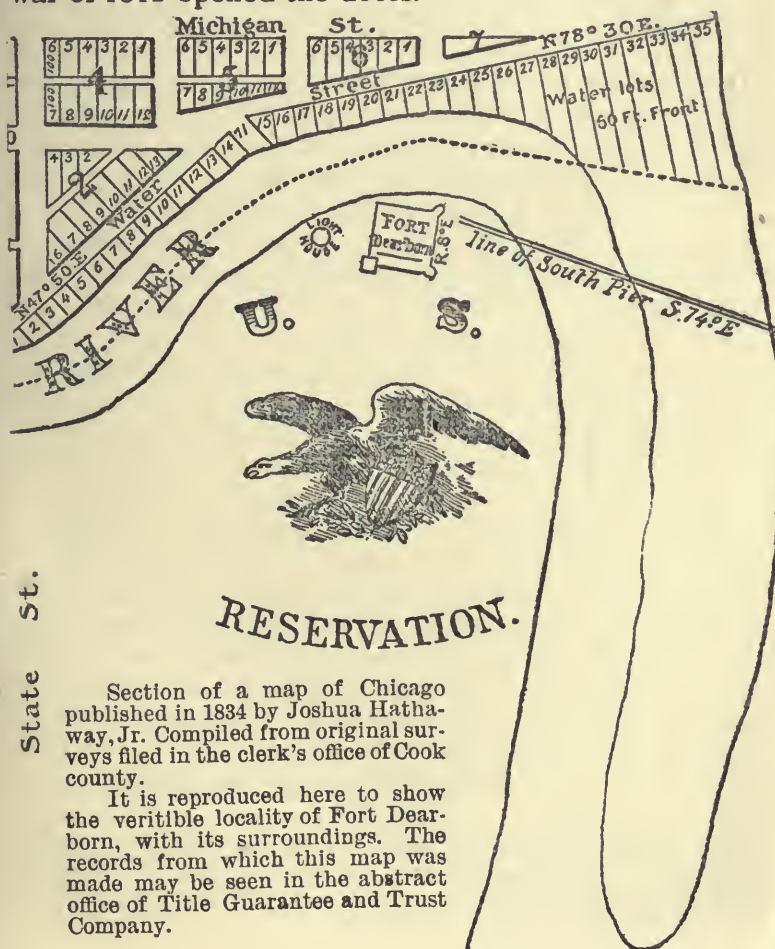
the war followed the successful negotiations at Ghent, of course, for these hapless wretches were no longer able to raise a hostile arm.*

General Harrison and Lewis Cass, on the part of the United States, negotiated with the Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas and Miamis at Greenville, where, nineteen years before, General Wayne had held the famous treaty with western tribes, which took the first half of the country from them, and the moiety had been taken by piecemeal, till but little was left to give. William Clark, governor of Missouri, Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois territory, and Hon. Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis, treated with the northwestern tribes, among whom were the Pottawattamies, in July, 1815, on the east bank of the Mississippi river, just above the mouth of the Missouri. The Sac nation did not attend this convention, but the September following a treaty was made with such portions of their tribe as felt friendly with the United States. Black Hawk was not among these, and did not attend the treaty. This tenacious brave still clung to the British interests, even after hope had fled, and remained in this moody frame of mind till the western march of settlements began to encroach on the rights of his tribe, by occupying the beautiful Rock river valley, in 1832. Then came the Black Hawk war, which will be told in its place.

Kaskaskia was at this time the capital of Illinois territory, where the executive court was held in an antique French building made during that early civilization that had been begun in the valley of the Mississippi, at this historic place, in 1700. Here its charitable mantle had fallen upon three generations, and here it now extended good fellowship to the new regime, though about to bring more progressive institutions to the country destined to overshadow French social life in Illinois. Several of the buildings erected in the past century are still standing here in a good state of preservation. Its civil and church records are very extensive, dating back to the time of its first settlement.

*The history only of such campaigns in this war has been written here as bore relation to the northwest.

An interesting chapter of early French history and heraldry has lately been gleaned from them by E. G. Mason, Esq., of Chicago, which was published in the *Chicago Times*. It brings to light new data for the romancer, as well as the historian. Some future day Kaskaskia, as the old mediæval landmark between savage and civilized life, will be looked upon with increasing interest. But as yet the onward march of western settlements has exhausted nearly all its force in laying the dimension stone, on which to build permanent institutions in the broad wilds, to which the war of 1812 opened the doors.



Section of a map of Chicago published in 1834 by Joshua Hathaway, Jr. Compiled from original surveys filed in the clerk's office of Cook county.

It is reproduced here to show the veritable locality of Fort Dearborn, with its surroundings. The records from which this map was made may be seen in the abstract office of Title Guarantee and Trust Company.

CHAPTER XX.

The Fur Trade of Canada under a French Charter—The Huguenot Sailors—Dutch Rivalry—The Hudson Bay Co.—The Northwest Co. Its Rival—The Two Companies Merged into One—The American Fur Co. under John Jacob Astor—Astoria Founded, and Taken by the Hudson Bay Co.—Mr. Astor Begins Anew at Mackinaw—Hardihood of the Engagees—The American Fur Co. Establish a Branch at Chicago—Gurdon S. Hubbard as Clerk for the American Fur Co.—Arrives at Chicago—His Report of the Place—Descends the Desplaines—His Report of the Indians and Their Wigwams—Hostile Repartee with an Indian—The Factory System—First Wedding in Chicago—Great Indian Treaty at Chicago—Gov. Cass Opens the Council—Three Thousand Indians Eat Rations at Government Expense—Speech of Metea—Col. E. Childs' Description of the Country—The Great West as a New Arena for Progress—Religious Freedom—Its Effects—Distributive vs. Concentrated Learning—Our Norman Pedigree and Its Effects—The Lakes a Highway to the West—Fort Dearborn Rebuilt—Preliminary Survey for the Illinois and Michigan Canal—John Kinzie Returns to Chicago—Indian Treaty Relinquishing Lands from Chicago to the Illinois River—Illinois Admitted into the Union as a Sovereign State—Its Northern Boundary Extended—Reasons for It—Chicago the Central Key of the Nation.

Soon after Champlain had made the first permanent settlement of Canada at Quebec, in 1608, it became evident to his patron sovereign, the French king, that

the fur trade was the great secular interest of the country. Indeed, its magnitude was a tempting bait even for the court of France, and it compromised its dignity by establishing a control over it by which it should reap a portion of its profits. Accordingly the company of St. Malo was formed, with chartered rights, paying a tribute to the French king, offset with plenary power to dole out privileges to the miserable *courier du bois* of Canada to obtain furs, as best they could, and sell them to the company at stipulated prices. Serious abuses soon grew out of this monopoly, and the king was obliged to cast about for more competent men with whom to intrust the patent, or, rather, men who would not abuse the trust by conniving at a contraband trade, and sharing its illegitimate profits. Now the king was in a dilemma. It was all-important to him that Canada should have no taint of heresy (which meant Protestantism), and yet among all his subjects it was difficult, if not impossible, always to select material for positions of trust without recourse to the Huguenots, who really were composed of the most efficient men of France at that time. Under this pressure, two Huguenot brothers, the DeCaens, were appointed to succeed the company of St. Malo in 1621. They immediately sailed for Quebec, and as might be supposed, enlisted a crew of Huguenot sailors to man their vessels for the carrying trade. All went smoothly till their arrival at Quebec, where the psalm singing and prayer of the customary morning and evening devotions of these conscientious seamen offended the priests, as well as Champlain, the governor.* Here was a fresh difficulty, that threatened a dead-lock on the start; but the matter was compromised by allowing the sailors to pray as usual, but not to indulge in psalmody while in the harbor of Quebec; "A bad bargain," said Champlain, the governor, "but the best I could make." Under these auspices the fur trade was resumed, and it soon brought increased revenues to the crown. Traders and priests advanced into the wilds—the former to gather crops of

* To verify this, the reader is referred to any detailed history of New France.

furs, and the latter crops of souls. These were the incentives which pushed French discovery into the upper lakes, and over the prairies and into the forests, where now crops of corn, instead of furs, are harvested.

The next drawback that affected the Canadian fur trade was the rivalry of the Dutch at Albany. They could buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, unshackled by royal tributes. This competition augmented the animosity which nationality and religion had already enkindled between the Canadian and English settlements, and it was fanned to a flame in 1754, when the French and Indian war commenced, as told in previous pages.

This war having resulted triumphantly to the British, in 1759 the whole fur trade fell into their hands as soon as they could take possession of the immense country then embraced within the limits of New France, and thus remained till the American revolution had shorn from them the fairest portions of their late conquest. Notwithstanding this, however, the immensity of the British possession in those far northern regions that grow the best furs still insured to them this trade, with no diminution in its volume. The British company engaged in it was chartered in 1670, under the name of the Hudson Bay Co. It had no rival till one sprang into existence in 1805, called the Northwest Co. The latter pushed their trade into forest recluses never before entered by white men, carrying the Indian trade to remote Indian lodges with a success that astonished the old company, and in a few years forced them to take in the new company as partners. Thus the two rival interests were merged into one stupendous body, under direction of the most wealthy and influential lords of the British realm.

Thus matters stood till 1809, when John Jacob Astor, of New York, formed the bold design of bearding the British lion in his den, by establishing the American Fur Co., under a charter from the state of New York. The first step to be taken in the grand designs of this company, was to establish a permanent station on the Pacific coast, at a locality which could command the

Russian trade as well as that of the Indians along the coast. The first ship destined for this enterprise sailed from New York in September, 1810, doubled Cape Horn, and arrived at the mouth of the Columbia river the next year. A fort was built and named Astoria, in honor of the illustrious man who conceived the enterprise. As might be supposed, the Hudson Bay Co. looked upon this venture as a piece of unparalleled audacity, especially inasmuch as the British at that time claimed Oregon as their own territory; and they set themselves about the accomplishment of the ruin of their fearless rival. The next year, 1812, a pretext was offered them to fulfill this design, by the American declaration of war against England.

When the Hudson Bay Co. learned this they attacked Astoria, took the Americans prisoners, took possession of the station, and changed its name to Fort George. This was a severe blow to Mr. Astor, but he was by no means disheartened; no further steps could be taken to repair the damages while the war lasted, especially as the British fleet swept the lakes, and their emissaries were almost omnipresent among the northern tribes of Indians along these waters. But as soon as the war had closed, Mr. Astor, with characteristic energy, determined to begin anew, and establish his headquarters at Mackinaw, as a base of operations. This was an undertaking not less bold than arduous. A small army of men must be employed to carry on the operations of the company, from every one of whom were expected services which would be looked upon as too hard for the effeminate men of our day. Even the confidential clerks who took charge of the goods enjoyed no immunity from the hardships of camp life in the wilderness, where the wolves prowled around their camp, and the owls talked and laughed with them at midnight.* Happily for Mr. Astor, there was already an efficient force in the field, who had hitherto acted, each one for himself, without the advantages which come from large

* These birds will answer a human voice in the stillness of the night, and give hoots in such quick succession as to resemble laughing, which fact is ascertained from personal experience of the writer.

and concerted movements, and were ready to co-operate with him, inasmuch as he could make it for their interest to do so.

Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart were selected from these, to whom was given the control of the whole north-west. From Michilimackinac, their base of operations, they sent men into every nook and corner of their territory, where the Indian and the beaver lived and grew.

At Montreal they established a house under charge of Mr. Mathews, to enlist the men for service, both as clerks and voyageurs. The latter manned the boats called bateaux, into which the goods were packed and rowed to the various stations throughout the wilderness, at which places they were unloaded, and the bateaux filled with furs to be sent on their return trip to Mackinaw. Their record forms a page in our history never to be reproduced. Their daily routine was hard labor in rowing the heavily laden bateaux or carrying them and their freights across portages. At night the roof that covered them was the sky, their bed the earth, and they were happy. They were all Canadian French, trained to servility, and toughened into almost incredible endurance by hard usage. The Hon. James H. Lockwood,* of Prairie du Chien, in a paper read before the State Wisconsin Historical Society, says of them:

The traders and their clerks were then the aristocracy of the country; and to a Yankee at first sight, presented a singular state of society. To see gentlemen selecting wives of the nut-brown natives, and raising children of mixed blood, the traders and clerks living in as much luxury as the resources of the country would admit, and the *engagees* or boatmen living upon soup made of hulled corn with barely tallow enough to season it, devoid of salt, unless they purchased it themselves at a high price—all this to an American was a novel mode of living, and appeared to be hard fare; but to a person acquainted with the habits of life of the Canadian peasantry, it would not look so much out of the way, as they live mostly on pea soup, seasoned with a piece of pork boiled down to grease, seldom eating pork except in the form of grease that seasons their soup. With this soup, and a piece of coarse bread, their meals were made; hence the change from pea soup to corn is not so great, or the fare much worse than that which they had been accustomed to, as the corn is more substantial than peas, not being so flatulent. These men engaged in Canada generally for five years for Mackinaw and its dependencies, transferable like cattle to any one who wanted them, at generally about 500 livres a year, or, in our currency, about \$83.83; fur-

* Mr. Lockwood was born in Clinton, N. Y., in 1793. He emigrated to Green Bay in 1815, and has ever since, while he lived, been a resident of Wisconsin or Illinois, always living a temperate life, and always a steadfast champion of justice.

nished with a yearly equipment or outfit of two cotton shirts, one three-point or triangular blanket, a portage collar, and one pair of beef shoes; being obliged, in the Indian country to purchase their moccasins, tobacco, pipes and other necessities, at the price the trader saw fit to charge for them. Generally at the end of five years, these poor *voyageurs* were in debt from \$50 to \$150, and could not leave the country until they had paid their indebtedness; and the policy of the traders was to keep as many of them in the country as they could; and to this end they allowed and encouraged their *engagees* to get in debt during the five years, which of necessity required them to remain.

These new hands were by the old *voyageurs* called in derision, *mangeurs de lard*—pork eaters—as on leaving Montreal, and on the route to Mackinaw, they were fed on pork, hard bread and pea soup, while the old *voyageurs* in the Indian country ate corn soup, and such other food as could conveniently be procured.* These *mangeurs de lard* were brought at considerable expense and trouble from Montreal and other parts of Canada, frequently deserting after they had received some advance in money and their equipment. Hence it was the object of the traders to keep as many of the old *voyageurs* in the country as they could, and they generally permitted the *mangeurs de lard* to get largely in debt, as they could not leave the country and get back into Canada, except by the return boats or canoes which brought the goods, and they would not take them back if they were in debt anywhere in the country, which could be easily ascertained from the traders at Mackinaw.

The whole country at that time was divided into districts by the American Fur Co., each having a principal director who superintended the clerks and voyageurs detailed to his station from the parent office at Mackinaw, allotting to each his especial territory.

In the year 1817, the enterprising house of Conant & Mack, whose headquarters were at Detroit, had established a branch fur trading station at Lee's place, on the south branch of the Chicago river, under the superintendence of Mr. John Crafts. When the American Fur Co. came to establish a branch at Chicago soon afterward, a rivalry of interests would have followed immediately if both establishments had kept on; but rather than attempt this, the Detroit house sold out to the American company, who in turn employed their men at once, inasmuch as they were on the ground, and familiar with the required duties. To Mr. Crafts was given the superintendence of the post at Chicago, as a part of the bargain, and the former agent of the company, Mr. John Baptiste Beaubien was displaced. Mr. Craft's territory included the Rock river and Fox river countries, besides the immediate neighborhood of Chicago.

* The experienced *voyageurs* are called *hivornans* or *winterers*, according to Snelling's work on the northwest. L. C. D.

Among the most efficient agents of the company was Antoine DeChamps. This gentleman had the agency of the whole state of Illinois, except the portion taken out for the Chicago agency. He was a man of education and talents, both versatile and effective. If any imposing ceremonies among the Catholics were to take place, the priests always invited him to take a part, and his counsels were equally sought after by the Indians, who could readily discriminate between minds of high and low degree. He was one of the first founders of Opa (Peoria), at which place he had been a law-giver and kind of deputy priest among his people, the French, previous to its relentless destruction under Capt. Craig, as spoken of in a previous chapter. As agent of the American Fur Co., Mr. DeChamps' headquarters were located at various convenient places in southern Illinois.

Such was the situation of Chicago and the contiguous country in 1818, as reported by Gurdon S. Hubbard, who is at this time (1880) a well known citizen and living witness among us. At that time he was a lad in his sixteenth year, residing at Montreal with his parents. Anxious to get into the fur trade, he offered his services as clerk to Mr. Mathews, its agent there. His youth was an objection, and no encouragement was given him. But by dint of perseverance, during the winter of 1817-18, Mr. Mathews finally agreed to take him providing his father would sign the indenture papers binding him to serve the company five years, at \$120 per year. He did not believe the father would sign an indenture by which his son was to be taken into the wilds, out of the reach of his protecting care. Nor did the father believe that Mr. Mathews would take so young a stripling into a rough service which required a more tenacious pith than sixteen years would be able to furnish. But between the mutual doubt of both the contracting parties, by making the bond contingent from one to the other, young Gurdon managed to lobby his bill through both houses, and became duly engaged for a five years' term.

On the 13th of May, 1818, everything was ready, and the clerks and voyagers, 130 in all, started in thir-

teen bateaux, bound for Mackinaw. Their way lay up the St. Lawrence river, and along the shore of Lake Erie, to Toronto, thence by a portage to Lake Simcoe, crossing which, another portage was made to Notawasaga river, down which they rowed to Lake Huron, thence along its northern shore to Mackinaw. Here they arrived on the 4th of July, and young Hubbard was immediately set at work in the warehouse till the middle of September. He was then detailed into the Illinois brigade, under Mr. DeChamps, and started for his destination along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Doubling its southern extremity, his party, consisting of about 100 men and twelve bateaux, containing the goods, arrived at Chicago about the first of November, 1818.

Here Mr. John Kinzie lived in the house he first occupied before the massacre, following his occupation of silversmith, relying chiefly on the Indians for patronage. No wonder these simple children of nature looked upon him who could make and repair fire locks for their guns as a marvelous prodigy as well as an indispensable man among them. These mechanical accomplishments, associated, as they were, with ability to give wise counsel tempered with the spirit of justice, placed Mr. Kinzie so high in the estimation of his swarthy friends, that his social position had transcended the angry passions of war, as already shown in preceding pages. His family consisted of John H., who has ever since lived at Chicago till his death in 1865,* and was highly esteemed as one of her able business men; Eleanor, who afterward married Alexander Wolcott, Indian agent; and Maria, who married Gen. Hunter, and is now (1880) living with her husband at Washington; Robert A., late United States paymaster at Chicago, who died December 13, 1873, and was buried in Graceland cemetery, and Mrs. Helm, daughter of Mrs. Kinzie, by her first husband. Her father, Capt. McKillip, was an officer in the British service at the time of Wayne's campaign.

* He died June 21st, on board the cars, near Pittsburgh. He had conversed in his usual vein of agreeableness to the last moment; and was in the act of giving alms to a poor woman, when he expired without warning.

Besides the Kinzie family was the family of Antoine Ouilmette, a Frenchman, with a Pottawattamie wife and four children. J. B. Beaubien was then away on some tour through the country, and these two families, besides the garrison, composed the entire population of Chicago, except the Indians, who at that time were far more numerous than the whites, throughout the entire country. And had they been told that the new comers would eventually crowd them out and occupy the country themselves, such a prediction would have been received with no small measure of astonishment and indignation.

After resting at Chicago three days, during which time young Hubbard was the guest of Mr. Kinzie, he started with his party for their destination, which was the territory under the superintendence of Mr. De-Champs. The bateaux were again loaded, and they paddled up the tranquil waters of the south branch of the Chicago river, sending tiny ripples among the tall grasses on each bank of the stream, which were then but a monotonous alluvial of mud, in no respect different from what they were when Marquette first passed them, one hundred and fifty-six years and two months before. After rowing about to the present site of Bridgeport, a portage had to be made to the Desplaines. This was a laborious task. The water was unusually low, and Mud lake, the natural estuary between the two streams, was an uninviting succession of mud bars and stagnant pools, where sun fish, frogs and tadpoles were huddled together in close quarters. Seeing the work before them, it was deemed advisable to encamp till the portage could be made without damage to the store of goods of which their freight consisted. This done, package after package was carried on the shoulders of the men nine miles to the banks of the Desplaines. The empty bateaux were polled or dragged through Mud lake and transported to the Desplaines with the goods, but not without many a heavy strain. After the portage was made and the party were gliding down the Desplaines, congratulating themselves that they should meet no more obstructions on their way, they suddenly came

upon sand bars in the river, that in its low stage of water extended from shore to shore, and the goods had to be again taken out of the bateaux and carried over them, as well as the bateaux themselves. By these tardy advances the Illinois river was finally reached, down which they paddled their way, to finally disband into small parties, each of which had some particular station allotted to them respectively, as a trading post under the general direction of Mr. DeChamps, the agent.

The Pottawattamies were then the all-prevailing Indian power of central and northern Illinois. Their principal village was near the present site of Utica, on the Illinois river, and numbered about 2,000 inhabitants. At the mouth of the Mazon river they had a village of 700 inhabitants, of which Wabansie was chief. They also had villages at Cashe island, on the Desplaines, at Mount Joliet, Kankakee and various other places besides Chicago, all of which Mr. Hubbard reports with accurate details of their social conditions and the style of their architecture—if an Indian camp deserves that name. They were made of flags, woven and lapped ingeniously together, like a web of cloth. This was wound around a framework of poles set up in a tripod, or rounded at the top and bent over so as to form a cone-shaped roof. Through this an aperture was made at the top for the smoke to escape. The floor consisted of mats spread around the outermost circumference, while the center was the bare ground, on which the fire was made. Around this all could sit in a circle facing each other. Their beds were skins thrown over the mats. The door was an opening in the wall of drapery inclosing the lodge, over which a blanket or skin was suspended. All slept soundly in this simple shelter without fear of burglars, and many a night has my informant, Mr. Hubbard, reposed after the toils of camp life in these lodges with his Indian friends. Almost all of Mr. Hubbard's experience was of a friendly character, but on his way toward St. Louis he made a short stop at Peoria, in company with Mr. DeChamps, and at this place encountered a belligerent Indian, which adventure he has told in Ballance's History of Peoria, as follows:

CHICAGO, December 30, 1867.

C. BALLANCE, Esq.:

Dear Sir.—In reply to yours of the 26th, I have to say that I was in Peoria the last days of 1818, for the first time, on my way to St. Louis passing there, returning about the 20th November, and wintering about one mile above Hennepin. It was my first year as an Indian trader.

As we rounded the point of the lake, above Peoria, on our down trip, noticed that old Fort Clark was on fire, just blazing up. Reaching it, we found about 200 Indians congregated, enjoying a war dance, painted hideously, with scalps on their spears and in their sashes, which they had taken from the heads of Americans in the war with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815. They were dancing, rehearsing their deeds of bravery, etc. These were the only people then there or in that vicinity. I never knew of a place called Creve-Cœur. . . .

I have a vivid recollection of my first arrival there. A warrior, noticing me (then a boy of sixteen), asked Mr. DeChamps, the chief of our expedition, who I was. He replied that I was his adopted son, just from Montreal; but this was not credited. The Indian said I was a young American, and seemed disposed to quarrel with me. DeChamps, wishing to mix with the Indians, left a man on the boat with me, telling him not to leave, but take care of me, not to go out. Through this man, I learned what the purport of the conversation was. The Indian remained at the bow of the boat, talking to me through this man, who interpreted, saying, among other things, that I was a young American, and taking from his sash scalp after scalp, saying they were my nation's; he saw I was frightened. I was never more so in my life, fairly trembling with fear. His last effort to insult me was taking a *long-haired* scalp. . . . [Here the colonel describes the particular way in which the Indian made it very wet, and then proceeds] and then shaking it so that it sprinkled me in the face. In a moment all fear left me, and I seized Mr. DeChamps' double-barreled gun, took good aim, and fired. The man guarding me was standing about half way between us, and, just as I pulled the trigger, he struck up the gun, and thereby saved the life of the Indian, and perhaps mine also. It produced great confusion, DeChamps and all our men running to their boats. After a short consultation among the old traders, DeChamps ordered the boats to push out, and we descended the stream and went down three or four miles, and camped on the opposite side of the river. That was the first experience of hostile array with my red brethren.

Yours etc.,

G. S. HUBBARD.

After each party of Mr. DeChamps' men had distributed themselves at various stations, which were generally on the bank of some stream, the first business was to secure their goods in a kind of store built of logs, in the rear of the building in which they lived. This done, all but two or three sallied forth into the back country, in squads of two or more, to seek the locality where the Indians were transiently encamped for a hunt. Having found them, the bartering began. Blankets, knives, vermilion and trinkets were spread in tempting display, as a shopman would exhibit his goods in show windows. The furs obtained for these were carried back to the stations, and a new recruit of goods brought out for exchange. In this way the winter was

spent, and when spring opened, the whole corps of traders returned to Mackinaw, with their bateaux loaded with the results of their winter's trade.

The Indians gave up the fur hunting, and betook themselves to their lodges in time to dig up the ground with sharp sticks and plant a crop of the ever essential corn for subsistence. This routine was repeated annually by the traders and Indians, till the beaver and other fur bearing animals vanished before the plow and spade of civilization.

Besides the garrison and the American Fur Co. at Chicago was the Indian agency, an indispensable institution wherewith to settle disputes which might arise between them and the whites, and to keep them in good humor by the judicious distribution of occasional presents. This was established in 1817, shortly after the completion of the fort, and Charles Jowett,* of Kentucky, appointed to its charge with a salary of \$1,000 per year. The factory system established at various places on the frontier had for its principal object the fulfillment of such clauses in Indian treaties as bound the United States to supply them with goods for sale, but the energy and thrift of private enterprise always outrivals any project undertaken by the unwieldy machinery of government. Hence the establishment of the American Fur Co. soon made the United States factory at Chicago a useless institution; for although the factor, Jacob Varnum, was instructed to sell goods to the Indians for 10 per cent less than the price of the same to white men, yet the fur company, by their superior facilities for sending goods into the depths of the forest, were able to monopolize the trade by underselling the factor, and as a consequence, his duties as agent for the government were assigned to the authorized Indian agent, and the factors' offices were always discontinued soon after private enterprise had fulfilled the necessary conditions of supplying the Indians with goods.

* His name is spelled Jowett in the state papers, but in the histories of the day incorrectly spelled Jewett.

The following letter from Mr. Varnum to the superintendent of Indian affairs at Washington was evidently written with a commendable desire to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness to the government at a time when the American Fur Co. were monopolizing the trade with the Indians:

UNITED STATES FACTORY, CHICAGO, June 20, 1819.

The exclusion of foreigners (the Hudson Bay Co.) from the Indian trade will, it is believed, justify the extension of the operation of this establishment. This, together with the consideration of the large supply of blankets and clothes now on hand, induces me to recommend a distribution of the goods of this factory among the adjacent villages for trade, to such an extent as will insure the sale of nearly all by the expiration of the trading season. Such a measure, I am well convinced, will be highly gratifying to the Indians, as a great number by this means will be enabled to supply themselves with goods on more reasonable terms than could otherwise be done; nor do I apprehend any difficulty in effecting it to the advantage of the government, as gentlemen of unquestionable integrity have already applied for such outfits.

JACOB R. VARNUM.

The above proposition was declined in a respectful letter from the superintendent at Washington. See *American State Papers*, Vol. II, page 361.

Mr. Hubbard, after his return to Mackinaw in the spring of 1819, was the next winter detailed to Michigan, and did not pass through Chicago again till the fall of 1820, at which time he was on his way back to his old trading ground in Illinois, with the same companions.

No change had taken place in Chicago; the same garrison was there, and Mr. Kinzie's and Ouilmette's families still lived in contentment amidst their wild associations, hardly dreaming of what was soon to become a reality around them in the way of settlements.

In the year 1816, Alexander Wolcott, of Connecticut, succeeded Mr. Jowett as Indian agent. Miss Eleanor Kinzie was then a blooming miss of twelve. She certainly had no rival charmers to alienate the affections of her suitor, Mr. Wolcott; or if she had, it is fair to assume that she would have eclipsed them, for the happy couple were married, Mr. John Hamlin, a justice of the peace from Fulton county, Ill., officiating on the occasion, the two lovers, with commendable serenity, waiting many days for him to be sent for for that purpose. This may be set down as the first wedding ever celebrated in Chicago according to the approved style of modern days. Its date was 1820.

The next year, 1821, an event took place which was significant of the progress of settlements in the country,



VIEW OF CHICAGO IN 1821 TAKEN FROM NATURE BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

as well as of the waning fortunes of the Indians. The country on the east bank of Lake Michigan was in undisputed possession of the Pottawattamies, the Ottawas and Chippewas, each holding their respective portions; but the settlements of Michigan were rapidly trenching on their grounds, and the Indians were not unwilling to sell out to the United States, under an assurance that west of the lake an asylum was open to them. A treaty was therefore proposed for the purpose of purchasing their lands, and Chicago selected as the place for it, and the time appointed for its session was late in August, 1821. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan, and Solomon Sibley, acted in behalf of the United States; and a large band of Indian chiefs (among whom Metea, the Pottawattamie, was conspicuous) united their wisdom to make the best terms they could with the United States in parting with their country.

At the time of this treaty, Henry R. Schoolcraft was on his way from St. Louis to his headquarters, as Indian agent, near the outlet of Lake Superior, and his account of this great Indian council at Chicago, which place he passed while it was in session, is detailed in his usual lucid style in his book entitled "*Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley*," published in 1825.

But first, let us listen to his description of the great fossilized tree, which was found in this early day in the Desplaines river, a little above its junction with the Kankakee. Of it he says: "The part which is exposed, according to our measurement, is fifty-one feet and a few inches in length, and its diameter at the largest end three feet. But there is apparently a considerable portion of its original length concealed in the rock."* After examining this tree, Mr. Schoolcraft passed Mount Joliet, which he accurately describes, and with his party passed on up the west side of the Desplaines to the fording place, not far from the present site of Riverside. After crossing he says: "We found the opposite shore thronged with Indians, whose loud and obtrusive salutations caused us to make a few

* Thomas Tousey, Esq., of Virginia, visited that locality the next year, and verifies Schoolcraft's description of this remarkable petrification.

minutes' halt. From this point we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties, all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses and appareled in their best manner, and decorated with medals, silver bands and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians, with the jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding, created a scene as novel as it was interesting. . . . After crossing the south fork of the Chicago, and emerging from the forest that skirted it, nearly the whole number appeared on the extensive and level plain that stretches on the shore of the lake, while the refreshing and noble spectacle of the lake itself, with 'vast and sullen swell,' appeared beyond."

To accommodate the numerous delegation who gathered at Chicago, at this council, great preparations had to be made at the expense of the government. Rations must be issued, not only to the chiefs who took part in the deliberations, but to all who came as spectators to grunt out guttural approbation to the various speeches to be made. These numbered over 3,000; they had wearily toiled around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and reached Chicago with a keen relish for the "mess of pottage" for which their birth-right was to be sold, and he who would deny this poor pittance to them ought to be branded with anathema.

The northern bank of the river immediately opposite the fort was the spot selected for the council, within the range of its guns—perhaps as a measure of caution. In the center of the grounds an open bower was erected, with rustic seats for the chiefs. Two or three days were taken up in formalities essential to the etiquette of Indian customs in all important negotiations, and the council was opened by a speech from Gov. Cass, setting forth the objects of the convention, in which the politic orator emphasized his words, describing the benefits resulting to the Indians, through the money and goods they were to get for their lands; and after reminding them that their country was now nearly destitute of game, formally proposed to buy it, generously

Key to Model of Fortifications and Sur- roundings.

Figure 1—Gateway to
the west.

Figure 2—Tunnel and
underground well, now in the
middle of the Chicago River. Into
this well Captain Heid threw the rum
and whisky whose loss angered the In-
dians and did more than anything else
to cause the massacre of the whites.

Figure 3—This building stood a little north
of the spot where the steamer Virginia lands
its passengers to-day.

Figure 4—Flagstaff. This pole rose practically
at what is now the foot of Michigan Avenue.

Figure 5—This blockhouse stood on land where
to-day the river flows under Rush street bridge.

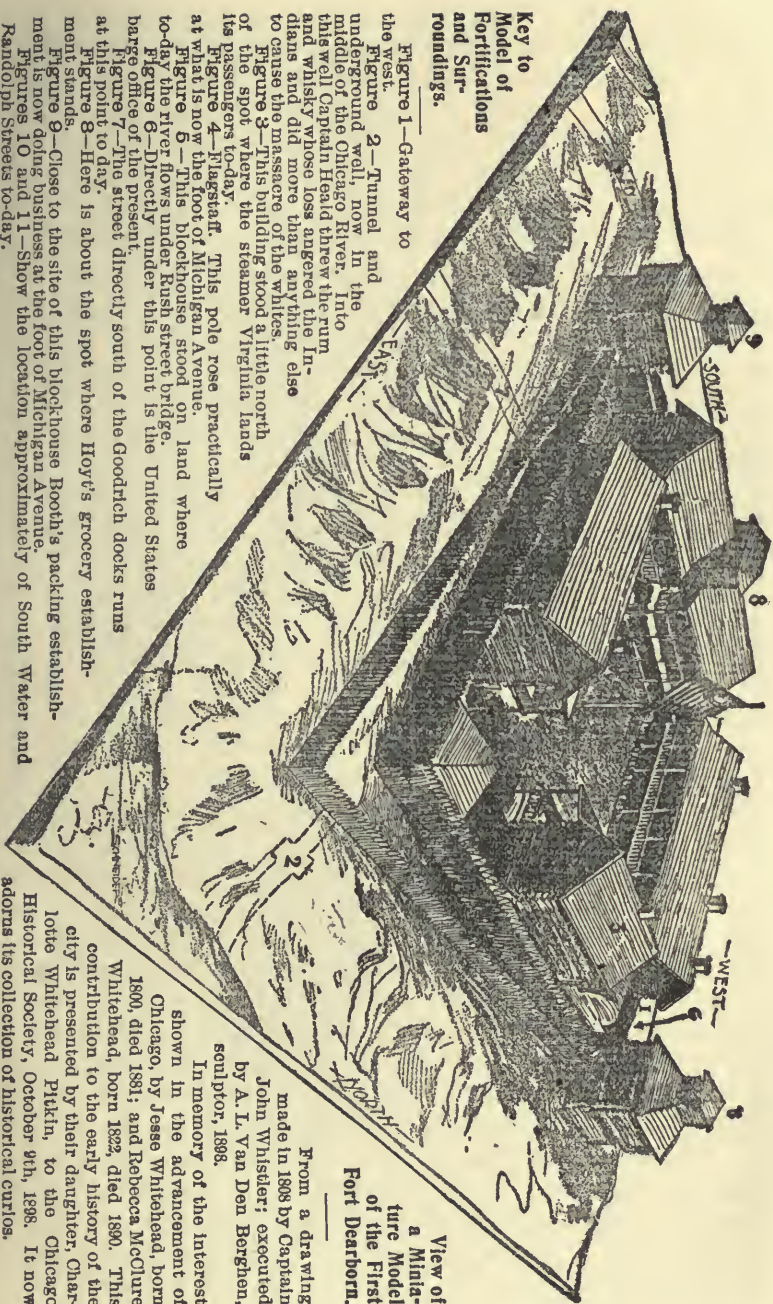
Figure 6—Directly under this point is the United States
barge office of the present.

Figure 7—The street directly south of the Goodrich docks runs
at this point to day.

Figure 8—Here is about the spot where Hoy's grocery establish-
ment stands.

Figure 9—Close to the site of this blockhouse Booth's packing establish-
ment is now doing business at the foot of Michigan Avenue.

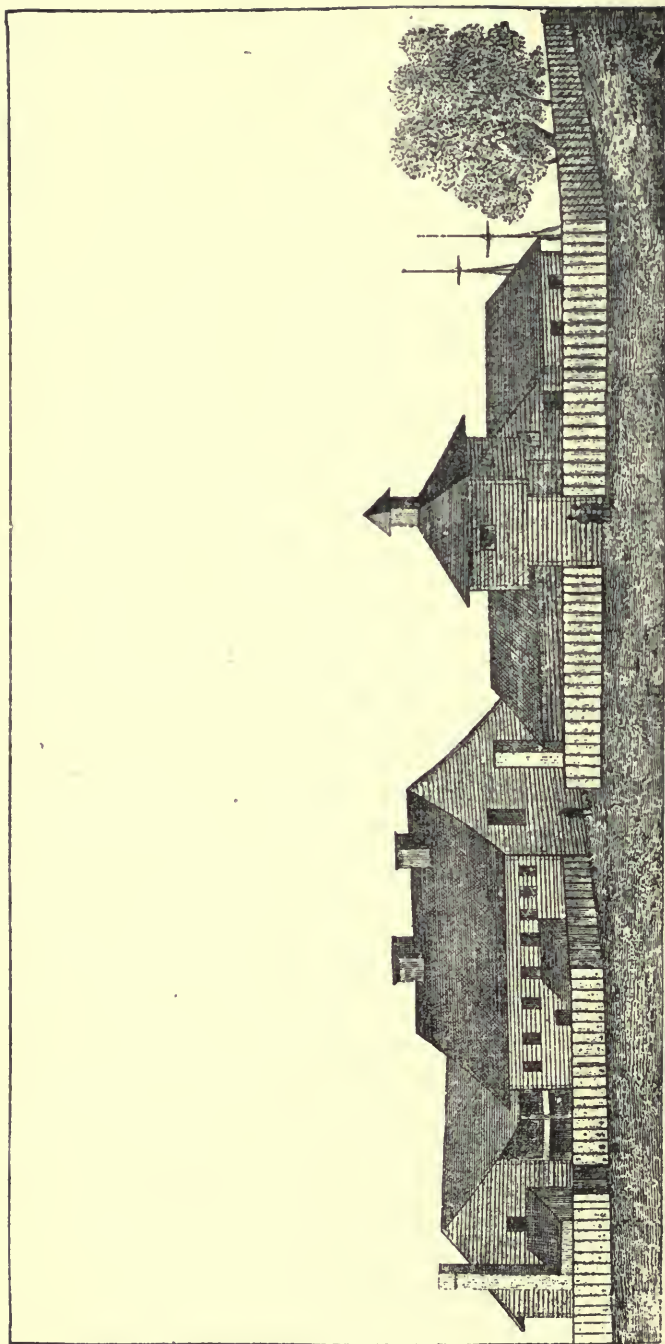
Figures 10 and 11—Show the location approximately of South Water and
Randolph Streets to-day.



View of
a Minia-
ture Model
of the First
Fort Dearborn.

From a drawing
made in 1808 by Captain
John Whistler; executed
by A. L. Van Den Berghen,
sculptor, 1868.

In memory of the interest
shown in the advancement of
Chicago, by Jesse Whitehead, born
1800, died 1881; and Rebecca McClure
Whitehead, born 1822, died 1890. This
contribution to the early history of the
city is presented by their daughter, Char-
lotte Whitehead Pltkin, to the Chicago
Historical Society, October 9th, 1898. It now
adorns its collection of historical curios.



FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, AS IT APPEARED JUNE, 1853.

FROM A SKETCH MADE BY A. C. HACKETT FOR GOVERNOR BROSS.

offering to let them still retain portions of it till wanted for settlements, although they were receiving annuities for the same.

A short pause ensued after the respectful attention which the Indians had given to this speech, and after two days' consideration, Metea replied to it in his happiest vein of oratory. The following are extracts from it:

My Father, our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our corn fields upon, to live upon, and to make our beds upon when we die; and he would never forgive us should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke to us of the lands of the St. Mary's, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us again. You are never satisfied! We have sold you a great tract of land already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to leave some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have you may retain, but we shall sell no more. You think perhaps I speak in passion, but my heart is good toward you. We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken, is the voice of my nation. But do not think we have a bad opinion of you. We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend.

Gov. Cass replied to this speech, indulging in soft words not unjustly applied, as due in the main to the honor and good faith of the Indians, to which various Indian chiefs replied in the usual style of Indian oratory. John Kinzie also made a speech, in which he refuted a charge of non-fulfillment of treaty obligations on the part of the United States. These deliberations lasted till the 23d, pending which no one doubted, either white or Indians, that the latter would come to the terms required of them, and sell their lands; but no signs of yielding the issue were yet manifest in the impenetrable countenances of the chiefs, as the council was closed on this day by one of the chiefs, who said:

"My Father, it is late; I shall do no more to-day; but to-morrow you shall hear our final council. You are hungry by this time. You white men eat at certain fixed hours; we Indians do what we have to do and eat when it is convenient."

The deliberations lasted till the 29th, when the treaty was signed by both parties.

The Indians made a cession of their lands in Michigan, amounting to over 5,000,000 acres, for which the Pottawattamies were to receive an annuity of \$5,000 per annum for twenty years, in specie, and the sum of \$1,000 expended annually among them during the time, to support a blacksmith and a teacher, and the right to immediately construct roads through the territory ceded, connecting Detroit, Fort Wayne and Chicago, was guaranteed.

The Ottawas were to receive a perpetual annuity of \$1,000, and for ten years the sum of \$1,500 expended annually to furnish them a blacksmith and a teacher.

The next year, 1822, passed off with few incidents to diversify the seeming inanity of life on the frontier. The officers of the garrison, together with the few citizens of the place, amused themselves with hunting, fishing, and such sports as their infinite leisure could invent, in their immunity from the burdens of society, as it now is. Their supplies for subsistence were obtained from Detroit by a sailing vessel in her annual trip, and also from southern Illinois, up the Illinois and Desplaines rivers, to this then obscure post, environed by 100 miles of wilderness, without an inhabitant except the Indians. The following report from Col. Ebenezer Childs, of La Crosse, to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin will give a faithful picture of the country at this date:

In 1821 I made a trip to St. Louis in a bark canoe up Fox river, across the Portage, and down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, and thence down the Mississippi. I was sixteen days on my journey, and saw but seven white men in the whole distance, outside the forts. I met one keel boat on the Mississippi bound up for Fort Armstrong at Rock Island. There was a small garrison opposite the mouth of the Des Moines river. There were but few Americans and few Spaniards at St. Louis; the inhabitants were mostly French. There was but one brick building in the place, and no buildings were located on Front street, or where the levee now is. I encamped on the sand beach, near where the old market is located. I remained two weeks, did my business, when I was advised to return by way of the Illinois river.

I started by that route, and the next day was taken down with the ague and fever, and the day following one of my men was also taken with the same complaint, which left me with one Indian and one Frenchman to paddle my canoe. I did not provide a sufficiently large stock of provisions when I left St. Louis, presuming that I could get plenty on the Illinois. But all I was able to obtain was one ham full of maggots, and one peck of Indian meal. I saw but one house from the mouth of the Illinois to Fort Clark, where Peoria now is, at which latter place one French trader resided. When we reached there, I was com-

pletely exhausted, and remained a few days to recruit a little, when we left to prosecute our journey. We continued up the Illinois to the junction of the Kankakee and Eau Plaine, and thence up the Eau Plaine to where I supposed we had to make a portage to Chicago river; but I could not see any signs of the portage. There had been heavy rains for several days, which had so raised the streams that they overflowed their banks. I concluded that I had gone far enough for the portage, so I left the Eau Plaine and took a northeast direction. After traveling a few miles, I found the current of the Chicago river. The whole country was inundated; I found not less than two feet of water all the way across the portage.

That night I arrived at Chicago, pitched my tent on the bank of the lake, and went to the fort for provisions. I was not, however, able to obtain any, the commissary informing me that the public stores were so reduced that the garrison were subsisting on half rations, and he knew not when they would get any more. I went to Col. Beaubien, who furnished me with a small supply. I found two traders there from Mackinaw; and as my men were all sick, I exchanged my tent and canoe for a horse, and took passage on board the Mackinaw boat as far as Manitowoc. One of our party had to go by land and ride the horse. There were at this time but two families residing outside of the fort at Chicago, those of Mr. Kinzie and Col. Beaubien.

When universal enthusiasm, in any one direction, dissolves into apathy from exhaustion of the forces which pulled in that direction, then comes an epoch when mankind enters upon new fields of labor, quite different from the ones that have last engrossed their attention; and new energies, that have long lain dormant, are awakened into life. Such a point was reached when Europe sheathed the sword after the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. Renown at the cannon's mouth was no longer sought after, for it was evident to the simplest understanding that industry to build up what war had torn down would pay best; and with these nobler purposes in view, Europe and America went to work.

England's problem was how to keep the balance of trade in her favor, and how to pay the interest on her public debt, which had so recently been contracted. America's was how to build turnpikes, canals and school houses throughout the, as yet, unknown and illimitable northwest. Both nations set about their respective callings immediately; to fulfill which the inventive genius of the artisan was stimulated, and new machinery sprang into existence, by which creative power to supply the wants of man was multiplied.

Besides this, America on her part brought to her aid new achievements in religion and public policy. The

state was relieved from any responsibility in the former, each individual conscience being left free to choose its own forms of worship due to divine grace. Here it is not too much to say that to the west belongs the honor of sweeping away every vestige of legal authority over religion from the first, while in New England a public tax in the early day was levied for the support of the Gospel by the authority of the state.* This one idea is worth more than all the moral results of Napoleon's campaigns, which employed the available forces of nearly all Europe for more than ten years. The prosperity of the west is in part due to this principle, nor has its exemplary blessings stopped where they began; but by their moral force have already undermined the religious policy of England by presenting a contrast so much in favor of individual accountability when pitted against state authority in matters of conscience.†

In ancient times the fruit of the tree of knowledge was forbidden to the masses, and a penalty attached to those who tasted it. Now, the interest of neither king, priest nor pedagogue is advanced by a monopoly of this boon. On the contrary, it is presented to the people under the most enticing forms which universities, colleges, school houses, books and newspapers are able to offer. Under this condition, the philosophy which once gave such singular fame to Confucius, Zoroaster, Plato

*In 1638 the following appeared in the Colonial Records of Massachusetts, Vol. I, page 240:

"This court, takeing into consideration the necessity of an equal contribution of all comon charges in townes, and observing that the chiefe occation of this defect hearin ariseth from hence that many of those who are not freemen nor members of any church do take advantage thereby to withdraw thier helpe in such voluntary contribution as are in vse—It is therefore hearby declared, ev'ry inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges both in church and comonwelthe whereoff hee doth or may receive benefit; and withall it is also ordered that such inhabitants who shall not voluntarily contribute p'portionately to his ability wth other freemen of the same towne to all comon charges, as well as for upholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, shal be compelled thereto by assessment and distress, to bee levied by the cunstable."

Modifications of this old law inherited from England, too numerous to mention, have had place in various New England States, even since they, with the other colonies, gained their independence; and it is still within the memory of middle-aged men of our day that its last vestiges were released from the statute books.

†The modification of England's system of tithes is a proof of this assertion.

and others, and later to Copernicus, La Place and their kindred spirits, is now familiar to millions of men, and within the reach of every one. America was offered as a field where this learning could be cultivated on a new soil, where there was no danger to be apprehended from the overshadowing influences of clannishness in politics or religion, or the rights of feudalism. The result is shown in poetry, song, oratory and literature. The vital forces of a nation are on an unremitting strain to grasp at new reaches in science and artisanship, and life now sees abundant diversity to animate its pathway.

Such is America, particularly the west, in her crown-ing glory. Among those who live in this age of activity there are censors who protest against its turmoil, and sigh for the quietude of olden times. Perhaps the rest-ive spirits of the ambitious west would run mad without the restraining influence of these counselors. They may be necessary to prune off the tangent points which may be called the deformities of our cycle in history, nevertheless unparalleled in grandeur—a cycle in which not such architectural piles as the Pyramids, the Pantheon or the Coliseum have been built by enforced labor, but one in which humbler edifices, dedicated to science and religion, have been distributed throughout the land. Mental alchemy has economized her most potent forces within unpretentious domiciles; and where this is the universal condition, national issues hang upon the turn of a subtle power, gathering its force from a considerate public opinion, as a result of distributive instead of concentrated learning. This force is comparatively perfect when it is adequate to checkmate the sinister purposes of private ambition, used against the public interest; and that it should ever be up to this standard is essential to the success of a republican form of government.

From the ancient Normans,* have we undoubtedly

* The Normans or North men settled in Norway, as emigrants from Asia, while Rome was in her glory. They settled Iceland in 860, and Greenland in 986. They conquered both England and France in the day of their glory, and in 1066, William the Conqueror, a pure Norman, became king of England, many generations after his people had first overrun the country and settled there. From this period dates the commencement of England's greatness.

inherited, through ancient Briton blood, much of our love of literature and our ambition to outrival the rest the world in national grandeur; and although Americans love to date their patent from Plymouth Rock or Jamestown, it can only be claimed that these were way stations, on the road from the original starting point. The literature of the ancient Normans, and even their mythology, is a sublime study of which their descendants, though diluted with the evolutions of centuries, may justly be proud. Their brain power has crept through the attenuations of European revolutions, and, like the whirlwind, has seemed to gather force, till it has found its way to the great interior of North America, to set up a nucleus, around which to build up our states, as soon as the country became accessible to settlers. The termination of the war of 1812 opened the gates to it, down to which time the intrigues of Spain, the lingering power of the English on the lakes, and the Indian occupation, were insurmountable barriers to emigration. The true pioneer spirit now began in earnest. The great chain of lakes, as a highway to the far west, rapidly grew into importance, and soon became a rival of the Ohio river, which had hitherto been the only road to the west, except the track of the emigrant wagon through the crooked paths of the wilderness.

During these years of unfolding destiny, Chicago had been considered not only a suitable place for a fort which should command the fur trade of the back country, but as a terminus of a thoroughfare between the Upper Mississippi and the lakes. With this end in view, President Madison, in his message at the opening of congress, in 1814, recommended its attention to the importance of a ship canal, connecting the waters of Lake Michigan at Chicago with the Illinois river. This was the first official mention of such a scheme, however much it might have been talked of among the geographers of the country; and the next year the secretary of war, in his instructions to General Harrison, D. McArthur and John Grahame, recommended the

erection of military posts, connecting Chicago with St. Louis, by way of the Illinois river.*

The attention of the war department appears to have been ever directed to the importance of this thoroughfare, since its necessity had become apparent by the purchase of Louisiana, and especially after its practicability had been assured by the successful termination of the late war with England. A year later, in 1816, the war department gave orders for the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn. Capt. Hezekiah Bradley, who had entered the United States service April 19, 1814, and whose honorable record had won confidence in his abilities, was commissioned for the undertaking.† As chance would have it, he arrived on the ground with his men (two companies) on the 4th of July, just thirteen years after his predecessor, Capt. Whistler, had landed with his men, to build the first fort.‡

The bones of the victims of the massacre of 1812 still lay scattered over the sand drifts, among the sparse growth of bunch grass and stunted shrubbery that grew there, and thus remained till 1822, when they were carefully gathered and buried with the measured respect of military etiquette, and they are now a part of the dust beneath the feet of a countless throng of busy citizens. The new fort was built on the same spot where the first had stood before its destruction. It consisted of a single block house, immediately east of which were barracks for the soldiers, and other buildings for storage, etc., the whole enclosed with high palisades. Besides rebuilding Fort Dearborn, the government sent Major Long to make a preliminary survey of the rivers between Chicago and the Illinois river, to ascertain the practicability of a ship canal uniting them.§

* American State Papers, Vol. II, page 13.

† American State Papers, Vol. I, page 633.

‡ Jacob B. Varnum, of Massachusetts, was appointed factor, and Chas. Jouett, of Virginia, Indian agent.

§ The following facts relative to the topography of the country around Chicago in 1816 are taken from his report to George Graham, secretary of war. After describing the Illinois, the Desplaines and the Kankakee rivers, he speaks of the Chicago river, and calls it "merely an arm of the lake." The north branch he sets down as thirty miles long; and continues: "It receives a few tributaries. The south branch has an extent of only five or six miles, and has no supplies except from a small

During the summer, Mr. John Kinzie returned with his family to Chicago. Owing to the friendship which the Indians had entertained for him, his house had been spared from the flames, and during his absence of four years, a Frenchman named Du Pin, resting under the usual immunity from Indian depredation, vouchsafed to his nation, had occupied Mr. Kinzie's house a part of the time as a trading station.

The same year at St. Louis, an important treaty was concluded with the Indians, as follows:

TREATY WITH THE OTTAWAS, CHIPPEWAS AND POTTAWATTAMIES.

A treaty of peace, friendship and limits, made and concluded between Ninian Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of said states of the one part, and the chiefs and warriors of the united tribes of Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattamies residing on the Illinois and Milwaukee rivers and their waters, and on the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan, of the other part.

Whereas, a serious dispute has for some time past existed between the contracting parties relative to the right to a part of the lands ceded to the United States by the tribes of the Sacs and Foxes on the third day of November, 1804, and both parties being desirous of preserving an harmonious and friendly intercourse, and of establishing permanent peace and friendship, have, for the purpose of removing all difficulties, agreed to the following terms:

ARTICLE I.—The said chiefs and warriors, for themselves and the tribes they represent, agree to relinquish, and hereby do relinquish, to the United States, all their right, claim and title to all the land contained in the before-mentioned cession of the Sacs and Foxes, which lies south of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. And they moreover cede to the United States all the land contained within the following bounds, to wit: Beginning on the left bank of the Fox river of Illinois, ten miles

lake" (evidently what was Mud lake a few years ago). "The river and each of its branches are of variable widths, from fifteen to fifty yards, and for two or three miles inland have a sufficient depth of water to admit vessels of almost any burden. The entrance into Lake Michigan, however, which is thirty yards wide, is obstructed by a sand bar about seventy yards broad, upon the highest part of which the water is usually no more than two feet deep. . . . The water course, which is already opened between the River Desplaines and Chicago river, needs but little more excavation to render it sufficiently capacious for all the purposes of a canal."

The report of R. Graham and Joseph Phillips, dated Kankakee, April 4, 1819, concludes with the following: "The route by the Chicago, as followed by the French since the discovery of the Illinois, presents at one season of the year an uninterrupted water communication for boats of six or eight tons burden, between the Mississippi and the Michigan lake. At another season, a portage of two miles; at another, a portage of seven miles, from the bend of the Plien (Desplaines), to the arm of the lake. And at another a portage of fifty miles from the mouth of the Plien to the lake, over which there is a well beaten wagon road. Boats and their loads are hauled by oxen and vehicles, kept for that purpose by the French settlers at Chicago.

American State Paper, Miss., Vol. II, page 555.

above the mouth of said Fox river; thence running so as to cross Sandy creek ten miles above its mouth; thence, in a direct line, to a point ten miles north of the west end of the Portage, between Chicago creek, which empties into Lake Michigan and the River Desplaines, a fork of the Illinois; thence in a direct line, to a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles northward of the mouth of Chicago creek; thence along the lake, to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of the said Chicago creek; thence in a direct line, to a point on the Kankakee, ten miles above its mouth; thence with the said Kankakee and the Illinois river, to the mouth of Fox river; and thence to the beginning: *Provided, nevertheless*, that the said tribes shall be permitted to hunt and to fish within the limits of the land hereby relinquished and ceded, so long as it may continue to be the property of the United States.

ART. II.—In consideration of the aforesaid relinquishment and cession, the United States have this day delivered to said tribes a considerable quantity of merchandise, and do agree to pay them, annually, for the term of twelve years, goods to the value of \$1,000, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in which they shall be purchased, without any charge for transportation; which said goods shall be delivered to the said tribes at some place on the Illinois river, not lower down than Peoria. And the said United States do moreover agree to relinquish to the said tribes all the land contained in the aforesaid cession of the Sacs and Foxes which lies north of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, except three leagues square at the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, including both banks, and such other tracts on or near to the Ouisconsin and Mississippi rivers as the president of the United States may think proper to reserve: *Provided*, That such other tracts shall not, in the whole, exceed the quantity that would be contained in five leagues square.

ART. III.—The contracting parties, that peace and friendship may be permanent, promise that, in all things whatever, they will act with justice and correctness toward each other; and that they will, with perfect good faith, fulfill all the obligations imposed upon them by former treaties.

In witness whereof, the said Ninian Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the aforesaid tribes, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this 24th day of August, 1816, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-first.

NINIAN EDWARDS,
WILLIAM CLARK,
AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU.

A. Assikinack

(Black Partridge.)

[Signed also by the chiefs and warriors of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattamies.]

The object in securing this strip of land was to construct a military road to facilitate the building of the proposed ship canal. Of all the Indian treaties ever made, this will be remembered when all others, with their obligations, are forgotten. When the country came to be surveyed in sections, inasmuch as the sur-

veys on both sides of the treaty lines were not made at the same time, the section lines did not meet each other, and diagonal offsets along the entire length of the Indian grant were the result. An occasional gore of land is left open to discussion as to what range and township it belongs to, and all sectional maps must ever be disfigured with triangular fractions, as lasting monuments of early Indian power around Chicago.

With the opening of the year 1817, Capt. Bradley was still busy in completing the various appendages to Fort Dearborn, such as a magazine made of brick, rescued from the ruins of the old fort factory building, etc. A commodious parade ground was also laid out, and a large field immediately south of the fort was enclosed with a rail fence. This was planted with corn and garden vegetables for the subsistence of the garrison. Convenient gateways, both on the north and south, gave ingress and egress. The block house itself was more substantially built than the original one, and afforded an ample assurance of safety from Indian outbreaks. Communications were soon opened with the settlements of southern Illinois, by the way of the south branch of the Chicago river, Mud lake, the Desplaines and Illinois rivers. Along this channel supplies of flour, meat and other necessities were brought to the fort by means of small row boats and the short portage from the Desplaines to the Chicago river. The settlements of southern Illinois had at that time attained proportions sufficient to qualify the territory for a state in the federal Union, and the next year, 1818, Nathaniel Pope, delegate to congress, applied for and obtained the admission of Illinois as a sovereign state. Although the northern half of the state was then unsettled, except in a very few places, its importance was not overlooked by Mr. Pope, who seemed gifted with a remarkable intuition into the future. Illinois as a territory was bounded on the north by a line due west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, as shown on all maps previous to 1818. To this line Mr. Pope objected for the following reasons, which are copied from Ford's History of Illinois:

By the ordinance of 1787, there were to be not less than three, nor more than five, states in the territory northwest of the Ohio river. The boundaries of these states were defined by that law. The three states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were to include the whole territory, and were to be bounded by the British possessions in Canada on the north. But congress reserved the power, if they thereafter should find it expedient, to form one or two states in that part of the territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan. That line, it was generally supposed, was to be the north boundary of Illinois. Judge Pope, seeing that the port of Chicago was north of that line, and would be excluded by it from the state, and that the Illinois and Michigan canal (which was then contemplated) would issue from Chicago, to connect the great northern lakes with the Mississippi, and thus be partly within and partly without the state of Illinois, was thereby led to a critical examination of the ordinance, which resulted in a clear and satisfactory conviction, that it was competent for congress to extend the boundaries of a new state as far north as they pleased; and he found no difficulty in convincing others of the correctness of his views.

But there were other and much more weighty reasons for this change of boundary, which were ably and successfully urged by Judge Pope upon the attention of congress. It was known that in all confederated republics there was danger of dissolution. The great valley of the Mississippi was filling up with a numerous people; the original confederacy had already advanced westward a thousand miles, across the chain of mountains skirting the Atlantic; the adjoining states in the western country were watered by rivers running from every point of the compass, converging to a focus at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi at Cairo; the waters of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee rivers carried much of the commerce of Alabama and Tennessee, all of Kentucky, considerable portions of that of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, and the greater portion of the commerce of Ohio and Indiana, down by the Point at Cairo (situate in the extreme south of Illinois), where it would be met by the commerce to and from the lower Mississippi with all the states and territories to be formed in the immense country on the Missouri, and extending to the head waters of the Mississippi. Illinois had a coast of 150 miles on the Ohio river, and nearly as much on the Wabash; the Mississippi was its western boundary for the whole length of the state; the commerce of all the western country was to pass by its shores, and would necessarily come to a focus at the mouth of the Ohio, at a point within this state, and within the control of Illinois, if, the Union being dissolved, she should see proper to control it. It was foreseen that none of the great states in the west could venture to aid in dissolving the Union, without cultivating a state situate in such a central and commanding position.

What then was the duty of the national government? Illinois was certain to be a great state, with any boundaries which that government could give. Its great extent of territory, its unrivaled fertility of soil, and capacity for sustaining a dense population, together with its commanding position, would in course of time give the new state a very controlling influence with her sister states situate upon the western rivers, either in sustaining the federal Union as it is, or in dissolving it, and establishing new governments. If left entirely upon the waters of these great rivers, it was plain that, in case of threatened disruption, the interest of the new state would be to join a southern and western confederacy. But if a large portion of it could be made dependent upon the commerce and navigation of the great northern lakes, connected as they are with the eastern states, a rival interest would be created, to check the wish for a western and southern confederacy.

It therefore became the duty of the national government, not only to make Illinois strong, but to raise an interest inclining and binding her

to the eastern and northern portions of the Union. This could be done only through an interest in the lakes. At that time the commerce on the lakes was small, but its increase was confidently expected, and indeed it has exceeded all anticipations, and is yet only in its infancy. To accomplish this object effectually, it was not only necessary to give to Illinois the port of Chicago and a route for the canal, but a considerable coast on Lake Michigan, with a country back of it sufficiently extensive to contain a population capable of exercising a decided influence upon the councils of the state.

There would, therefore, be a large commerce of the north, western and central portions of the state afloat on the lakes, for it was then foreseen that the canal would be made; and this alone would be like turning one of the many mouths of the Mississippi into Lake Michigan at Chicago. A very large commerce of the center and south would be found, both upon the lakes and the rivers. Associations in business, in interest, and of friendship, would be formed, both with the north and the south. A state thus situated, having such a decided interest in the commerce, and in the preservation of the whole confederacy, can never consent to disunion; for the Union cannot be dissolved without a division and disruption of the state itself. These views, urged by Judge Pope, obtained the unqualified assent of the statesmen of 1818; and this feature of the bill for the admission of Illinois into the Union, met the unanimous approbation of both houses of congress.

That the wisdom of Mr. Pope has been amply verified by events which have transpired since 1860 is apparent to every one. The interest of Chicago was united by the strongest ties which commercial relations could bind, both to the north and the south, and had the southern limits of Wisconsin included the city of Chicago, the state of Illinois would have been under the complete control of southern influences during the early stages of the rebellion, with but slender ties to bind her to the north. On the hypothesis that this state turned the scale in favor of the Union, when the question trembled in the balance, the geographical position of Chicago may, with no impropriety, be called the center key of the nation. Such it was deemed by Mr. Pope when the place had but two white families as residents—John Kinzie and Ouilmette; and it is not too much to say that to the broad gauge spirit of Chicago representatives in the councils of the nation, the administration has sometimes looked for support in issues of difficult solution. Nor is it too much to say that the positions which have, from time to time, been taken by the people of Chicago on the vital questions of the day have been sustained in our national policy (not necessarily because Chicago came to their support), but because her people were sufficiently cosmopolitan to

comprehend the situation, and see at the first glance the real wants of the nation, for the obvious reason that within her toils, the east, the south and the far west are drawn.

At this time the Mississippi river was teeming with flat boats engaged in the carrying trade of western productions to market, by the way of New Orleans. Six hundred and forty-three of these rude vessels were counted by a passenger, in his passage by steamboat up the river, on a trip in 1818.*

This early channel of western commerce has now a rival along our lakes, which has already eclipsed it in importance, and points to their shores as the future metropolitan centers of trade and artisanship.

THE LAST CHICAGO RESIDENT SOLDIER OF FORT DEARBORN.

Luther Nichols was born in Gilbertsville, Otsego county, New York, in 1805, enlisted in the United States service in 1823, and came to Chicago with his wife and one child (as a soldier) in the Second United States Infantry, under the immediate charge of Major Whistler. The company consisted of about fifty soldiers. On their arrival they found Fort Dearborn crowded with refugees from the adjoining country, who had fled to the place for refuge from Black Hawk's Indians. These were ordered to leave at once, and obeyed the summons with reluctance, for their fears were not yet allayed from the danger of Indian scalping parties. A few days after their arrival General Scott came and brought the cholera. Major Whistler then left the quarters of the fort and built barracks outside for his men, at the foot of the present site of Madison street. Here they remained during the prevalence of cholera and assisted in burying the dead of Scott's army. Soon after General Scott's arrival, several of the dead bodies of such soldiers as died on the passage, were driven by the winds ashore on the beach south of Chicago. Mr. Nichols with six of the company were ordered to go and bury them. It was a very unwelcome task. They were buried in the sand where they lay, about three feet deep, from which place they have never since been resurrected. Only two of Major Whistler's command died, both of whom were men who often drank liquor. Mr. Nichols accompanied General Scott to Rock Island, witnessed his treaty with the Indians, at which time much hilarity prevailed among the soldiers, such as drinking and carousing.

Mr. Nichols served the remainder of his term as a soldier at Chicago, as one of the garrison at Fort Dearborn, was honorably discharged in the latter part of 1833, and has ever since been a citizen of Chicago, living now (1881) at 106 Peoria street, in good health, at which place the writer met him.

* Niles Register, Vol. XIV, page 344.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Name Chicago First Appears on School Atlases—The Mysteries Beyond—Adventures of James Galloway and What Grew Out of Them—Arrival of the Clybourns at Chicago—Chicago Surveyed and Laid Out in Village Lots—The Winnebago Scare—The Illinois and Michigan Canal Located—Civil History of Early Chicago—County Organization—Adjacent Settlements—David McKee's Narration.

There are yet many persons living throughout the northwest, but little past middle age, who were born in the old fashioned New England cottage. It stood upon a level sward of green, but scanty in extent, among the diversified hills and valleys around. Near its side door was the well, with its "old oaken bucket" suspended from the elevated extremity of the well-sweep by means of a slender pole cut from the adjacent woods. The kitchen was the largest and most important room in the house. One door led from it directly into a parlor half its size, but this door was seldom opened except when distinguished guests came to occupy the room sacred to their entertainment. Two other doors opened into bed rooms below, and a stairway led directly to apartments above, used for sleeping rooms or clutter lofts. The fireplace was large enough to accommodate a large baking oven, reached through an aperture in the jamb on the right hand side, where the "rye-Indian" bread and pork and beans were baked. All provident husbands kept on hand a stock of fine split dry wood to heat the oven—hence the old familiar couplet:

"You must be kind, you must be good,
And keep your wife in oven wood."

The fuel used for heating the room in the winter was a green rock maple back log, in front of which small dry wood, laid upon two iron "fire dogs," burned brightly, and in the long winter evenings pine knots were used, that blazed with such brilliancy as to send a glaring light into the remotest part of the kitchen. By their light a bashful suitor to one of the daughters would lose a few games of checkers with her brother, who had nothing to distract his attention. While this was going on, the fair one sits nearer the fire, busy with her slate pencil and arithmetic. When nine o'clock comes, all retire but the two lovers; but before doing this, the father assures the young man by inviting him nearer the fire. The invitation is accepted, not without some reserve on the part of the young man as he draws up to the fire, and consequently nearer the object of his affections. All these old-fashioned ways are changed now, but yet some of the cottages are still standing that have witnessed them; and let us look into one of their garrets and see if we can find something to freshen our memories of early days. The garret is lighted by a six-light window in each gable end, fitted with seven-by-nine glass, and by their light we will look for what we wish to find. Here are the treadles of the old loom, that "mother's" feet have pressed with measured round as she twilled the web she was weaving; the spinning wheel, and the wooden "finger," with which she turned it into a sonorous hum. Here is the old hand-reel, two feet long, with a cross bar on each end like a T. Here is the flax wheel and its distaff, with some of the tow still clinging to it. Next comes the old "foot stove." It is a sheet iron box set in a wooden frame, in which a small sheet iron dish of live coals is placed, on which "mother's" feet rest while she sits in church in the winter, before the introduction of stoves. Ah! here comes something that would make the tears channel down the crow tracks of age, if these original tenants of this piece of furniture could see it. It is the old wooden cradle, from the sides of which the hands of

"mother" have worn off the paint in her efforts to rock to sleep her rollicking babies. It is full of a medley of cast-off relics—hand cards, old newspapers, old copy books filled up with straight marks, pot hooks and curves. At the bottom are the old school books, among which are Marshall's Spelling-book, the English Reader, the Columbian Orator, Murray's Grammar, and lastly, Woodbridge's Geography. This is what we have been looking for all this time, for on it the name of "Chicago" first made its appearance in our school book literature.

It was suggestive of reckless adventure far beyond the restraints of civilization; a place around which clustered Indian tents, ornamented with scalps hung out to dry as we boys stretched our coon skins on boards, and he who would dare to go there must be a prodigy of pluck. Beyond this place on our school maps interposed a vast plain between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, on which were names of Indian tribes whose pronunciation set our stammering tongues at defiance. St. Anthony's Falls, Prairie du Chien, Ft. Armstrong, on Rock Island, and Ft. Madison, at the Des Moines rapids, were the only names on the Upper Mississippi above St. Louis, except the inevitable nomenclature of Indian names, which were always such a puzzle to us.

The Mississippi river was as far west as our maps of the United States went; but on the map of North America the immense void between this river and the Pacific coast was filled up with large spaces lettered *unexplored*; and on its extreme western verge was a stiff range of mountains, studding the Pacific coast like the bold headlands of a river. Here the majestic forces of nature crowned the mountain tops with everlasting snow, and warmed the valleys with perennial spring. Here were tenantless deserts and basins below tide water, having no connection with the sea—so our geographies said. Whatever else was there was left to conjecture, and our timid imaginations would paint the sublimest grandeurs of savage life, basking in the assur-

ance of a perpetual lease among their mysterious and impregnable fastnesses.

Our fathers, from whose fanciful imagery the wire edge had been taken off by the adaptation of ways and means to ends, looked more practically upon the matter, and saw a glorious future spectacle opening before the world in the development of this exhaustless region of supply, though now beyond the limits of civilization. They beheld the vast chain of lakes on the map extending into the interior of a continent almost to the dividing ridge of the Mississippi Valley, with an eye to the useful. Here unmeasured plains must be upturned by the plow, farm houses erected, churches, school houses and highways must be built, cities laid out, and all the ornamentation which belongs to them must be introduced. Where was to be the central metropolis of these productions of man's handiwork in the great plateau of North America—the high and salubrious plain from whence the Mississippi found its sources, where the great inland seas secreted their waters, like reservoirs, for the use of a nation? The solution of this was yet a sealed book whose secrets were to be revealed in their own fortuitous way. Little by little the question has been answered as the progress of private and public enterprise has unveiled the destiny of Chicago.

The first settlers along the alluvial intervals of the rivers in Ohio and Indiana, especially in the wooded districts, had a sorry experience for the first few years; not for want of supplies wherewith to subsist, for these were easily obtained from the forest, but the fever and ague were ever present during the malarial months of spring and fall, and few escaped it sooner or later. It was not generally known then that the Illinois prairies were almost exempt from this scourge, and even if it had been their great distance into the wilds was an objection to emigrants who journeyed westward in their own wagons.

At the close of the war of 1812 James Galloway, a native of Pennsylvania, emigrated to Erie county, Ohio, in this way, where he lived till 1824. He then

resolved to try his fortune on the Illinois prairies at or near Chicago, where the ague was less prevalent than at his home in Ohio. With this end in view he obtained a wagon with much exertion, and secured the services of a Mr. Slater, an experienced trapper, to accompany him to his new destination. On the 1st of September, his outfit, consisting of a gun, an Indian tomahawk, ammunition, steel traps, blankets and a sack of corn meal, was ready, and the two started with a horse and wagon, westward into the wilds. Besides shooting the necessary game on which to live as they traveled day after day, they set their traps near their encampment each night, and thus obtained a stock of furs which increased daily, till their arrival at Fort Wayne. Here they disposed of them and resumed their journey through the forests, following military roads or Indian trails to St. Joseph, which was the next point to be reached. Thence they followed the old Indian trail which had for many years been a well known route from Detroit westward around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, thence branching off in various directions to important points in Indian estimation, such as Chicago, Rock Island and the Illinois river at Starved Rock. Mr. Galloway and his companion took the Chicago trail. It led principally along the sands of the lake, and brought them directly to the spot by a better road than the average path through the wilderness. Here Mr. Galloway made the acquaintance of Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson, two notable Indian chiefs, often mentioned in preceding pages, and a Scotchman named Wallace, all of whom showed him many favors, and subsequently were of essential service to him. Besides these, Mr. Galloway mentions Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. Woolcott and Ouillette, as permanent residents, and several others who were only transient visitors at the place. Such was Chicago, late in the autumn of 1824.

After sufficient rest, Mr. Galloway with his companion started into the interior, and arriving at the present locality of Marsailles they found a squatter named Weed. Of him Mr. Galloway bought his title, which

was nothing more than a moral claim to twenty acres of land of which he had taken possession and improved with a log cabin. Here he wintered and made preparations for a home. The following spring he returned to his family in Ohio by way of the lakes, and suddenly surprised them by his appearance in their midst without warning, as no means were then at hand to communicate from one distant point to another, and they had received no tidings from him since he had left home the previous fall. His adventures were soon told, and his plans laid to emigrate to Illinois. The next year everything was made ready, and he, with his family, embarked from Sandusky, in October. Their vessel landed at Detroit, where, after making a week's stop, it sailed for Mackinaw. Here the captain fell among some boon companions, and wasted a week's fine weather in dissipation, although the season of autumnal storms was near at hand. About the middle of October the final start was made for Chicago during a severe storm. The vessel rode the waves successfully till rounding the island of St. Helena she struck a rock and sank on the beach within three or four rods of the shore. Fortunately all the passengers reached the land, but through a drenching rain, and here they remained two days without shelter, amidst the tamarack swamps of the wild place, living on such provisions as could be saved from the stranded vessel in the confusion of the hour. Mr. Galloway had on board 150 barrels of flour, ninety barrels of salt and fifteen barrels of pork. The salt was entirely lost, but the flour and pork were unloaded in order to repair the vessel. The repairs were made by two ship carpenters who fortunately happened to be on board as passengers. This done, the merchandise was reloaded, except what was lost, and the vessel again put to sea, bound for the port from whence she had last started, Mackinaw, which they reached after two days' sail by dint of hard pumping to keep the disabled vessel afloat. Here the American Fur Co. had a vessel commanded by Capt. Ransom, about to sail for Chicago, on her annual trip. Mr. Galloway's griefs did not end here, for he was ob-

liged to submit to extortionate terms in order to secure a passage for his freight and family. Besides paying \$60, it was stipulated that on arriving at Chicago the most valuable portion of the freight should be placed in the hands of the American Fur Co., where it should remain till the 10th of the following May.* On arriving at Chicago, however, Mr. Galloway, through the assistance of the passengers, managed to get the flour and pork, one spinning wheel, and one loom into his possession, the fur company retaining one barrel of cherry bounce, one barrel peach brandy, one barrel of vinegar, perhaps on the ground that they could appreciate the use of these articles better than a private family.

There were then no temperance societies to bring consolation to Mr. Galloway for the loss of this questionable merchandise, all of which he had made himself, pure and tasteful. This, however, was no time to despond; provision for the winter must be made immediately, and under very adverse circumstances. His quarrel with the American Fur Co. had made it impossible for him to get quarters in Chicago where their influence was potent, and but for the kindness of Alexander Robinson, he might have been obliged to camp out all winter. He owned a vacant house at Hard Scrabble (Lee's place), and offered it to him rent free, which proposal Mr. Galloway accepted, and at once occupied the place with his family for the winter.

Joseph Laframboise, Mr. Wallace, a Mr. Weicks, and an Indian trader (well known to some old settlers of Chicago still living in 1881), named Barney Lawton, were at the time living at Lee's place, and were near neighbors to Mr. Galloway. Now the tide began to turn with him; Mary, his oldest daughter, was a comely miss of fourteen years, and began to receive invitations to dances and other social gatherings at Chicago; and though the prudential mother declined these overtures, she often entertained Chicago society at her house, and frequently on these occasions, were brought back to her

*The reasons for this unusual demand were not stated by my informant.

bottles of the delectable, drawn from the malmsey butt which the fur company had retained unjustly, as Mr. Galloway claimed; and in this way these free wines were shared partially by the original owners, not as a measure of justice, but with that air of profusion which often accompanies dissipation in its early fascination, ere its excesses have crossed the Rubicon between decorum and degradation. When this line of demarkation was left to the censorship of public opinion only, its restraints were stronger, and more salutary than when the temperance issue is complicated with politics to lacquer over private schemes with a shallow disguise of public good, as is sometimes the case now, particularly in large cities. But Chicago at this time was only a trading post, and was subject to little or no restraint except what grew out of a natural discrimination between justice and injustice; and though it was made up with savage life and the active spirits of civilized life, that brimmed over its confines; yet no acts of violence were committed, and in the main the ends of justice were answered and the people averaged as temperate then as now.

The fur trade was the great interest of the place, and it would have been premature at that time to have attempted the introduction of any other, farther than to supply the limited wants of the place. Quilmette kept a flock of sheep by dint of much care to protect them from the ravages of the wolves. The flesh of these animals found a ready market for home consumption, but the wool was a drug, and Mr. Galloway purchased what he wanted of it for twenty-five cents per pound. This the industrious Mary carded, spun and knit into stockings, which she sold readily at from seventy-five cents to \$1 per pair, according to the length. This young Miss is now, 1880, Mrs. Archibald Clybourn, residing on Elston avenue, Chicago; and to her is the writer indebted for the preceding facts relating to her father. In the spring following their residence at Lee's place, 1827, her father, Mr. Galloway, moved with his family to the home he had purchased the year before. His transportation to the place was effected by means

of a large boat fashioned on the dug-out plan, which he made himself from a black walnut tree, on the banks of the Chicago river. Taking advantage of the usual spring freshets, he navigated this vessel, freighted with his family and all his valuables, through Mud lake and down the Desplaines and Illinois rivers, to his home. The place was then called the Grand rapids of the Illinois. Here Mr. and Mrs. Galloway spent the remainder of their days, highly esteemed by all who knew them. Mrs. Galloway died in 1830, and Mr. Galloway survived till 1864, when he died, and many of the present inhabitants of Chicago will doubtless remember reading the becoming obituary notices which the Chicago papers gave of him at the time.

In a former chapter, the adventures of Margaret and Elizabeth McKenzie were related, and it will be remembered that Elizabeth, after having been raised from her childhood among the Shawanese, married a Mr. Clark, a trader near Detroit, by whom she had two children, John K. and Elizabeth Clark; and her father getting news from her and his older child, Margaret, sought and found them, and both of the captives left their husbands, and with their children returned with their father to Virginia, their old home. Soon after their return, Elizabeth married a Mr. Jonas Clybourn, and Mr. Archibald Clybourn, so well known as one of the esteemed early citizens of Chicago, was the oldest son of this union. Brimful of the spirit of adventure, nurtured into activity by the associations of frontier life, he made his appearance in the little town of Chicago on horseback, late in the summer of 1823. Alighting at the house of John Kinzie, he presented his diploma. This consisted of his elastic step, his honest countenance and his wiry form, hardened into ready service by his training. He had made the long journey on horseback armed with a rifle, with which to procure food on the way, and equipped with a blanket for a bed at night. His story was soon told to Mr. Kinzie: he was the son of Elizabeth, who was sister of Margaret. This reached a sensitive spot in Mr. Kinzie's heart, and he employed him at once as a clerk in his

store, which he then kept on the north bank of the river.

After remaining in his service a year, young Archibald went back to Virginia for the purpose of bringing his father and mother to Chicago, as he had determined to make the place his permanent home, and wished to settle his parents close by him, where he could cherish and protect them in their declining years. In accordance with this filial resolution, they, with himself, came to Chicago the next year, arriving on the 23d of August, 1824. They made the journey in a lumber wagon, John K. Clark, the oldest son of Elizabeth (Mrs. Clybourn), by her first husband, accompanying them, to assist in attending to the wants of the parents on the way.* On arriving at Chicago, Mrs. Clybourn readily recognized the place as a familiar spot, where the Indian father who had adopted her had taken her with his family in his erratic wanderings during her captivity. Several times had he been here to trade with Shaw-ne-au-kee (John Kinzie), and pay his respects to his brethren, the Pottawattamies, and Mrs. Clybourn felt all the more at home at the place for this reminiscence.

On Mr. Clybourn's arrival at the place he took possession of a parcel of land, now known as Sheffield Addition to Chicago, where he built a log house and made preparations for farming. Nearly the entire north half of the state of Illinois was then in its wild state, while the southern half was well settled, and Chicago was dependent on it for various supplies, of which beef was the one most wanted. To supply this demand, young Archibald, after having comfortably settled his parents, went into the business of butchering, and was obliged to go as far south as Sangamon county to buy his cattle. This long trip brought him past the home of Mr. Galloway, on the Illinois river, which was a kind of half way station between Chicago and the settled portions of Illinois. Here amidst the dreary

* John K. Clark had been to Chicago four or five years previously, and it was owing to his commendations of the place that young Archibald and others came, as told in a preceding chapter.

wastes of the broad prairie, relieved only by narrow fringes of woodland along the streams, Mr. Galloway's solitary home welcomed the occasional travelers who passed that way. This home was enlivened by the youthful Mary, and when young Archibald, quartered on the hospitalities of the venerable father, and talked over their forest adventures together, other thoughts came to his mind, and other emotions to his heart, that eclipsed even the social affinities of backwoodsmen.

In the summer of 1829, a stylish carriage drawn by two mettlesome steeds arrived at Chicago from over the southern prairies. In it were Mary and Archibald. She was Mrs. Clybourn now. In 1835 they built a fine brick house on their farm, which was then a model to be admired by every one who saw it, and at this time, 1879, is still a respectable, as well as commodious house, bearing the appearance of an ancient landmark of the prairies. Such it was for many years after it was first built, the whole country to the westward being an open prairie of such exceeding fertility that the grass in many places was tall enough to hide a horse and his rider. At the time of Mr. Clybourn's marriage, 1829, Chicago consisted of the several white families and persons already mentioned, and a few other emigrants, whose names are not remembered by those to whom the writer is indebted for the details of that early day. Besides these and the garrison were perhaps a dozen families of half breeds living in huts, who were more like Indians than white people, and many of them cast their lot with the former when they were moved westward in 1835-36; some of them were above par in those refined virtues which bring love and peace to the domestic circle; of these, several young girls have been mentioned to the writer who married respectable white men, and whose descendants are now among our esteemed citizens.

In 1821 Chicago and its environs were surveyed in government sections.* In 1829 Chicago was surveyed and platted into village lots, and a map of it engraved and published the next year. This was done, not by

*See copy Government Survey at Handy & Co.'s, Chicago.

private enterprise, the usual method of laying out towns, but by state authority, for the purpose of selling lots and applying the proceeds to the construction of the canal, which was to connect the lakes with the Mississippi river. This scheme had long been thought of, and the expectation of its ultimate fulfillment had drawn thither a little nucleus to a future metropolis. On the 14th of February, 1823, the legislature of Illinois, then holding its sessions at Vandalia, passed an act constituting and appointing a board of canal commissioners to make preliminary surveys. The next year, 1824, five different routes were partially surveyed, and estimates made of the cost of constructing the canal. Col. R. Paul, an engineer of St. Louis, was one of the board. Their highest estimate was only \$716,110.60. Nothing more was done till January 18, 1825, when the Illinois legislature passed an act incorporating the Illinois and Michigan canal, with a capital of \$1,000,000. The stock was not taken, and all hope of building the canal by the state vanished. Those interested in the completion of this work, without which Chicago would be a forlorn hope, next looked to congress for aid; and two years later, in 1827, on the 2d of March, through the influence of Hon. Daniel P. Cook, it came. Every alternate section of public land in a belt twelve miles wide, through the center of which the canal was to pass, was donated to the state of Illinois by the general government, to aid in its construction.

Unfortunately the state was then under too heavy a load of debt to avail itself of this generous endowment to build the canal, and its commencement was destined to be again postponed.

Even at this date, 1827, Chicago was by no means exempt from Indian alarms, of which the "Winnebago Scare" was no inconsiderable one, and is worthy of notice, more as a record of the times than as an item of history as to the event itself. It has been well told by Gurdon S. Hubbard and Mr. H. Cunningham, a citizen of Edgar county, beginning with the relation of Mr. Hubbard, as follows:

“At the breaking out of the Winnebago war, early in July, 1827, Fort Dearborn was without military occupation.*

“Doctor Alexander Wolcott, Indian agent, had charge of the fort, living in the brick building just within the north stockade previously occupied by the commanding officers.

“The old officers’ quarters built of logs, on the west and within the pickets, were occupied by Russell E. Heacock, and one other American family, while a number of *voyageurs*, with their families, were living in the soldiers’ quarters, on the east side of the inclosure. The storehouse and guard house were on either side of the southern gate; the sutler’s store was east of the north gate, and north of the soldiers’ barracks; the block house was located at the southwest and the bastion at the northwest corners of the fort, and the magazine, of brick, was situated about half way between the west end of the guard and block houses.

“The annual payment of the Pottawattamie Indians occurred in September of the year 1828. A large body of them had assembled, according to custom, to receive their annuity. These left after the payment for their respective villages, except a portion of Big Foot’s band.

“The night following the payment there was a dance in the soldiers’ barracks, during the progress of which a violent storm of wind and rain arose; and about mid-

*Says Wm. Hickling, as to the cause of this war:

“Should any one be curious enough to inquire into the causes which led to, and brought about, this so called ‘Winnebago War,’ let him consult ‘Reynolds’ Life and Times,’ and also an interesting article on the subject furnished the Jacksonville (Ill.) *Journal*, August 17, 1871, by the Hon. Wm. Thomas, of that city, and which article was also reproduced in one of our city papers a few months since, under the head of ‘Fifty Years Ago.’

“This speck of war with a portion of our aboriginal inhabitants on the then western frontier was caused, like too many others of a similar character, which for more than two centuries past have from time to time been the cause which has deluged our frontier settlements in blood, by the wanton brutality, outrage and total disregard of decency and right, perpetrated by a few semi-civilized, drunken white men upon a portion of the band of Winnebagoes, then encamped near Prairie du Chien, whose motto at that time seemed to be, as is too often the case nowadays, viz.: ‘That the poor Indians have no rights which a white man is bound to respect.’”

night these quarters were struck by lightning and totally consumed, together with the storehouse and a portion of the guard house.

“The sleeping inmates of Mr. Kinzie’s house, on the opposite bank of the river, were aroused by the cry of ‘fire!’ from Mrs. Helm, one of their number, who from her window had seen the flames. On hearing the alarm, I, with Robert Kinzie, late paymaster of the United States army, hastily arose, and, only partially dressed, ran to the river. To our dismay, we found the canoe, which was used for crossing the river, filled with water; it had been partially drawn up on the beach and became filled by the dashing of the waves. Not being able to turn it over, and having nothing with which to bail it out, we lost no time, but swam the stream. Entering by the north gate, we saw at a glance the situation. The barracks and storehouse being wrapped in flames, we directed our energies to the saving of the guard house, the east end of which was on fire. Mr. Kinzie, rolling himself in a wet blanket, got upon the roof. The men and women, about forty in number, formed a line to the river, and with buckets, tubs and every available utensil, passed the water to him; this was kept up till daylight before the flames were subdued, Mr. Kinzie maintaining his dangerous position with great fortitude, though his hands, face and portions of his body were severely burned. His father, mother and sister, Mrs. Helm, had meanwhile freed the canoe from water, and, crossing in it, fell into line with those carrying water.

“Some of the Big Foot band of Indians were present at the fire, but merely as spectators, and could not be prevailed upon to assist; they all left the next day for their homes. The strangeness of their behavior was the subject of discussion among us.

“Six or eight days after this event, while at breakfast in Mr. Kinzie’s house, we heard singing, faintly at first, was gradually growing louder as the singers approached. Mr. Kinzie recognized the leading voice as that of Bob Forsyth, and left the table for the piazza of the house, where we all followed. About where

Wells street now crosses the river, in plain sight from where we stood, was a light birch bark canoe, manned with thirteen men, rapidly approaching, the men keeping time with their paddles to one of the Canadian boat songs; it proved to be Governor Cass and his secretary, Robert Forsyth, and they landed and soon joined us. From them we first learned of the breaking out of the Winnebago war, and the massacre on the upper Mississippi. Governor Cass was at Green Bay by appointment, to hold a treaty with the Winnebagoes and Menomonee tribes, who, however, did not appear to meet him in council. News of hostilities reaching the governor there, he immediately procured a light birch bark canoe, purposely made for speed, manned it with twelve men at the paddles and a steersman, and started up the river, making a portage into the Wisconsin, then down it and the Mississippi to Jefferson Barracks, below St. Louis.

“Here he persuaded the commanding officer to charter a steamer, and embarking troops on it, ascended the Mississippi in search of the hostile Indians, and to give aid to the troops at Fort Snelling. On reaching the mouth of the Illinois river, the governor (with his men and canoe), having been brought so far on the steamer, here left it, and ascending that stream and the Desplaines, passed through Mud lake into the south branch of the Chicago river, and reached Chicago. This trip from Green Bay round, was performed in about thirteen days, the Governor’s party sleeping only five to seven hours, and averaging sixty to seventy miles’ travel each day. On the Wisconsin river they passed Winnebago encampments without molestation. They did not stop to parley, passing rapidly by, singing their boat songs; the Indians were so taken by surprise that, before they recovered from their astonishment, the canoe was out of danger. Governor Cass remained at Chicago but a few hours, coasting Lake Michigan back to Green Bay. As soon as he left, the inhabitants of Chicago assembled for consultation. Big Foot was suspected of acting in concert with the Winnebagoes,

as he was known to be friendly to them, and many of his band had intermarried with that tribe.

"Shab-o-nee was not here at the payment, his money having been drawn for him by his friend, Billy Caldwell. The evening before Governor Cass' visit, however, he was in Chicago, and then the guest of Caldwell. At my suggestion, he and Caldwell were engaged to visit Big Foot's village (Geneva Lake), and get what information they could of the plans of the Winnebagoes; and also learn what action Big Foot's band intended taking. They left immediately, and on nearing Geneva Lake, arranged that Shab-o-nee should enter the village alone, Caldwell remaining hidden.

"Upon entering the village, Shab-o-nee was made a prisoner, and accused of being a friend of the Americans, and a spy. He affected great indignation at these charges and said to Big Foot: 'I was not at the payment, but was told by my braves that you desired us to join the Winnebagoes and make war on the Americans. I think the Winnebagoes have been foolish; alone they cannot succeed. So I have come to counsel with you, hear what you have to say, when I will return to my people and report all you tell me; if they shall then say, We will join you, I will consent.' After talking nearly all night they agreed to let him go, provided he was accompanied by one of their own number; to this proposal Shab-o-nee readily consented, though it placed him in a dangerous position. His friend Caldwell was waiting for him in the outskirts of the village, and his presence must not be known, as it would endanger both of their lives. Shab-o-nee was equal to the emergency. After leaving, in company with one of Big Foot's braves, as the place of Caldwell's concealment was neared, he commenced complaining in a loud voice of being suspected and made a prisoner, and when quite near, said, 'We must have no one with us in going to Chicago. Should we meet any one of your band or *any one else*, we must tell them to go away; we must go by ourselves, and get to Chicago by noon to-morrow. Kinzie will give us something to eat, and we can go on next day.'

“Caldwell heard and understood the meaning of this, and started alone by another route. Strategy was still to be used, as Shab-o-nee desired to report; so on nearing Chicago, he said to his companion, ‘If Kinzie sees you, he will ask why your band did not assist in putting out the fire. Maybe he has heard news of the war and is angry with Big Foot; let us camp here, for our horses are very tired.’ This they did, and after a little, the Big Foot brave suggested that Shab-o-nee should go to the fort for food and information. This was what he wanted to do, and he lost no time in reporting the result of his expedition, and procuring food returned to his camp. Starting the next morning with his companion for his own village, on reaching it he called a council of his Indians, who were addressed by Big Foot’s emissary; but they declined to take part with the Winnebagoes, advising Big Foot to remain neutral.

“On receiving Shab-o-nee’s report, the inhabitants of Chicago were greatly excited; fearing an attack, we assembled for consultation, when I suggested sending to the Wabash for assistance, and tendered my services as messenger. This was at first objected to, on the ground that a majority of the men at the fort were in my employ, and in case of an attack, no one could manage them or enforce their aid but myself. It was, however, decided that I should go, as I knew the route and all the settlers. An attack would probably not be made until Big Foot’s ambassador had returned with his report; this would give at least two weeks’ security, and in that time I could, if successful, make the trip and return. I started between four and five P. M., reaching my trading house on the Iroquois river by midnight, where I changed my horse and went on. It was a dark, rainy night. On reaching Sugar creek, I found the stream swollen out of its banks, and my horse refusing to cross, I was obliged to wait till daylight, when I discovered that a large tree had fallen across the trail, making the ford impassable. I swam the stream and went on, reaching my friend Mr. Spencer’s house at noon, tired out. Mr. Spencer started

immediately to give the alarm, asking for volunteers to meet at Danville the next evening, with five days' rations. By the day following at the hour appointed, 100 men were organized into a company, and appointing a Mr. Morgan, an old frontier fighter, as their captain, we immediately started for Chicago, camping that night on the north fork of the Vermillion river. It rained continually, the trail was very muddy, and we were obliged to swim most of the streams and many of the large sloughs, but we still pushed on, reaching Fort Dearborn the seventh day after my departure, to the great joy of the waiting people."

The following particulars relating to Mr. Hubbard's perils in reaching Chicago with his volunteers, and his reception there, are taken from Mr. Cunningham's account; edited by H. W. Beckwith, of Danville, Ill.*:

"We arrived at the Vermillion river about noon on Sunday, the day after assembling at Butler's Point. The river was up, running, bank full, about a hundred yards wide, with a strong current. Our men and saddles were taken over in a canoe. We undertook to swim our horses, and as they were driven into the water the current would strike them and they would swim in a circle and return to the shore a few rods below. Mr. Hubbard, provoked at this delay, threw off his coat and said, 'Give me 'old Charley,' meaning a large, steady-going horse, owned by James Butler and loaned to Jacob Heater. Mr. Hubbard, mounting this horse, boldly dashed into the stream, and the other horses were quickly crowded after him. The water was so swift that 'old Charley' became unmanageable, when Mr. Hubbard dismounted on the upper side and seized the horse by the mane, near the animal's head, and swimming with his left arm guided the horse in the direction of the opposite shore. We were afraid he would be washed under the horse or struck by his feet and be drowned; but he got over without damage, except the wetting of his broadcloth pants and moccasins.

* Mr. Cunningham is at this time (1881) an esteemed citizen of Danville. He was among the volunteers under Mr. Hubbard to go to the rescue of Chicago, and has related some circumstances omitted by him.

These he had to dry on his person as we pursued our journey.

"We reached Chicago about four o'clock on the evening of the fourth day, in the midst of one of the most severe rainstorms I ever experienced, accompanied by thunder and vicious lightning. The rain we did not mind; we were without tents and were used to wetting. The water we took within us hurt us more than that which fell upon us, as drinking it made many of us sick.

"The people of Chicago were very glad to see us. They were expecting an attack every hour since Colonel Hubbard had left them, and as we approached they did not know whether we were enemies or friends, and when they learned that we were friends they gave us a shout of welcome.

"They had organized a company of thirty or fifty men, composed mostly of Canadian half breeds, interspersed with a few Americans, all under command of Captain Beaubien; the Americans seeing that we were a better looking crowd, wanted to leave their associates and join our company. This feeling caused quite a row, and the officers finally restored harmony and the discontented men went back to their old command.

"The town of Chicago was composed at this time of six or seven American families, a number of half breeds and a lot of idle, vagabond Indians loitering about. I made the acquaintance of Robert and James Kinzie, and their father, John Kinzie.

"We kept guard day and night for some eight or ten days, when a runner came in—I think from Green Bay—bringing word that General Cass had concluded a treaty with the Winnebagoes, and that we might now disband and go home.

"The citizens were overjoyed at the news; and in their gladness they turned out one barrel of gin, one barrel of brandy, one barrel of whisky, knocking the heads of the barrels in. Everybody was invited to take a free drink, and, to tell the plain truth, everybody *did* drink.

"The ladies at Fort Dearborn treated us especially well. I say this without disparaging the good and

cordial conduct of the men toward us. The ladies gave us all manner of good things to eat. They loaded us with provisions and gave us all those delicate attentions that the kindness of woman's heart would suggest. Some of them—three ladies whom I understood were recently from New York—distributed tracts and other reading matter among our company, and interested themselves zealously in our spiritual as well as temporal welfare.”

In 1829, on January 22, the legislature appointed Dr. Jayne, of Springfield, Edmund Roberts, of Kaskaskia, and Charles Dunn, to locate the canal, lay out towns and sell lots, and apply the proceeds to building the canal. James Thompson, a surveyor of St. Louis, was employed by them to lay out Chicago in lots as already stated. The map which he made of the place was engraved on stone in St. Louis, and bears the date of August 4, 1830. It was duly recorded on the county records at Peoria, it being the county seat of the county in which Chicago then was. Many lots were sold at auction the same year, and brought from \$10 to \$200 each.*

Chicago was now reinforced by many speculators and adventurers by the official action taken as to the canal, it being looked upon as an incipient city, though of uncertain destiny, yet a venture worth taking chances for; and while the villagers of the town were watching the progress of the canal which was to connect their lonesome place to the world of progress to which they could as yet only get occasional glimpses, the forms of local government began to be instituted as a fitting preparation for the sphere to which they aimed. Their progress in this undertaking has been well told by Hon. John Wentworth, in a historical lecture which was published by Mr. Fergus, 1876, and runs as follows:

“From St. Clair county what is now Cook county was set off in the new county of Madison; thence in the new county of Crawford; in 1819 in the new county

*Those who wish fuller details of the action of the Illinois legislature as to the building of the canal, will find them in Bross' *History of Chicago*, published by Jansen, McClurg & Co.

of Clark; and so little was then known of the northern country that the act creating Clark county extended it to the Canada line. In 1821 we were set off in the new county of Pike; in 1823, in the new county of Fulton; and in 1825 in the new county of Peoria. I have not only caused the county records of these counties to be examined, but have also corresponded with their earliest settlers, and I can find no official recognition of Chicago until we reach Fulton county. The clerk of that county writes me, that the earliest mention of Chicago in the records is the order of an election at the term of the Fulton county commissioners' court, September 2, 1823, to choose one major and company officers, polls at Chicago to be opened at the house of John Kinzie. The returns of this election cannot be found, if they were ever made. As the county was organized in 1823, this, of course, was the first election under the organization of the county. The same court ordered, April 27, 1824, that the sheriff, Abner Eads, be released from paying the money tax collected at Chicago by Rousser. In those days the sheriffs were ex-officio collectors of taxes. The name indicates that our tax collector was then a Frenchman, or a mixed breed French and Indian. It seems that they had defaulters in those days as well as now.

"The clerk of Peoria county writes me that his earliest records commence March 8, 1825. From these records I learn that John Kinzie was commissioned justice of the peace July 28, 1825. He was the first justice of the peace resident at Chicago. Alexander Wolcott, his son-in-law, and John B. Beaubien were commissioned September 10, of the same year.

"I have also the assessment roll of John L. Bogardus, assessor of Peoria county, for the year 1825, dated July 25, which is as follows:

	Tax Payers' Names.	Valuation.	Tax.
1	Beaubien, John B.....	\$1,000	\$10.00
2	Clybourne, Jonas.....	625	6.25
3	Clark, John K.....	250	2.50
4	Crafts, John.....	5,000	50.00
5	Clermont, Jeremy.....	100	1.00
6	Cotra, Louis.....	50	.50
7	Kinzie, John.....	500	5.00
8	Laframboise, Claude.....	100	1.00

	Tax Payers' Names.	Valuation.	Tax.
9	Laframboise, Joseph.....	\$ 50	\$.50
10	McKee, David.....	100	1.00
11	Piche, Peter.....	100	1.00
12	Robinson, Alexander.....	200	2.00
13	Wolcott, Alexander.....	572	5.72
14	Wilemet [Ouilmette], Antoine.....	400	4.00

“The entire valuation, land then being not taxable, of all the property in Chicago was \$9,047, and the rate was 1 per cent. But the property of the American Fur Co. was assessed to John Crafts, its agent, at \$5,000. He was a bachelor, and died the next year, and Mr. Kinzie was appointed in his place. Deducting the American Fur Co.’s assessment, we have only \$4,047 as the personal property of Chicago, in 1825, \$40.47 as the tax, and thirteen as the number of tax payers.

“The clerk sent me a copy of two poll books used at Chicago—one at an election held August 7, 1826, containing thirty-five names; the other at an election held August 2, 1830, containing thirty-two names; thus showing a decrease of three voters in four years. I will read you the names of our voters in 1826, and you will see that only ten of the fourteen tax payers in 1825 then voted:

1	Augustin Banny [Bannot?]	19	John Baptiste Lafortune.
2	Henry Kelley.	20	John Baptiste Malast.
3	Daniel Bourassea.	21	Joseph Pothier.
4	Cole Weeks.	22	Alexander Robinson, 1825
5	Antoine Ouilmette, 1825	23	John K. Clark, 1825
6	John Baptiste Secor.	24	David McKee, 1825
7	Joseph Catie.	25	Joseph Anderson.
8	Benjamin Russell.	26	Joseph Pepot.
9	Basile Displattes.	27	John Baptiste Beaubien, 1825
10	Francis Laframboise, Sr.	28	John Kinzie, 1825
11	Francis Laframboise, Jr.	29	Archibald Clybourn.
12	Joseph Laframboise, 1825	30	Billy Caldwell.
13	Alexander Larant.	31	Martin Vansicle.
14	Francis Laducier.	32	Paul Jamboe.
15	Peter Chavellie.	33	Jonas Clybourne, 1825
16	Claude Laframboise, 1825	34	Edward Ament.
17	Jer. Clairmore [Clermont?] '25	35	Samuel Johnson.
18	Peter Junio.		

“I will now read you the names of our voters in 1830, showing that only three of the fourteen tax payers of 1825 then voted:

1	Stephen J. Scott.	6	Medard B. Beaubien.
2	John B. Beaubien, 1825, 1826	7	John Baptiste Chavellea.
3	Leon Bourassea.	8	James Kinzie.
4	B. H. Laughton.	9	Russell E. Heacock.
5	Jesse Walker.	10	James Brown.

11	Jos. Laframboise,	1825, 1826	22	Billy Caldwell,*	1826
12	John L. Davis.		23	Joseph Thibaut.	
13	William See.		24	Peter Frique.	
14	John Van Horn.		25	Mark Beaubien.	
15	John Mann.		26	Laurant Martin.	
16	David Van Eaton.		27	John Baptiste Secor,	1828
17	Stephen Mack.		28	Joseph Bauskey.	
18	Jonathan A. Bailey.		29	Michael Welch.	
19	Alexander McDollo [McDole?]		30	Francis Laducier,	1826
20	John S. C. Hogan.		31	Lewis Ganday.	
21	David McKee,	1825, 1826	32	Peresh Leclerc.	

"It is a remarkable commentary upon the fickleness of our population, that only six of the men who voted in 1826 voted in 1830; and these six were half breeds or government employes. Father John Kinzie, however, died between the two elections, upon the 6th of January, 1828, aged sixty-five.† But there were some not voting at the second election, such as the late Archibald Clybourne, his father, Jonas, and half brother,

*Says Hon. John Wentworth: "Billy Caldwell owed allegiance to three distinct nations at one and the same time. He was captain of the Indian department of Great Britain in 1816, and never renounced the British allegiance. He was justice of the peace in Chicago in 1826; and he was Indian chief all this time, and died a British American Indian subject."

The following obituary notice of his death was published in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 28, 1841:

"Died, at Council Bluffs, on the 28th of September last (1841), Sauganash (Billy Caldwell), the principal chief of the united nations of Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawattamie Indians, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was well and favorably known to the old residents of Chicago and the northern frontier of Illinois, as an old and efficient friend during the Sac and Fox trouble of 1832. Among those of the whites who knew him well he was esteemed an honorable, high minded, intelligent gentleman; generous to a fault, but attentively devoted to the interest and welfare of his people, who had unanimously called him to the chieftainship of their nation."

†The following account of Mr. Kinzie's death has been learned from Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard. He remained in the full vigor of health in both body and mind till he had a slight attack of apoplexy, after which his health continued to decline till his death, which took place in a few months, at the residence of his son-in-law, Dr. Wolcott, who then lived in the brick building formerly used as the officers' quarters in the fort. Here while on a brief visit to Mrs. Wolcott, he was suddenly attacked with apoplexy severer than ever before. Mr. Hubbard was then living in Mr. Kinzie's family, and was sent for. He immediately obeyed the summons, and on coming into the room of the dying man, he found him in convulsions, lying on the floor in the parlor, his head supported by his daughter. Mr. Hubbard raised him into a sitting position, and thus supported him till he drew his last breath, about fifteen minutes afterward. The funeral service had place at the fort, and the last honors due this old pioneer were paid with impressive respect by the few inhabitants of the place. He was buried at the military grounds south of the fort, from which place his remains were removed ultimately to Graceland cemetery, where they now lie.—AUTHOR.

John K. Clark, who ended their days with us. The half breeds and French who did not vote may have been away on a hunting and trading expedition. The voters in 1826 seem to have understood their true interest, being dependents upon the fort, as every one of them voted the administration ticket, John Quincy Adams then being president. If there were ever three men in the United States who electrified the whole country with their fiery denunciations of the military power, they were President John Quincy Adams, his vice-president, John C. Calhoun, and his secretary of state, Henry Clay. Neither of the three ever forgot General Jackson. It would have seemed malicious, and yet quite pertinent, on the part of the Chicago member of congress, to have asked either of these gentlemen whether it was not a singular fact that, while Mr. Adams was president the people of Chicago unanimously voted with the fort! Ninian Edwards for governor, Samuel H. Edwards for lieutenant-governor, Daniel P. Cook for congressman, the administration candidates, each received thirty-five votes, being all there were. The much complained of military power of the present day has never secured a greater unanimity in the colored vote of the south. But four years later, in 1830, when Andrew Jackson was president, there was a material change in the politics of the place. John Reynolds, the Jackson candidate for governor, received twenty-two out of the thirty-two votes cast,* Of the six who voted at both elections, and who voted for the Adams candidate in 1826, five voted for the Jackson candidate in 1830; showing their consistency by each time voting with the administration, or more properly with the fort. Billy Caldwell, the Sauganash, the nephew of Tecumseh, voted the Jackson ticket, while Joseph Laframboise, a noted Indian chief, stood out and voted against it. Up to 1848 we had the viva voce system of voting in the state of Illinois. Each man went up to the polls, with or without a ticket in his hands, and told whom he wanted to vote for, and the

* His popularity was due to his frankness, whatever administrative pressure was used to elect him.—AUTHOR.

judges so recorded it. But in those days the masses knew as little whom they were voting for as they do now; for the judges often read off the names of the candidates from the tickets, and the voter would nod his head. There was no chance, however, for stuffing the ballot box under the viva voce system. It may account for the falling off of the vote between 1826 and 1830, that some persons would not vote the Jackson ticket, and yet disliked to vote against the fort. There were four of the Laframboise family voting in 1826, and only one in 1830. The names of voters in 1826 indicate that full three-fourths of them were French and half breeds. The judges in 1826 were Father John Kinzie, the late Gen. John B. Beaubien and Billy Caldwell. The clerks were the late Archibald Clybourn and his half brother John K. Clark. The election was held at the agency house, in Chicago precinct, Peoria county. The agency house was on the North Side, and was the second house built in Chicago, Mr. Kinzie's being the first. The Indian agent was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, who died in 1830, son-in-law of Mr. Kinzie.

"The election of 1830 was held in the house of James Kinzie, Chicago precinct, Peoria county. This house was on the West Side, near the forks of the river. The South Side had no status at that time, there being nothing then on that side except the fort and the light-house building, and the log houses of the two Beaubien brothers—one residing at the lake shore, and one near the forks of the river, with such a marsh between that much of the time their most convenient way of visiting each other was in boats in the river.

"The judges at the election of 1830 were Russell E. Heacock, the first lawyer to settle in Chicago; Gen. John B. Beaubien, one of the judges in 1826, and James Kinzie. The clerks were Medard B. Beaubien, well known in this city, now principal agent of the Pottawatamie tribe of Indians at Silver lake, Shawnee county, Kansas, and Jesse Walker."

The following, from Hon. Wm. Bross' History of Early Chicago, continues the subject of civil records, etc., from the foregoing extracts from Mr. Wentworth's

lecture, and is here inserted to give the reader the benefit of his notes fresh from the lips of his personal friends, as well as from his own observation:

“Our oldest *permanent* resident in this city is Col. R. J. Hamilton. In this view of the case, he is certainly entitled to the honor of being the ‘oldest inhabitant.’ He came here April 9, 1831, and this has been his *home* ever since. G. W. Dole, Esq., came here May 4, 1831, and P. F. W. Peck, Esq., July 15, of the same year. But though not living in the city limits, A. Clybourn, Esq., has been identified with it, or rather with the place that became Chicago, since August 5, 1823.

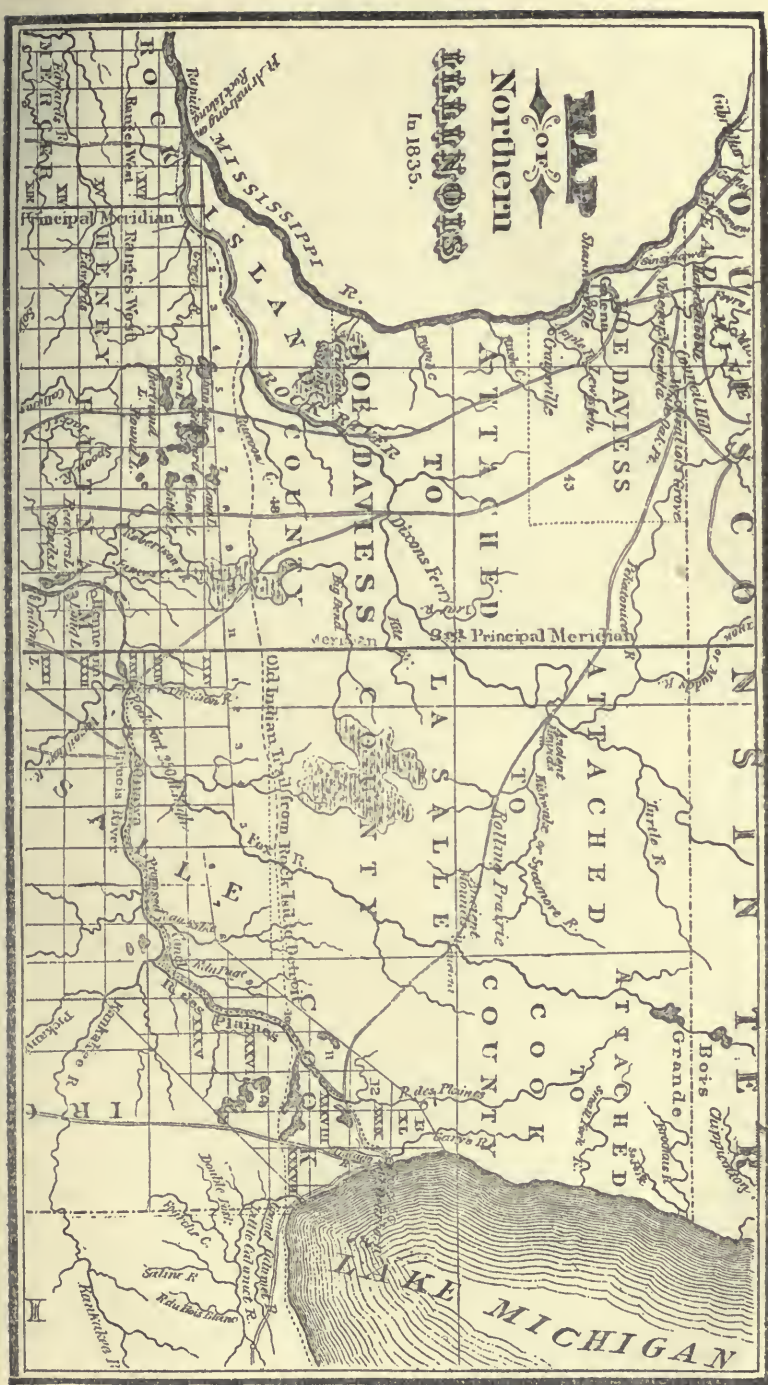
“Col. R. J. Hamilton came to this city, as above stated, in April, 1831. Cook county had been organized the month previous. He soon obtained a high position among his fellow-citizens, and at that time young and full of energy and vigor, and not the man to shrink from responsibility, we wonder that he was not crushed with the weight of the ‘blushing honors’ that fell to his share of the spoils in the new county of Cook. In the course of the year he became judge of probate, recorder, county clerk; discharged gratuitously the duties of treasurer, and was commissioner of schools. The good colonel would find his hands full were he to fulfill the duties of all these offices at the present time. We have availed ourselves of his early and accurate knowledge of events for most of the facts which are contained in some half dozen of the succeeding paragraphs.

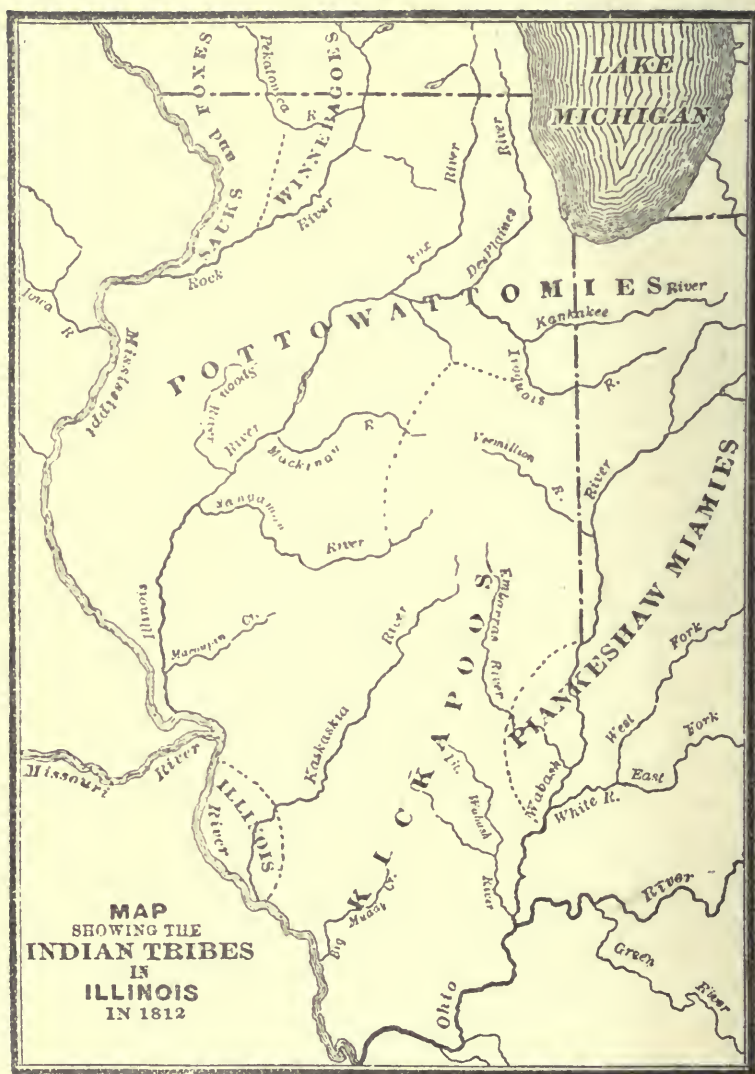
“The county of Cook in 1831 embraced all the territory now included in the counties of Lake, McHenry, Dupage, Will and Iroquois. At that time Fort Dearborn was occupied by two companies of U. S. Infantry, under the command of Major Fowle. The resident citizens were Mr. Elijah Wentworth and family, occupying a house partly log and partly frame, owned by Mr. James Kinzie, and situated on the ground since occupied by Mr. Norton as a lumber yard. Mr. W. kept a tavern, the best in Chicago. In the vicinity of this tavern resided Mr. James Kinzie and family, Mr. William See and family, Mr. Alexander Robinson and

family—now living on the Des Plaines—and Mr. Robert A. Kinzie, who had a store composed of dry goods—a large portion of them Indian goods—groceries, etc. Across the north branch of the Chicago river, and nearly opposite Mr. Wentworth's tavern, resided Mr. Samuel Miller and family, and with them Mr. John Miller, a brother. Mr. Miller also kept tavern. On the east side of the south branch, and immediately above the junction with the north branch, resided Mr. Mark Beaubien and family, who also kept tavern; and a short distance above him, on the south branch, resided a Mr. Bourisso, an Indian trader. Between Mark Beaubien's tavern and Fort Dearborn there were no houses, except a small log cabin, near the foot of Dearborn street, and used as an Indian trading house. Near the garrison, and immediately south, on the property sold by James H. Collins, Esq., to the Illinois Central Railroad Co., was the residence of Mr. J. B. Beaubien and family, who was connected with the American Fur Co. in the Indian trade. He had near his residence a store, containing such goods as were suitable to that business. A short distance south of him on the lake was a house, then unoccupied.

“On the north side of the river, and immediately opposite the garrison, stood the old ‘Kinzie House,’ as it was commonly called, which was also then unoccupied, and in a very dilapidated state. A short distance above, on the main branch of the river, and on the ground now occupied by the Chicago & Galena Railroad Co., stood what had been the Government Agency house, and known to the ‘oldest inhabitant’ as ‘Cobweb Castle.’ That was then unoccupied, Dr. Wolcott, the government agent, having died the fall before. In its vicinity were several small log buildings, for the accommodation of the blacksmith, interpreter and others connected with the agency. The blacksmith then occupying one of the buildings was Mr. McKee, in 1881 living in Dupage county. Billy Caldwell, the principal chief of the Ottawa, Pottawattamie and Chipewewa Indians, occupied another. He was then interpreter for the agency. Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, who

Map of Northern Illinois In 1835.





The first mention of the Pottawattamies is in the "Jesuit Relation" of 1639. They were then reported on the north bank of Lake Huron. Twenty-six years later they were reported on the west bank of Lake Michigan. In 1674 they were at Green Bay, and assisted Father Marquette on his way from the mission of St. Francis Xavier at that place to the "Chicagou" portage. Later they took possession of the country around Chicago, and also the immense plains lying in Illinois west of the Wabash river.

had been the winter before appointed to succeed the late Dr. Wolcott, had not then taken up his residence in Chicago; G. Kercheval, who was then sub-agent, was then here. Dr. E. Harmon, the father of C. L. Harmon, and James Harrington, of Geneva, Kane county, had taken up their residence here, and were making claims on the lake shore—Dr. Harmon where Mrs. Clarke lived in 1879, and Mr. H. immediately north and adjoining.”

The settlement nearest to Chicago in 1830 was at Naperville, where Mr. Stephen J. Scott settled at this date, where Willard, his son, now lives, 1880, still attending to his business of banking. Within the next two years a goodly number of settlers came to the place by way of the lakes, passing through Chicago, which not pleasing them, they settled at Naperville. Among them were Mr. Naper, for whom the town was named; Mr. Harry T. Wilson, living, in 1880, at Wheaton, Ill., and Hon. Edward Murray, living, in 1879, at Naperville, to whom the writer is indebted for items of historic interest. Settlements were also begun at Grosse Point and on Fox river.

Galena had for many years been a thriving settlement, on account of the lead mines, and several old Indian trails led to it from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, as well as from the settled portions of Illinois, which then extended no farther north than Ottawa. In 1825 a Mr. Kellogg pioneered his way from Peoria over the prairies to Galena, and subsequently others followed his track, till it had scarred the green turf into a beaten road known by the name of Kellogg's trail. The next year Mr. John Boles made the same tour, and cut across some of Mr. Kellogg's curves, crossing the Rock river at Dixon, then a spot without inhabitants or a name. After this the road was known as Boles' trail. For the next few years a large travel between Galena and the Illinois settlements went over it, and afforded a small source of income to the Winnebagoes and Sacs, in the novel method by which they ferried wagons over Rock river at Dixon, which was done by placing both wheels on one side of the wagon

in one large canoe, and both on the other side in another. Thus laden, the canoes were paddled across, while the horses, being detached from the wagon, swam behind, led by their bridles.* The settlements of Apple river and others, from ten to twenty miles from Galena, were made previous to 1832, and also those on the Mississippi at Rock Island, and at the Des Moines rapids. Meantime, the demand for ferriage over the Rock river at Dixon increased, and a Mr. J. L. Begordis, of Peoria, resolved to build a flat bottomed ferry boat there. With this intent he built a small hut on the bank of the river and commenced building the boat, but the jealous Indians looked upon it as infringement of their rights, and burned it. In 1828 an Indian interpreter of French extraction, named Joe Ogie, by virtue of having married an Indian wife, succeeded better. He started a ferry without molestation from the Indians, and in 1830 sold it to Mr. Dixon, after which the place took the name of Dixon's Ferry, and subsequently Dixon. This venerable pioneer lived till 1876, when he died full of honors and full of years.†

Chicago was then in her germ cell, but during those days of uncertainty occasional adventurers came to cast their lot with her, and among those who thus came previous to 1823, two are still living, in 1881—Gurdon S. Hubbard, whose early adventures have already been told, and David McKee, who came in 1822. The writer visited him at Aurora, Ill., in the summer of 1879. He was at work in his garden, scythe in hand, mowing the weeds around its headlands. The following is his story, substantially as it came from his lips, fresh from the past—truthful and laconic.

He was born in London county, Va., in the year 1800, went to Cincinnati at the age of thirteen, where he remained till he was twenty years old, when he

* History of Ogle county, by H. W. Boss, a present resident of Chicago.

† Mr. John Dixon was born at Rye, Westchester county, N. Y., in 1784. On the 13th of April, 1820, he removed to Illinois, locating near where the city of Springfield now is, where he remained four years. Thence he removed to Peoria county, and from the latter place to Rock river, where he arrived on the 11th of April, 1830, and bought the ferry boat of Ogie for \$1,800.

SHERWOOD DIXON.

started for Chicago on horseback, by the way of Fort Wayne. Elkhart was the next settled point on his way, where two or three log cabins stood, inhabited by their lonesome tenants. Niles was the next. Here was a small settlement, and two miles from it a Baptist missionary station, under the charge of Rev. Isaac McCoy, for the benefit of the Indians. The same man sometimes visited Chicago, and held religious services.

At that time there were annual arrivals by sailing vessel to Chicago, with supplies for the fort. On one of these some books were shipped for Mr. McCoy's mission, but while the vessel lay at anchor outside of the bar, unloading her freight, a storm came up and rolled the waves over it, and ruined the books, with other portions of the freight.

He crossed the Calumet in an Indian canoe made of birch bark, his horse swimming by its side, led by the bridle. There was an Indian village at the place, its wigwams built with webs of flags interwoven together with the fiber of basswood bark. The fiber was made by boiling the bark, and beating it as flax is made from the straw. Indian mats were made from this material, and used as we use carpets. They also served as beds for the Indians, as well as the door for the wigwam.

Col. J. McNeil held command of the fort at the time of his arrival. John Kinzie lived on the North Side in a house whose sides were covered with birch bark, brought by the Indians from Michigan. The Indians made vessels for holding water, maple sap, etc., from this material.

David and Barney Lawton were acting as clerks for the American Fur Co. Both had Indian wives. David died at his brother's house, where Lyons now is. The Chicago river was then a clear stream, and its water was used for culinary purposes.

Excellent fish abounded in it, and over it hovered wild geese, ducks and sand hill cranes in vast flocks, and pelicans and swans were sometimes seen. Deer were plenty, and bear, wild turkeys and otter were found on the Desplaines.

Speaking of the Indians, says Mr. McKee, "They

are better than white people; they always feed the hungry without regard to pay. In a natural state they are models of benevolence."

On coming over the sand hills toward the fort, his attention was attracted to the battle ground of the massacre. The bones were gathered into two boxes, each about four feet square, and buried just west of the sand drifts, in the soil of the prairie, by order of Captain Bradley.

Billy Caldwell told him that he buried the head of Captain Wells two days after the battle, in the sand, but could not find the body.

Mr. LaFramboise told him that after the first fire at the battle, Captain Heald asked his soldiers if they would fight till death or surrender, and they chose to fight.

For many years Mr. McKee had dealings with Alexander Robinson, and always found him a model of uprightness. He could not read or write, but managed to keep his accounts with exactness by means of characters of his own to represent quantities, with a pencil and paper. He was interpreter for all the Indians at the Chicago agency.

Mr. McKee was gunsmith for the Indian department from the time of his first arrival in Chicago, in 1822, till 1827. He then became mail carrier for the government between Fort Wayne and Chicago, and made a trip once a month between the two places during the year 1828. He performed the service on horseback, carrying mail bags, camping equipments and a gun to shoot his living on the way. Each night the earth was his bed, and the forage of the wilderness his horse feed. On one occasion, he was overtaken by an unusually severe snow storm, and for six days he buffeted the tempest, painfully toiling through the drifts which bewildered him, on his way from Niles to Chicago. In his path he found the dead body of a soldier frozen while attempting to reach Niles.

The first house at the fork of the Chicago river (Wolf's Point), was built by James Kinzie (John Kinzie's oldest son by his first wife). It was a log cabin with clapboard roof and sides. It was situated on the south

side. Two or three small huts were next built near by it by Canadians and half breeds. John Hogan built a house on the south side, opposite James Kinzie's house.

Chicago was yet essentially an Indian town. Peltries and furs, guns, blankets, kettles, knives, hatchets, vermilion and whisky were its stock in trade, and Indians were its suppliers and consumers.* Quiet reigned there because no one had occasion to offend the Indians, and when they became intoxicated, the squaws took care to keep sober, in order to restrain them. All this was soon to be changed by means of the Black Hawk war, which will next be told.

* The Pottawattamies paid one-half the expense of building the first bridge from the south to the west side.—*Western Annals*.



BLACK HAWK.

The Last Defender of his Native Land in the Northwest.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Winnebagoes, the Pottawattamies, and the Sacs and Foxes in 1832—Black Hawk's Village and Cornfield Purchased by the Whites—Forbearance of the Indians—A Transient Compromise—Gov. Reynolds Calls for Volunteers to Drive Away the Indians—They Retire across the Mississippi—Bad Advice of White Cloud, the Prophet—Black Hawk Returns to Illinois, and Camps at Sycamore Creek—The Dog Feast—The Pursuit—The Alarm—Stillman's Defeat—Indian Creek Massacre—Flight of the Frontierers—General Scott Arrives at Detroit—The Cholera among His Men—He Arrives at Chicago—Fearful Ravages of the Pestilence—Black Hawk's Fugitive Skirmishes in Northern Illinois—His Retreat—Battle of Bad Ax—General Scott Arrives at Fort Armstrong—Black Hawk Bought In as a Prisoner—The War Ended.

In 1831 the Winnebagoes occupied the country on the Wisconsin river. Their whole numbers were about 1,500. White Loon was their principal chief. He with some of his braves had fought both Wayne and Harrison, and had ever been loyal to British interest during the war of 1812.

The Pottawattamies occupied the northeastern portion of Illinois. They had also fought on the British side during the war of 1812, but since the treaty of 1815 held with them, they had been subsidized into friendship by an annuity of \$5,700. Their numbers were but little short of 3,000.

The Sacs and Foxes were quite as numerous, and

were more to be feared, as they had not been brought so much under the influence of the United States. Their hunting grounds lay along Rock river and in the southeastern part of Iowa. Early records place them on the eastern coast of Michigan, from whence they were driven to Green Bay, from whence they wandered to the Mississippi. Here they became a formidable power and took part in revenging the death of Pontiac by a relentless war upon the Illinois tribes. Keokuk was their principal chief, but Black Hawk rose to distinction as a subordinate chief by virtue of his daring deeds on the war path when a mere boy. Ever since the war of 1812 he had frequently visited his English father at Malden, and received presents from him as a just remuneration for his past services to him.

By the treaty of 1804, held in St. Louis, in November, his tribe had sold all their lands in Illinois to the United States, for a consideration in goods to the value of \$2,234.50, and an annuity of \$1,000. This treaty Black Hawk alleged to have been a fraud,* but if it was, its provisions were confirmed by the subsequent treaty of 1822, and also in 1830, on the 15th of July, at Prairie du Chien, when Keokuk made the final cession to the United States of all the country owned by the Sacs and Foxes east of the Mississippi river. This was done without the knowledge of Black Hawk, and when the old veteran heard of it his indignation was aroused, for he was always opposed to yielding territory to the whites. By the stipulations of this treaty the Sacs and Foxes were to leave their villages east of the Mississippi the next year, and Keokuk used his influence with his tribe to bring these stipulations into peaceable fulfillment. Black Hawk took the opposite side of the question. The merits of the case were from this time canvassed by the old men of the tribe as well as the chiefs during the remainder of the summer and the entire autumn of 1830. Meantime Keokuk had crossed the Mississippi

*Black Hawk in his account of the treaty already alluded to in a preceding chapter, says that the treaty was made by only four chiefs of his tribe, and that they signed it under the influence of intoxicating drink. See Smith's Wis., page 114.

with the majority of his tribe, while Black Hawk was casting about in all directions for assistance wherewith to maintain his ancient home on Rock river. First he went to the Indian agent on Rock Island, who informed him that the lands having been sold by the government to individuals, that the Indians had no longer any right to remain on them, as the provisions of the treaty of 1804 obliged them to leave the country as soon as private persons had purchased the lands ceded. Not disheartened by this set back, he went to Malden to take counsel with his ancient allies, the British. As might be expected, he was told by them that if the Indians had not sold their lands they could still remain on them in safety. On his return he paid his respects to General Cass, at Detroit, who gave him similar assurances. His resolution was now taken to defend his home, on the assumption that the treaty was a fraud by which it had been sold, and to this end he made a vain attempt to secure the assistance of the Pottawattamies, the Winnebagoes and other tribes, but his eloquence was wasted. The chiefs of these tribes had seen the folly of contending against the United States, and were determined to keep down the war spirit of their young men, but it sometimes required their utmost exertion to do it.

Returning from one of his missions to procure assistance, late in the autumn of 1830, Black Hawk found his village deserted. All its inhabitants had gone north on the usual hunt to reap their annual harvest of furs wherewith to pay old debts to traders, as well as to barter for new supplies to satisfy their increasing wants for the rude implements of civilization. He followed them, and for a few weeks, at least, the griefs of this tenacious advocate of Indian rights were assuaged by the excitements of the chase. This solace was brief; when he with his tribe returned early the succeeding April, they found their village in possession of the pale faces. The fur trader at Rock Island, a former friend of Black Hawk, had purchased the very ground on which the village stood, and he and his associates were making preparations to cultivate the spacious field of

700 acres on which the Indians had for many years raised their corn for bread supply.

It cannot be denied that this was a violation at least of the spirit of the treaty of 1804, the validity even of which was challenged by Black Hawk. Though this treaty ceded the lands to the United States, it guaranteed the right of the Indians to remain on them till they were wanted for settlements; but in this case the vital center of the lands in question was purchased by design, while the frontier settlements* of the whites were yet fifty miles distant. Even Keokuk was now unable to entirely stem the tide of indignation which arose in the Indian camp, and contrary to his advice a large detachment of the tribe joined their fortunes with Black Hawk. These, with Black Hawk at the head of his band, took possession of their town and also of the field, notwithstanding the presence of the white claimants. It was situated between the Rock and the Mississippi rivers at their immediate junction. Here the Sacs had made their home for about 150 years, and hard by were the graves of their fathers, admonishing them from the "world of the Great Spirit" to defend their graves. It is not to be supposed that the mass of Indian population could understand the binding force of a contract, and it is no marvel that their sense of justice was outraged when they beheld strangers appropriating to themselves the soil which they had inherited. But even while writhing under these griefs a peaceable parley was held with the intruders (in their estimation), and owing to the temperate counsels of Black Hawk his tribe were brought into a conservative humor, and consented to let the new claimants cultivate half the field, while the squaws should cultivate the other half. Under this compromise the squaws planted their half, but as might be supposed, this insufficient attempt at palliation did not bridge over the chasm between the ambitions of the whites and the necessities of the Indians. The former cared more for the right of the soil than for the crop, and a quarrel with the Indians would facilitate this end. Black Hawk comprehended

* Western Annals Appendix.

the whole situation, and with a laudable purpose hardly to be looked for in an Indian, counseled forbearance from his people, while a little handful of white men entered among them (as they felt) to rob them of their possessions; but there is a point beyond which forbearance cannot go, at least in minds of low degree, or even those of mediocrity. It is only the philosopher who can be patient over present griefs, and even he can do it only when he sees beyond, those triumphs which the recoil of time are likely to bring to his consolation. But if Black Hawk himself was a philosopher the squaws who dug in the corn fields were not philosophers. The white men plowed up part of the corn which they had planted on their half of the field, and they retorted by tearing down the fences adjacent to the white men's half, and allowing the cattle to come in to injure the crop.

Pending these and other disturbances of the peace, eight of the white settlers united in a memorial to Gov. Reynolds, setting forth their grievances, which was presented to him at the executive office, then at Vandalia, on the 18th of May, 1831. In response to this memorial and several others of a similar nature, which Gov. Reynolds states that he received, on the 27th he made a call for 700 militia to protect the white settlers at the Black Hawk village, and on the same day addressed a letter to Gen. Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, stationed at St. Louis, requesting his assistance in removing the Indians. The next day the governor addressed a letter to Gen. Gaines, then at Jefferson barracks, of similar intent. In response to these letters, Gen. Clark relieves himself from further responsibility by referring the whole matter to Gen. Gaines, who was the most proper one to act in the matter, and Gen. Gaines replied to Gov. Reynolds, saying: "I do not deem it necessary or proper to require militia or any other description of force other than the regular army at this place and Prairie du Chien to protect the frontiers."

If Gov. Reynolds had referred the entire matter of protecting the frontier to Gen. Gaines, instead of call-

ing out the militia himself, it is but a fair assumption that Gen. Gaines, by virtue of the authority of the United States, would have marched to the scene of disturbances and put an end to them by enforcing an even measure of justice between the two parties whose disputes were limited within the boundaries of a 700-acre field of corn. But the governor had a difficult part to act. If he failed to call out the militia and give them a chance to hunt Indians, he would lose the popular favor by which he had recently been elected to office, and besides this he would be held responsible for any Indian outrages which the aggressive and captious spirit of the settlers on the frontier might provoke, and in the end the miserable Indians might be doubly victimized by a fiercer though tardier war upon them.

Under these circumstances history cannot blame frank, honest John Reynolds for doing as he did. Complaints against the Indians now multiplied, and Gen. Gaines advanced to Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, close by the disputed corn field and village of Black Hawk, and here on the 7th of June, the Indians were summoned to a council to be held in the fort. At its session Gen. Gaines, wishing to quell the war spirit among the Indians by making light of their most tenacious chief, asked in derision, Who is Black Hawk? At which the indignant chief arose and left the council room with smothered rage. The next morning he returned and replied:

“My father, you ask who is Black Hawk—why does he sit among the chiefs? I will tell you who I am: I am a Sac. My father was a Sac. I am a warrior, and so was my father. Ask these young men who have followed me to battle, and they will tell you who Black Hawk is. Provoke our people to war, and you will learn who Black Hawk is.”

The conference terminated by a peremptory summons from Gen. Gaines to Black Hawk to leave the east side of the Mississippi and retire to its west bank, which command the chief with more chivalry than policy refused to obey.

To enforce this order, Gen. Gaines deemed it prudent to wait till the 1,600 militia which Gov. Reynolds had already raised, and were now encamped at Beardstown, should arrive, who reached Fort Armstrong after a prosperous march of four days.

This interval gave the Indians time for a sober second thought, and on the night of the 24th they left their village, retreating across the river as ordered. The next day Gen. Gaines, at the head of his own force of regulars and Gov. Reynolds' militia, who had joined them, advanced on the place, and on the 26th took possession of its deserted wigwams and corn fields.

The incidents of the war which followed the next year are still remembered by many now living (1881) who took part in it. Many histories of it are extant, some of which have made it an opportunity to cultivate sentimentality in favor of the Indians, at the expense of the government. Others have taken the opposite extreme, and while stating only truth, have omitted such portions as would be calculated to bring discredit to the system by which the Indians were driven from their lands. Some historians have made it an opportunity to crown the brows of soldiers with laurels. They have not succeeded in this attempt, for the reason that the enemy was too insignificant to leave much glory to soar above his pitiful grave. Any attempt to conceal or distort the conditions which sent him there cannot deceive the impartial historian who reads both sides, and compares, discriminates and verifies till the truth comes uppermost after much shaking.

By no authority has it been claimed that the Sac and Fox nations from 1816 to the commencement of the Black Hawk war in 1832, ever killed or personally injured a white man, and it is acknowledged, that during this time traders continually passed through their country, to and from the lead mines of Galena, often with large amounts of goods and money, without being molested. The sum of accusations against them was for tearing down the fences of the corn field as just related, and during the same year, 1831, they were accused of destroying some goods of a trader, among which was a

barrel of whisky, which they emptied on the ground—a common occurrence now-a-days among ourselves.

After Black Hawk and his band had retreated across the Mississippi before the large force of Gen. Gaines, he encamped on its western bank with a white flag flying over his wretched fugitives, who had little else but this emblem of submission to save them from starvation; and under this duress, a council was held between his band and Gen. Gaines and Gov. Reynolds. It resulted in a treaty of peace, signed on the 30th of June, 1831, by which Black Hawk after confirming the validity of the treaty of 1804, agreed to relinquish his old claims to any lands east of the Mississippi river, and submit to the authority of Keokuk, who with the most sensible portion of the Sac and Fox nation, were now peaceably settled in their new home.

Both Gov. Reynolds and Gen. Gaines now supposed the difficulty to be settled, and congratulated themselves that a long term of peace was assured to the frontier before the villainous whisky traders and the volcanic red men should again embroil the state in a border war.*

Up to this time Black Hawk and his British band (as they were called), had demeaned themselves with exemplary moderation under the inevitable destiny which had forced them from the beautiful valley of the Rock river. That they should have clung to it with firmness, and left it with painful regrets, was to be expected; nor is it strange that the vehement emotions that are a distinguishing trait in the Indian character should have made them cast a longing, lingering look behind, when the broad face of the Mississippi separated them from all their local attachments.

The autumn succeeding the Indians' retreat from their village, found them in a destitute condition. They had raised no corn, for it was too late to plant when they left their village; moreover, there was a large

* Both Gov. Reynolds and Gen. Gaines were moved with compassion for the Indians in their wretchedness, and sent them a liberal supply of provisions to satisfy their immediate wants. This charity excited some murmurs among the volunteers, who stigmatized the late treaty as a "corn treaty," and said they had better give them lead than bread.

field of corn which they had planted now fully ripe, which they looked upon as their own by right; and some stealthy attempts being made to gather the ears under cover of night, the pilferers were fired upon by the whites. But during these accumulated griefs, an affront which had been inflicted upon them two years before by the Menominees, was not forgotten. This was the wanton murder of a single Sac by the offending tribe. To revenge this, a band of Black Hawk's men, late in the fall ascended the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, attacked a camp of Menominees and Sioux near by, and took seven-fold vengeance by killing twenty-eight of the unsuspecting and unprepared warriors. This was in clear violation of the treaty of 1825, and the authorities of Prairie du Chien made a demand of Black Hawk to give up the authors of this bloody deed, to be tried by the laws of the United States. Nettled as he was by the late misfortunes which had overtaken him, he was in no mood to do this, and delayed the matter by a false pretense.

During the ensuing winter Black Hawk's emissaries, Neopope, Wisshick and White Cloud, the prophet,* visited the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Winnebagoes, and professed to have received assurances of assistance from all of them in recovering their ancient possessions. Under this fatal illusion he assembled his people in March, 1832, on the west bank of the Mississippi, on the spot where Fort Madison had been built in 1804, long since abandoned, but now the site of the flourishing city of Madison, Iowa. Here were assembled 368 braves, mounted on tough, muscular ponies, not unlike their masters, capable of great endurance, with slender means of subsistence, squaws, jaded down with unceasing toil, and their quota of half-clad children, shivering in the humid blasts of early spring, bent on a trip to their old home east of the Mississippi, probably not without some faint hopes of repossessing it.

* White Cloud was a Winnebago chief, whose village was at the present site of Prophetstown, Ill. He was in full sympathy with Black Hawk, acting as his oracle and orator. Both Neopope and Wisshick were also firm friends of Black Hawk, ever counseling war against the whites.

With this purpose in view, the cavalry arm of the service, consisting of the men, leaped on the backs of their ponies, and whipped the patient beasts over the spongy soil up the west bank of the river, while the squaws manned the canoes, and tugged up stream with their materials of war, consisting of a few kettles, blankets, etc. How the canoes passed Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, without exciting the suspicion of Gen. Atkinson, its commander, is not known. Early in April they arrived at the mouth of Rock river, but little above the fort. Here they crossed the Mississippi, in defiance of the treaty of the previous year, and the whole tribe made their way up the Rock river, under pretense of going to their friends the Winnebagoes, to plant corn in their country.

The wanderers had not passed far up the river till they were overtaken by two messengers from Gen. Atkinson, one briefly succeeding the other, warning them back to the west side of the river with threats of war if not heeded. Black Hawk replied spiritedly that he was determined not to go back, and equally so not to make war on the whites unless attacked. Continuing his course up Rock river, he soon came to Dixon's Ferry, where he paid his respects to Mr. Dixon, its proprietor, explained his position to him, and passed on with his fugitives, all behaving with commendable decorum, carrying with them all the wealth they possessed, which was more ponderous than valuable.

Gov. Reynolds having heard the news of his return, immediately organized a force of 1,800 volunteers to follow him, who promptly assembled at Beardstown for organization in companies. The command of this zealous army was given to Gen. Samuel Whiteside, a man of much ability and considerable experience in Indian fighting. Discipline or training of these fresh recruits, the contemptible character of the enemy seemed to make unnecessary, and they immediately took up their march to follow Black Hawk's "tramps." After a hasty march in the pursuit, they reached Dixon, which brought them within only a single day's march of the object of their pursuit, Black Hawk's band, who

were encamped but thirty miles above this place on Sycamore creek, a tributary of Rock river. Gen. Atkinson was now advancing to the same place with the regulars from Fort Armstrong, and Gen. Whiteside thought best to wait till his arrival before advancing further. Gov. Reynolds was among the volunteers but took no responsibility as to their military command, although his authority transcended that of Gen. Whiteside, and of him in an unlucky hour, a certain Major (Stillman) begged the privilege of making a reconnoissance of the enemy's camp. The governor consented, and on the 14th of May he, at the head of 275 volunteers, mounted on their own horses, started out in gay spirits on their mission, each man enjoying the stimulating reflection that he was about to distinguish himself by a brilliant achievement.

As they approached the camp of Black Hawk, he was engaged not in the tactics of a soldier but in entertaining his Winnebago friends with the impressive hospitalities of a dog feast, on the banks of the Kishwaukie, a tributary of Rock river, since called Sycamore creek, about thirty miles above Dixon's. This feast was to be succeeded by a great council of chiefs, which it is fair to assume was intended at least to make sufficient show of strength to preserve the "balance of power" in its equilibrium between the red and white men of northern Illinois. The issue at stake involved the existence of the Sac nation, as Black Hawk viewed it, for it is hardly to be presumed that he foresaw at that time the eventual ruin of his people.

Foremost among the chiefs present was Shaubena, he who had fought by the side of Black Hawk when allies of the English, against the Americans through the war of 1812. These veterans were bound together by ties of affection doubly strengthened by consanguinity. But Shaubena was fully impressed with the power of the whites, and though his refusal to join his fortunes to Black Hawk lacerated his heart, he unhesitatingly declined to take up the war belt, and refusing even to attend the council, took his leave and made his way down Rock river toward Dixon.

Shortly after his departure some of Black Hawk's hunters who were scouting the country in search of game, came in in breathless haste, and informed him of the near approach of cavalry, upon which he sent out three young men to meet and conduct them to his camp.

The immediate consequences are told by Gov. Reynolds, as follows: that "three Indians unarmed, with a white flag, made their appearance near the encampment. These Indians gave themselves up, and were taken into custody as hostages by order of the officers. Soon after the three unarmed Indians were taken into custody, six armed Indians appeared on horseback on a hill three-fourths of a mile from the encampment. Without orders, a few soldiers and some officers commenced an irregular chase of the Indians on horseback and pursued them four or five miles. During this race in the prairie, a great portion of the troops mounted their horses and joined without orders in the disorderly chase of the Indians. The whites became enraged in the pursuit, and having the best horses, overtook two Indians and killed them. Major Hackleton, of Fulton county, was dismounted, and had a personal combat with an Indian, also dismounted. In this irregular running conflict, three Indians were killed without loss to the whites. In this skirmish, which extended over four or five miles of the smooth prairie, between the encampment and the mouth of Sycamore creek, the volunteers at the camp, knowing that blood was shed, attempted to kill the three unarmed Indians who had been taken into custody as hostages under protection of the white flag. One Indian was killed, but in the darkness and confusion the other two escaped unhurt. At the time Stillman's volunteers had this running skirmish in the prairies, Black Hawk had many of his friends of the Pottawattamie nation feasting with him on dog meat. The retreating Indians had almost reached the camp of Black Hawk where he was feasting, and the whites at their heels whooping, yelling and shouting. This uproar alarmed Black Hawk and the Indians at the feast; and they in a hasty, tumultuous

manner, mounted their horses, snatched up their arms and rushed out in all the fury of a mad lioness in defense of their women and children. Black Hawk took a prudent and wise stand, concealed behind some woods (then nearly dark), so that the straggling and unmanageable forces of Major Stillman approached near him. It was a crisis with the Indians. They fought in defense of all they held the most sacred on earth. . . . The Indians forced the whites back with great speed, and killed in the chase one white man. By the time the volunteers had reached Stillman's camp it was quite dark, and the troops at the camp hearing the yelling, supposed all the whole Black Hawk band were upon them. This produced a general panic, and the volunteers fled with their comrades whom Black Hawk was chasing."

This was Stillman's defeat, as told by the veritable governor himself. After the volunteers had fled from their camp, while crossing a muddy stream close by it, ten more were killed, says the governor, making eleven in all. The fugitives left behind them all their camp stores and reached Dixon the next day with such exaggerated accounts of the battle as their distempered imaginations suggested.

Black Hawk says he had but forty men engaged, and the governor sets the number not above sixty.

This ill-starred skirmish came near causing the murder of the noble hearted Shaubena. When he left Black Hawk's camp, after refusing to take part in his proposed council, he went to Dixon. Here he was pointed out to the volunteers by a nondescript vagabond named McKabe, as an Indian spy in the service of Black Hawk, when in truth, though a white volunteer, he himself had enlisted more in the service of Black Hawk than for any good he cared to do for the cause in which he was drawing pay, for he had ever been associated with the Indians and had married an Indian wife. This apostate of civilization, knowing Shaubena to be true to the interests of the white men, wished to see him killed; but fortunately a humane volunteer, seeing the danger, flew to the house of Mr.

Dixon, who in turn flew to the rescue in time to save his life. This done he treated him with deserved respect as a guest at his own house, where he introduced him to Gov. Reynolds and Gen. Whiteside.*

Insignificant as the battle of Sycamore creek was, it was a prodigious affair in the estimation of the hostile Indians; nor was it a small affair in the eyes of the borderers, whose fears were augmented by the alarms spread by the defeated scouts.

Black Hawk, in order to make the most of his victory, dispatched his fleet-footed messengers in every direction, to yelp the exultant war-whoop, and carry the war to each exposed frontier, where the weight of his blows would fall most unexpectedly; but, thanks to Shaubena, he was in a great measure balked of the prey he had counted on as the first fruits of his victory. This old weather-beaten veteran had no sooner heard of the battle than he dispatched his son and nephew to Fox river and Holderman's grove settlements, to warn them of danger, while he mounted his pony and galloped toward the settlements on the Bureau and Indian creek. They were planting corn, but at the receipt of the alarm left their plows in the furrow, and flew to the nearest fort, which was at Ottawa.

Unhappily, at Indian creek, by a treacherous sense of security, a few families paid no regard to the warning, but to their dismay a few hours later, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, seventy painted savages were at their very doors. An indescribable scene of butchery of the defenseless victims, and resistance ineffectual but desperate, immediately succeeded. Fifteen persons were killed and horribly mutilated, two young boys escaped by flight, two young girls, Sylvia and Rachel Hall, were spared from death and abducted as captives. Fortunately, through the influence of the Winnebagoes, they were subsequently ransomed for \$2,000.

Naperville, which has already been spoken of in a preceding chapter, was then an infant settlement, and nearer to Chicago than any other. Its history is worth relating, especially as it brings interest to the records of

* Matson.

early Chicago, and more especially as it comes to the writer fresh from the mouth of an eye witness, Mr. Harry T. Wilson, of Wheaton, Ill., ninety-two years old when interviewed by the writer.

He started from Ashtabula, Ohio, on the schooner "Telegraph," in May, 1831, and arrived in Chicago the 15th of July following. Col. Owen (Indian agent) and Col. Hamilton were then the most influential men in Chicago, but the Lawtons, who lived at the present site of Lyons on the Desplaines, were much depended on for public service, as they could speak the Pottawattamie language, and were in great favor with them from their long residence and just dealings among them. Both had Indian wives. Isaac Murray, his young son, R. N. Murray (judge of the Probate court in Wheaton in 1881), Joseph and John Naper and L. Butterfield, came in the same vessel with Mr. Wilson, all of whom on their arrival at Chicago were dissatisfied with the uninviting appearance of the place, and after securing a temporary shelter for their families, started into the country on foot to find farming lands for a home. Passing Lawtons, they kept on to the Dupage river, where Naperville now is, and began their new settlement. Their milling was done at Ottawa, and an ox team to and from it (a distance of nearly 100 miles) was their only mode of transportation.

With the opening of the succeeding spring their first plowing commenced in the new settlement to which many others besides those just mentioned had come, when, on the 18th of May a friendly Pottawattamie came to them with alarming news. Black Hawk's band had fought and defeated the volunteers on Rock river, and scalping parties in his service were rapidly approaching the frontier settlements, and were now within ten miles, where they had already burned the houses of two advance pioneers, Mr. Hollenbeck and Mr. Cunningham. To give force to his statements, the messenger, in awful mimicry, went through motions of the scalping process; but this pantomime was quite unnecessary, for the new settlers were in hot haste to place the friendly walls of Fort Dearborn between

themselves and the red scouts. The women hastily packed their linen and cooking utensils, and the men harnessed the horses. In a short time the women and children were on their way over the long flat prairie that intervened between their forsaken homes and Fort Dearborn, while the men arranged themselves in scouting parties, and took positions in the adjacent groves to watch for the terrible Sacs. There were yet some distant families who had not been warned to leave, and the next day several incidents occurred of mistaken identity as to the character of persons seen in the far distance, both of whom were white men, and both suspecting each other of being savages on the war path.*

On the Dupage river, northwest of Naperville, was a settlement at Plainfield, in which Rev. S. R. Beggs lived. This early pioneer of the Methodist faith has published his early experiences in a book, from which the following is taken, to show the extent of the alarm, and the condition of Fort Dearborn when the fugitives had taken refuge there:

The inhabitants came flying from Fox river, through fear of their dreaded enemy. They came with their cattle and horses, some bare-headed and others barefooted, crying "The Indians! the Indians!" Those that were able hurried on with all speed for Danville. It was urged that all should remain quiet till they could get their cattle and horses together; but there was too much demoralization for that. One team could not be found, and it was thought better to sacrifice one than that the whole should suffer. So it was decided that they should move off as silently as possible; yet there was one ungovernable person among them who made noise enough in driving his oxen to have been heard a mile distant.

The hatless man, and one or two others, found their way to Danville in advance of the rest, and told their fearful stories—how the Indians were killing and burning all before them, while at this time it is presumed that there was not a hostile Indian south of the Desplaines river. At Plainfield, however, the alarm was so great that it was

* It is related by some of the old settlers now living, 1880, that during the hurly-burly of the hour when the inhabitants were leaving the place, a Mr. Payne ventured out on horseback to see some depredations reported a few miles distant. On his return he saw across the prairie a man on horseback, whom he supposed to be an Indian intending to cut him off. He put spurs to his horse to gain the advance, but his supposed foe looked upon him with the same suspicion. Both were approaching the same spot, and the race was an exciting one to see which should reach it first; Payne succeeded, and put his horse in his neighbor's corn crib (Mr. Hobson's), and took to his heels for Chicago. Mr. Hobson soon came up, and seeing the horse of the supposed Indian scout sweating and foaming from the effects of the race, the mutual misconception was divulged to him, but Mr. Payne was now beyond sight and hearing, panting through the grassy prairie toward Chicago.

thought best to make all possible efforts for a defense, in case of an attack. My house was considered the most secure place. I had two log pens built, one of which served for a barn and the other a shed. These were torn down, and the logs used to build up a breastwork around the house. All the people living on Fox river who could not get farther away, made my house a place of shelter. There were 125, old and young. We had four guns, some useless. Ammunition was scarce. All our pewter spoons, basins and platters were soon molded by the women into bullets. As a next best means of defense, we got a good supply of axes, hoes, forks, sharp sticks and clubs. Here we intended to stay till some relief could be obtained. This was on Thursday, and we remained here till the next Sabbath, when the people of Chicago, hearing of our distress, raised a company of twenty-five white men and as many Indians, who came to our aid. The Indians, with Mr. Lawton at their head, were to go to Big Woods (now Aurora), and Gen. Brown with Col. Hamilton and three men, were to visit Holderman's grove and then fix upon a place to meet in the evening.

Fresh alarms, both real and false, kept coming in to the tenants of Fort Beggs, keeping them in constant agitation and indecision as to what was the best course to pursue, till the news of the Indian creek massacre reached them, when they determined to fly before the impending danger; and on the following Thursday at 7 o'clock in the morning they started for Chicago, the twenty-five men sent from there under Col. Hamilton, acting as their escort. They reached their destination, a distance of forty miles, the same day, which was a forced march for ox teams, which were part of their means of transportation. Again resuming Mr. Beggs narrative, he says:

There was no extra room for us when we arrived in Chicago. Two or three families of our number were put into a room fifteen feet square, with as many more families, and here we stayed crowding and jamming each other for several days. . . . The next morning our first babe was born, and during our stay fifteen tender infants were added to our number. One may imagine the confusion of the scene—children were crying and women were complaining within doors, while without the tramp of soldiery, the rolling of drums, and the roar of cannon, added to the din.*

Some days ere this the news of Stillman's defeat had reached Chicago, reviving the old war spirit in the breasts of moody veterans whose bad blood was again stirred up from dormant places in their hearts, and their hopes again revived, that the red race could arrest the progress of white settlements in the country. Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson saw this in their rueful countenances, and proposed to Col. Owen to convene a council for the purpose of forestalling any sympathy

* Early History of the Northwest, by S. R. Beggs, page 103.

for Black Hawk which his fortuitous success might develop among the young Pottawattamie braves. The proposal was accepted, and the council held under the shade of a burr oak on the North Side. Robinson, Caldwell, Col. Owen, Col. Hamilton, and others, made speeches, and a general preference for peace was the result, a feeble minority only dissenting, of whom Big Foot, the famous Winnebago chief, was the leader. He openly defended Black Hawk's cause, and gathering to his standard all the inflammable material which loosely lay around the place, he and his disciples vanished away, ultimately to be buried in the grave of obscurity always in store for a lost cause.

The alarms at most of the places from which the settlers had fled, were false. At Indian creek only had any considerable force of Indians made their appearance, and even here had the men all remained at home and defended themselves from some covert, their assailants would have retreated rather than risk their lives by an attack.

After all the frontier settlers had taken refuge at Ottawa, Danville and Chicago, the able bodied men soon cautiously returned to their homes to look to their safety and to finish planting their corn. With this intent the Naperville settlers returned as soon as they had safely lodged their families in Fort Dearborn, and as a measure of security built a log fort, to which they gave the name of Fort Payne, after one of their settlers.

The news that an Indian war had broken out on the northwestern frontier, rapidly spread throughout every hamlet in the middle and eastern states. A young generation had grown into manhood since the last serious Indian disturbance; but its history, which had been told them by their fathers, was a familiar tale, and a repetition of it was now considered possible. The press of the country teemed with speculations as to what was to be the result of the war, which was regarded as of more importance than the facts would warrant if known. Abundant food for romance was economized out of the situation, and a volume of hasty poetry was published, entitled "Black Hawk and Scenes

in the West," which met with a ready sale. Under this pressure, measures were promptly taken by the administration at Washington to meet the crisis. Nine companies were detailed for this purpose, and placed under the command of Gen. Scott. Among them was a class of cadets (war students), from West Point, who took the occasion to put in practice an art which the peaceful prosperity of those times threatened with disuse. On the 1st of July they arrived at Detroit. This was the great metropolitan center of the Upper Lake country, beyond which was a limitless wild relieved only by settlements feeble in numbers, and mushroom towns far apart from each other. While Gen. Scott was making a brief rest at this place, two men on board his transports were taken violently sick and died in a few hours, despite the best efforts of his physicians. This was the beginning of the Asiatic cholera on the Upper Lakes. Gen. Scott hastened his departure and proceeded as far as Fort Gratiot, near the outlet of Lake Huron, where he left 280 of his force besides the young cadets, whose warlike zeal was now considerably abated by the presence of an enemy in their midst more formidable than Black Hawk.* While Gen. Scott is taking his course to Chicago on board the steamer "Sheldon Thompson," his physicians are eking out the fearful hours in their vain attempts to purge the cholera from their midst, and the soldiers were dropping, one after another of their companies into the sea † let us see what was going on at the place of his destination.

Going back but a few days, the place had been the center of an excitement seldom equaled even in the casualties of frontier life. The large number of fugitives gathered here all looked to Col. Owen to supply them with such necessities as helpless women and children must have or perish; and to add to his responsi-

* The fate of these young men sent a wave of grief and sorrow throughout the country. Nearly all of them died of cholera at the fort or perished like beasts of the field alone in some wretched shed or humid forest in their vain attempts to fly before the destroyer, for no one dared to receive them within their doors for fear of this pestilence.—*Brown's History of Illinois*.

† Thirty died on the passage and were thrown into the lake.

bilities, most of the husbands of these fugitive women were away scouting the country with commendable courage for the protection of their homes. Every available space in the fort was filled, and hastily constructed camps and temporary sleeping booths were constructed outside of it, within the reach of its guns.*

While these fugitives were amusing themselves as best they could to kill the long days of July, the sound of a cannon broke the silence of the morning. All eyes turned toward the lake, and there was an approaching sail. Succeeding puffs of smoke, with a corresponding number of reports after brief intervals of time, threw the town into transports, and almost everybody flew to the beach. The vessel approached the mouth of the river, cast her anchor and lowered her boats. Into these the soldiers leaped, and soon came rowing up the Chicago river, amidst the huzzas of the assembled spectators. This was a small command under Major William Whistler, the son of the same who had built the first Fort Dearborn in 1803-4.† He came as an advance of Gen. Scott to make preparations for his arrival. Those who were sheltered in the fort were required to leave it, which they did at once, and most of them returned to their homes, the alarm having now partially subsided.

A week after the arrival of Capt. Whistler—on the 8th of July, at the small hours of the morning (2 o'clock)—the inhabitants of Chicago were awakened by an outcry in the streets; Gen. Scott's army had arrived and

* A raft of lumber belonging to Noble Bros. (merchants) was used for this purpose.

† On board the vessel with Major Whistler were his wife, two daughters and a son. This wife has for several years past been known to the people of Chicago as Mrs. Col. Whistler, the oldest living witness of the building of the first Fort Dearborn in 1803-4. She was married to Capt. Whistler at Detroit, in 1802, being then only fourteen years and a few months old, and a few months afterward came with her husband and his father to Chicago to build the fort, as stated in foregoing pages. During the siege of Detroit, in 1812, her husband being an officer under Gen. Hull, she with him was taken prisoner at the surrender. Since her husband's death, her home has been part of the time in Chicago, and part of the time in Newport, Ky., at which latter place she died, February 12, 1878, at the age of ninety-two years. Gwinthlean, afterward the wife and now the widow of Robert A. Kinzie, was one of her daughters on board the vessel, as above described, and to her is the writer indebted for the above item.

were in the fort, and his soldiers dying with cholera. This king of terrors had made whole congregations turn pale with fear in the east, and the settlers of Chicago were not proof against its alarms. When the broad light of morning came, says an eye witness, hardly a resident was to be seen, for nearly all had fled. Among the dwellers at the forks of the river who remained were Indian Robinson, John Miller and Benjamin Hall. Dr. DeCamp, the army physician, promptly called on these remaining ones and allayed their fears, counseling them not to leave, assuring them that the disease would be confined to the garrison. The fliers soon returned and but one of them was attacked, but to the devoted garrison there was no escape from the appalling situation. To leave the fort was to expose themselves to the censure of whomsoever they might meet, even if it were possible to do such a thing in defiance of the sentinel; while to remain inside and witness the carnival of death which was going on there required more composure than could be expected of the average soldier.

Black Hawk was now stealthily traversing the country, his war parties threatening portions of the frontier. But Gen. Scott was in no condition to take the offensive, for it was all the well ones could do to take care of the sick and bury the dead. Ere the contagion had spent its force ninety of his men had fallen victims and been buried without the usual military honors of a soldier or even the civil usages of a coffin. When the last spark of life was supposed to be gone out the corpse was hastened to the grave which was ever ready to receive him, and two men with spades ready to interpose a few feet of earth between the decaying mass of contagion and the living world above ground.* On one of these occasions a premature subject was brought enveloped in his burial blanket; but just before he was lowered the unconscious soldier called for water. He was returned to the hospital, and in a few days recovered his usual health.†

* The burying ground was at the foot of Madison street, on the lake shore. About 1840, and later, the erosion of the lake washed away portions of it, exposing to view the bones of the victims to the cholera.

† Brown's History of Illinois, page 375.

Not even the terrors of Black Hawk's war parties would have driven the surrounding settlers to Chicago while the cholera was there, and had this pestilence come eighteen days sooner, when the massacre of Indian creek occurred, the unhappy settlers of Naperville and Fox river would probably have made a desperate determination to defend their homes against the Indians rather than encounter the dangers of the new and subtle enemy of mankind, that had even threatened annihilation to the soldiers who had come to defend them.

Leaving Gen. Scott in his fatal duress at Fort Dearborn, let us turn to the Indian war parties, who were now skimming over the prairies in voiceless silence, ready to make sudden dashes upon places supposed to be defenseless, Black Hawk himself all the while at the head of his army, small in numbers, deficient in supplies and inadequate to meet his adversaries in the open field with the faintest hope of success. But however apparent these conditions were to him, his ability to impress them upon the uncontrollable spirits of his followers was wanting. Baulked in his attempt to ally the Winnebago and Pottawattamie nations to his standard, he found himself the leader of a horde of sanguinary hot-spurs, full of courage and destitute of discretion. It was composed of the worst elements of his own tribe and a lawless renegade escapement from the tribes whose support in an evil hour he had counted on, by virtue of the treacherous advice of Neopope Wabokieshiek and the prophet.

Most of the fugitives from the disgraceful field of Stillman's Run reached Gen. Whiteside's headquarters in a few hours, with their zeal for Indian fighting spent in a 30-mile race over the prairies, by which the horses that carried them were not less exhausted than the courage of their riders.

Gen. Whiteside was now in an awkward position. His whole army had been without rations for two days, and confined to a diet of parched corn. In this emergency, Mr. Dixon, with patriotic generosity, offered his stock of cattle for their subsistence till stores could be

brought. The cattle were butchered and the hungry volunteers ate the meat without bread or potatoes, although it was lean and tough.* The next day after the skirmish Gen. Whiteside led his entire force to its scene. It was a solitude. There were the tent marks of Black Hawk's army and the lifeless bodies of eleven slain volunteers divested of their scalps, which were doubtless dangling from the belts of as many Sac warriors. Black Hawk had gone north, it was supposed, to the region of the Four Lake country, in Wisconsin.† Gen. Whiteside's army now amounted to 2,400 men, and had he followed Black Hawk promptly the war might have been ended in two or three weeks; for the Indians, encumbered as they were with their squaws and children, must have been easily overtaken, and could neither have defended themselves against such odds or escaped by flight. But the volunteers were by this time surfeited with camp life, especially with Indian fighting; the time for which they had enlisted had nearly expired, and they presented but a sorry dependence on which to rely for conquering a foe, though small, jaded to desperation. Under these surroundings, Gen. Whiteside was obliged to yield the honors of a victory at hand to the capricious discontent of the volunteers, and they were marched back to Ottawa, where they were discharged by Gov. Reynolds on the 27th and 28th of May.‡

After the volunteers left Dixon, Gen. Atkinson entrenched his camp and remained there with the reinforcements he had brought from Fort Armstrong. The necessity of immediately raising new recruits to push the war was pressing, for without them the Winnebagoes, and even the Pottawattamies might have looked upon Black Hawk as the winner, and joined his stan-

* Ford.

† The Four Lake country was composed of the two beautiful lakes that now almost environ the picturesque city of Madison, and two others below it, all joined by the waters of Catfish creek, having its outlet in Rock river a few miles below Kosh-ko-nong lake. So little was then known of this delightful region that even its locality was not understood by any of the volunteers, and Winnebago pilots were employed to direct the course of the army when it took up its march for the place.

‡ Ford's History of Illinois, page 124.

dard. Accordingly Gov. Reynolds gave orders for raising 2,000 men to take the place of the discharged soldiers. A few of the latter, however, with commendable patriotism re-enlisted for a few days in order to defend the frontier till the new recruits could be brought into service. Col. Jacob Fry commanded them. James D. Henry was his lieutenant, and John Thomas, major. Gen. Whiteside, with a zeal both laudable and modest, enlisted in the private ranks. The chaff of the late volunteer army returned to their homes, and the true soldierly material just organized out of it promptly distributed themselves in small parties to the most exposed frontiers.

To fight Indians in regular pitched battles is not attended with much danger to the white combatants; but to meet them noiselessly, crawling on the ground like serpents to attack some unsuspecting settlement, puts to test the mettle of a soldier. An attack of this kind was planned against the new settlements east of Galena, to guard against which Capt. Adam W. Snyder had been detached with a small company. While thus engaged on the 17th of June, as the tedious hours of night were wearing away, some hostile shots were fired into their camp from an invisible foe. The next morning they followed the intruders to a sink hole hard by, into which treacherous covert the Indians had taken refuge. A charge was made upon them, as if a small army lay concealed there, which resulted in the killing of the whole, only four in number. One of Snyder's men was mortally wounded. Resting under a supposition that they had killed all the Indians in the vicinity, they took up their wounded man and started for their camp, soon heedlessly scattering in different directions in quest of water, when they were suddenly attacked by about seventy Indians who had watched their motions from the first. The men thought only to save themselves by flight, but fortunately Gen. Whiteside was among them, and upon him the captain called for assistance to rally the men. This veteran declaring he would shoot the first man who started to run, resolution took the place of fear, and the men stood their ground.

This done, the battle began in earnest, but was soon terminated by a shot from Gen. Whiteside which killed the leader of the Indians, and they all fled without further resistance, carrying away their dead. Two white men were killed, and one wounded.*

Two days before this affair the new levies had arrived at the mouth of the Vermilion river, from whence they were marched to Fort Wilburn, where they were mustered into service and divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Gen. Alexander Posey, Gen. Milton K. Alexander and Gen. James D. Henry. Besides these, a company of rangers under command of Major Bogart, were to guard the frontier of southern Illinois, while the three divisions were to march in pursuit of Black Hawk, the architect of all this commotion, which had now drawn over 3,000 men from the plow to the soldiers' ranks, besides the first volunteers who had just been discharged.

While these formidable preparations had been on foot, the murderous disposition of bad Indians had been ventilated on numerous unhappy victims who by chance had been exposed to their merciless as well as indiscriminate fury.

On a bright morning a little past the middle of May, the people of Chicago were attracted to the fort by the voice of singing. Just outside its walls stood the tall and manly form of Rev. Adam Payne, whose musical and sonorous voice had reached the uttermost limits of the town, and drawn thither an audience. A sermon followed from this eloquent enthusiast, which for fervor and religious effect, might have satisfied the ambition of a Knapp or a Moody. Soldiers, traders, and even the elastic half-breeds, showed signs of contrition which must have been gratifying to the itinerant apostle of the Dunkard faith, as his voice mellowed into pathos under the sympathetic inspiration of the occasion. Mr. Payne was on his way from Ohio to visit his brother, Aaron Payne, who lived in Putnam county, Ill., and immediately after his discourse, to which the people of Chicago had paid such respectful attention, mounted his

* Boss. History of Ogle county.

horse, and starting on his journey, soon vanished out of sight over the prairies. The first night he reached the house of Rev. S. R. Beggs, on the present site of Plainfield. Here he found his brother preacher with his house barricaded like a fort, so great was the fear of hostile Indians, as already stated. But all this did not dishearten the pilgrim preacher. He had often traveled the route before, and having preached to the Indians with good effect, he relied on his early friendships with them for safety. Under this ill-founded sense of security, he started the next morning in a southwest direction across the wilds, toward Ottawa, much against the admonitions of his friends, who assured him that the country was full of hostile Indians. He was mounted on a fleet horse, and by means of a spy glass which he carried in his pocket, he felt sure he could detect the character of any Indians he might see, at a sufficient distance to keep out of the way, if hostile. This is the last ever seen of him by his friends while living. Two or three days subsequently, as Col. Moore's regiment were on their way from Joliet to Fort Wilburn, his advance guard, under charge of Col. Hubbard, saw a pair of saddle bags lying on the prairie about three miles from Holderman's grove. A fresh trail in the tall grass leading from the saddle bags, was immediately followed about an eighth of a mile, where the dead body of the preacher was found. The head was not severed from the body, says Mr. Hubbard, but the scalp was taken, including his long beard. In the saddle bags his hymn book was left by the murderous wretches who killed the lamented preacher, for this was the last thing which could be of any service to them.

Around the dead body of the preacher the grass was leveled, giving proof that he defended himself in a fierce encounter with his murderers. Mr. Hubbard caused his remains to be immediately buried, and his party passed on.*

After the volunteers had left Dixon, Gen. Atkinson continued to hold the place, but dared not take the

* This account has been taken from Mr. Hubbard himself. Others who have stated the affair differently, lack authenticity.

offensive against Black Hawk, especially as he had no means of knowing the amount of his force. Under these circumstances, he wished to send a communication to Galena. The mission was a dangerous one, but St. Vrain, a former Indian agent of the Sacs, had the hardihood to undertake it. He started, with a few companions, on the 22d of May. Only six days after the volunteers had left, but ere he reached his destination, he met a party of Sacs, led by Little Bear, whom, having been a former friend, he approached in the attitude of peace. But Little Bear was on the war path, and massacred the whole party (except two who had escaped), with as little hesitation as he would kill an enemy on the battlefield, alleging as a cause that St. Vrain had assisted Gen. Gaines in driving the Sacs across the Mississippi.

Soon afterward, a Mr. Smith was killed near the Blue Mounds, and Mr. Winters, a mail contractor, six miles from Dixon. Another man was killed not far from the spot where the lamented Mr. Payne was shot, and later, on the 14th of June, five men were killed while at work in a corn field on Spafford's creek, a branch of the Pecatonica.

All this time Black Hawk himself had not struck a hostile blow since the battle at Sycamore creek, but by means of his fleet-footed messengers, as well as his Pottawattamie and Winnebago spies, he was well aware of the preparations which were being made to act against him.

The lead interests of Galena had drawn around the place a thriving settlement of Americans to work the mines which had for a century before been worked by the French or Indians, sometimes by the enforced labor of negro slaves.

In 1827, the county of Jo Daviess had been organized, including within its area several of the present adjacent counties, at that time a trackless wild, except for a few miles around the vicinity of Galena. A devious path, almost concealed with prairie grass, led from this place to Vandalia, the state capital, from whence the mail was carried once a fortnight, and another to Dixon.

The remoteness of this settlement from the populous portion of Illinois made it a shining mark for Black Hawk, and here he determined to strike his first blow before the new recruits came into the field. With this intent, he sent a small band of his marauding scouts thither, to make observations and steal horses. On the night of the 18th of June, they succeeded in accomplishing this design by entering the stables attached to Apple River fort, and taking away the horses without detection. This was a small stockade on the east bank of Apple river, twelve miles from Galena, situated on section 24, in Elizabeth township. The next morning, by chance, Capt. T. W. Stephenson arrived from Galena with a small command of twelve men, and determined to pursue the pilferers. The party was well mounted, and following their track without difficulty over the grass-clad plains, overtook them near Waddam's grove, in the present county of Stephenson, named in honor of the leader of this expedition. The Indians took to the grove, and, secreting themselves, waited the approach of their pursuers, like so many tigers crouching for their prey, and Stephenson's men, with more courage than prudence, dismounted, left their horses in charge of ten of their number and followed them with the intention of driving them out of their covert and recovering the horses. Three of Stephenson's men were killed in the desperate bush fight, and himself and several others wounded, when they retreated, and the victorious Indians bore away their booty unharmed.* The dead were left on the ground, but the next day the party returned and buried them.

Encouraged by this success, Black Hawk selected 150 of his choicest braves and marched against the fort from which the horses had been taken. It was a small stockade of logs driven into the ground, having a tower at each corner for sharp-shooters, and garrisoned with twenty-five men under command of Capt. Stone. Clustered around it was a village of miners, who, in the event of an Indian attack relied on it as a place of

* Johnston's History of Stephenson county.

refuge. As Black Hawk's band neared the place, so stealthy was his movement that they managed to conceal themselves in a thicket only half a mile distant without being discovered. From this ambush, he intended to dash upon the place just after twilight, before the gates of the fort were closed for the night, and had it not been for the indiscretion of one of his own men, the village and fort both would probably have been taken and all the inhabitants butchered, according to the merciless custom of Indian warfare. On the morning of the same day, six brave scouts had volunteered to take a message from Galena to Dixon.* Arriving at Apple River fort, they stopped to take dinner, from whence they were to take their dangerous course over the prairies. A few minutes' travel after they left the fort brought them within range of one of the concealed Indians, who fired on them, wounding Walshe. His companions kept the Indians at a distance by pointing their guns at the foremost ones till the wounded man was rescued, and all had made a glorious retreat to Apple River fort.† Thus balked in his plan of secrecy, Black Hawk immediately dashed upon the town. The villagers rushed into the fort, leaving their houses at the mercy of the foe. The women went to melting lead and molding bullets, and the men and boys seized each a musket to defend the fort. The assault was kept up ten hours or more. In vain the Indians fired a tempest of bullets against the palisades, aiming at the loop holes, and with ferocious yells threatened to assault the place by scaling its walls. A number of them had fallen before the steady aim of the defenders, and the besiegers at last retreated, after a wanton destruction of everything of value in the village. Only one man was killed in the fort.

While Black Hawk's band were wasting their fury against the fort, Dixon, one of the intrepid scouts who had been fired upon as he, with his companions, had started for Dixon, was on his way to Galena to give the

* Fred Dixon, Wm. Kilpatrick, ——— Walshe, ——— Wackelrode and two others.

† Boss' History of Ogle county.

alarm and obtain assistance.* Col. Strode, who held command of the place, promptly responded to the call by sending a detachment with all haste, but they did not arrive till Black Hawk had retreated. Martial law was now declared in Galena, as a measure of defense against Black Hawk's scouts.

The late daring act, though unsuccessful, had sufficiently demonstrated the courage of the Indians, and their numerous war parties infesting the lonesome paths of the prairies gave alarming evidence that their numbers had been augmented largely from tribes who were friendly as nations, but whose renegade element were in the ranks of Black Hawk.

Gen. Brady, to whom the command of the new recruits had been given, being now taken violently sick, Gen. Atkinson was appointed to take his place. While these were on their way to Dixon, Major Dement was ordered to advance to Galena with a spy battalion numbering 150 men. Arriving within thirty-five miles of his destination at Kellogg's grove, while reposing at the log cabin of Mr. Kellogg, for whom the grove was named, on the 25th of June, he was apprised of the presence of large bodies of Indians. Three or four days before, Black Hawk had been repulsed from Apple River fort—less than a day's march from this place—and it was but a reasonable supposition that his band were ambushed near by—perhaps within hearing of his noisy soldiers in the merriment of camp life. Orders were given to saddle the horses, while he, at the head of twenty men, led a reconnoitering party. It was none too soon, for within 300 yards of his camp seven Indians were discovered, crawling on the ground, silent as Victor Hugo's thugs. His undisciplined men immediately gave chase, while he vainly endeavored to call them back for fear of an ambushade. When the pursuit had continued about a mile, a large body of Indians, reported at 300, but probably consisting only of the attackers of Apple River fort, sprang from their hiding places like so many goblins. Ferocious yells broke the

* Fred Dixon had been a distinguished Indian fighter in Missouri. He was not the proprietor of Dixon's ferry.

silence of the morning, filling the solitudes around them with vengeful warnings. Dement retreated inside the log buildings composing Mr. Kellogg's pioneer plantation, sending back occasional shots on the way. Here he held his foes at a great disadvantage to them; but unwilling to give up the prize, they wasted considerable powder and lead against the inflexible walls of his retreat till several of their own number fell before the steady aim of the besieged.*

The Indians withdrew after an hour's ineffectual attempt to dislodge Dement. Five whites were killed and a larger number wounded, which was the result of the ambuscade which the undisciplined soldiers had fallen into, from which perilous position their retreat into the log cabins saved them from a total defeat with great slaughter.

Before the battle, an express had been sent to Gen. Posey for assistance, and two hours after the retreat of the Indians he arrived with his whole force. The next day he made a reconnoissance to the north, in search of the retreating Indians, but not finding them, he took up his quarters at Fort Hamilton, on the Pecatonica river.

The news of the battle soon reached Dixon, where Gen. Atkinson, supposing that Black Hawk might attempt a retreat across the Mississippi, sent Gen. Alexander to scour its banks below Galena, and intercept him; but pending this fruitless search, Black Hawk was retreating, unpursued, to his camp at the head of Rock river, where his warriors, with their wives and children, were now whetting their revenge under the accumulated griefs of exile, hunger and war.

A few days before Dement's battle Col. Dodge, who commanded the Wisconsin volunteers, went to Fort Hamilton, which was the nearest fort to the spot where the five men had been killed in a corn field, as told in a

* Among the Indians shot was a daring young chief who ventured very near to secure a good aim at the loop hole. Rev. Zadock Casey was the one who brought him down; the same who afterward became Lieut.-Governor of the state. On the person of the chief was found a lock of hair which was afterward identified as the same cut from the head of Rachel Hall, who was carried into captivity from the Indian Creek massacre.—*Matson's Shaugbena*, page 177.

preceding page. From this place, at the head of twenty-one daring Wisconsin volunteers, he sallied forth in quest of the hostile Sacs who had committed the outrage. He overtook them on the east fork of the Pecatonica, lodged in a grove. The attack was immediately made, and resulted in killing the entire band of Indians, seventeen in number. Col. Dodge's loss was three killed. This little skirmish tested not only the courage, but the muscle, of the dashing volunteers, for the conflict was mostly hand-to-hand fighting.*

After Dement's fight, Gen. Atkinson, learning by Wapansie, a friendly Pottawattamie, that Black Hawk had returned to his camp, he made preparation to follow him. Col. Fry was ordered to march in advance, for the especial purpose of meeting and welcoming a company of friendly Pottawattamies, recruited at Chicago, and led by Billy Caldwell and Shaubena, and Geo. E. Walker, while he and Gen. Henry, with their respective brigades, followed, taking their course up the east side of Rock river, with the intention of attacking Black Hawk in his camp. At the same time Gen. Alexander was ordered to advance up the west side of the river, a few miles west of its bank, while Col. Dodge and Gen. Posey were to march from the waters of the Pecatonica, striking Sugar creek, which flows southwardly through Green county, Wis., thence to the most southern of the Four lakes. While this sweeping invasion was making its way northwardly, Black Hawk was fleeing before it as fast as his scanty means of transportation would allow; but ere he was able to cross the Wisconsin river he was overtaken by Gen. Henry's division, who gave him battle on its southern bank, at a place called Wisconsin Heights, about fifty miles below Fort Winnebago, which resulted in a loss of fifty to him while in his retreat across the river. Gen. Henry's loss was one killed and eight wounded.

White Crow, a friendly Winnebago chief, was in Gen. Henry's ranks during the battle, but unfortunately for Black Hawk, the Crow left the camp of the volunteers and started for Fort Winnebago as soon as dark-

*Smith's Doc. History Wisconsin, Vol. I, page 275.

ness had put an end to the fight, for during the night Gen. Henry's sentinels heard Indian voices calling to them, but no one could interpret their words, and no notice was taken of them. These were offers to surrender* and had the White Crow been present to interpret them the awful fate that followed to Black Hawk's band might have been averted.

During the night Black Hawk succeeded in getting his wretched fugitives across the Wisconsin, whence they fled toward the Mississippi, indulging in the despairing hope that they could reach its banks and find an asylum in the mysterious wilds beyond, should they be able to cross before their pursuers overtook them. Gen. Atkinson, who was in hot pursuit of the Sacs, soon arrived at Helena, on the Wisconsin river, where the Wisconsin volunteers, under Col. Dodge, effected a junction with him. Crossing over to the north side, they soon struck the trail of Black Hawk. It was during the last days of July, and the heat of midsummer soon decomposed the bodies of the dying fugitives, and the stench left in their wake was sometimes almost insupportable. Some of these dead were those who had been wounded in the late battle, and others were women or children who had surrendered at last to starvation and exhaustion.

On the 2d of August, the advance, under Cols. Dodge and Zachary Taylor, overtook and attacked them, the main army, under Gen. Atkinson, meantime pressing on, supposing that the main body of the Sacs was in front of them.

In this conviction they were outwitted by the wily Black Hawk, who, intending to escape with his main body while amusing his pursuers with a feint, had sent them to the banks of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Bad Axe. Gen. Henry, who was in the rear, learned this through Major Ewing, and dashing at them with his whole force, the battle of Bad Axe was fought, Gen. Atkinson reaching the scene only in time to see the ground covered with slain Indians, and the flying remnant vainly trying to cross the river by swimming.

* Smith's Wisconsin, Vol. I, page 280.



BATTLE OF BAD AXE.

The loss of the volunteers was seventeen killed, and more wounded.*

Immediately after Henry's battle at Wisconsin Heights, he had dispatched a messenger to Prairie du Chien to give the news. He arrived there on the 23d of July, and Col. Loomis, who then held command of Fort Crawford, dispatched the steamer "Enterprise" up the Mississippi to intercept Black Hawk, should he attempt to cross. Arriving at the mouth of Black river, they found forty Winnebagoes with twenty-eight canoes. They were friendly Indians, but doubtless under a compassionate sympathy for their unhappy kindred in their desperate extremity, had assembled there to assist them across the river. Under this impression they were seized and sent to Fort Crawford. The "Enterprise" was now abandoned because she was a slow boat, and the steamer "Warrior," armed with a six-pounder, was sent up the river in her stead. There are two islands on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Bad Axe, and on one of these the most of the defeated Sacs with their women had found a breathing place after the battle. Many of them swam thither, for they had but one canoe, which was used to transport the feeble squaws and children. To this isolated retreat, Col. Taylor at the head of 150 regulars followed them, and charged upon the pent-up fugitives, while Capt. Throckmorton opened fire on them from the "Warrior." They made a desperate defense, but all fell except one who escaped by swimming.†

Among those who had not taken refuge on the island was Black Hawk himself and less than 100 of his band. Black Hawk fled to Prairie LaCross, a Winnebago vil-

* There seems to have been no small amount of rivalry, from the first, among the various divisions of the volunteers, as to which should have the first chance at the Sacs. It was by disobedience to the orders of the commanding Gen. (Atkinson), that Gen. Henry had by a hasty march overtaken and fought Black Hawk on the heights of the Wisconsin, for which offense Gen. Atkinson had placed him in the rear in the continued pursuit, but Black Hawk's successful feint at Bad Axe had by chance again given Gen. Henry the first chance at his desperate and starving warriors.

See Smith's Wisconsin, Vol. I, page 415. Reynolds' My Own Times, page 415.

† Capt. Estes' Account. See Doc. History Wisconsin, Vol. III, page 230.

lage, where he surrendered himself to Cha-e-tar, and One-Eyed Decorra. Under their custody the conquered chief with the prophet were taken to Prairie du Chien, and delivered to Gen. Street, the agent of the Winnebagoes at that place, on the 27th of August.*

Of the miserable remnant, about fifty were taken prisoners, and it is probable that a few fled to the Winnebagoes and found a shelter, but it is known that some succeeded in crossing the Mississippi, even in the face of their numerous enemies. They had no sooner landed on this savage shore than the Sioux, their ancient enemies, fell upon the unhappy outcasts, and sent them across another river to the happy hunting grounds.† The thorny path they had traveled since they had returned to Illinois was now ended. If this world's griefs can offset transgressions, the balance could not be greatly against them to be entered to account on the other side.

Let us now return to Gen. Scott, whom we left at Fort Dearborn. No news was obtainable from the seat of the war, and before he would take any offensive steps, it was necessary to communicate with Gen. Atkinson. From the alarming news that had thus far reached Chicago it was then supposed that Black Hawk's war parties were waylaying every path through the prairies that intervened between Fox river and the Galena settlements; but yet in the face of these fancied dangers, an intrepid frontierer was found who volunteered to

*On delivering the captives One Eye said: "We have done as you told us. We always do as you tell us, because we know it is for our good. . . . We want you to keep them safe. If they are to be hurt, we do not want to see it. Wait until we are gone before you do it."

Black Hawk spoke as follows: ". . . My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us that morning, and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white man, but he can stand the torture. He is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian. He has done nothing an Indian need be ashamed of. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men who came year after year to cheat them, and take away their lands. . . . Black Hawk is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. His father will meet and reward him. The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse; they poison the heart. . . . Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk."

† Doc. History Wisconsin, Vol. III, page 284.

carry a message from Gen. Scott to the camp of Gen. Atkinson, which was supposed to be on Rock river. This was John K. Clark (who, it may not be forgotten, was the son of Margaret the captive). He started on the mission with two daring half breeds, stealthily making their way over treeless plains, and creeping through silent groves to Rock river, thence following up the trail of his army reached his camp and delivered the message. All haste was now made to return to Chicago, which they safely effected after a week's absence from the place and delivered Gen. Atkinson's reply to Gen. Scott. The two inconsiderate half breeds tarnished their laurels thus gained by a carousal in a villainous whisky den, which then stood about where the well known house of Fuller & Fuller is now located. Here they spent the night in dissipation, and the next morning Benjamin Hall (my informant), saw them come from the place, lie down on the ground, and die with cholera at fifteen minutes' notice.

About the 20th of July, Gen. Scott now resolved to go to the Desplaines river and encamp, thinking the change might be beneficial to the health of his men. He arrived there about the 20th with his whole command, and encamped at the present site of Riverside. His baggage train consisted of about fifty wagons which, with the horses to draw them, had been purchased at Milan, Ohio, and sent by teamsters to Fort Dearborn, where they arrived a few days after the general had come to the place.

Robert N. Murray, whose father had recently settled in Naperville (as already stated), was a lad of seventeen years, and enlisted in the service of Gen. Scott as teamster, to drive one of the teams across the country. Gen. Scott, with twelve men and two baggage wagons, had started in advance, leaving Col. Cummings in command of the main body, which was to follow as soon as the health of the soldiers would permit. In ten days the train started, carrying in the wagons the few sick soldiers who had not yet sufficiently recovered from cholera attacks to stand the fatigue of marching. Their route lay through Gilbert's grove, on the Du Page,

across the Fox river three miles below Elgin; thence through the Pigeon woods to the present site of Belvedere; thence to an old Indian village at the present site of Beloit. Here the train rested a week, during which time a messenger came to the commanding officer, informing him of the battle of Bad Axe, with orders to proceed to Rock Island.

In obedience to these instructions, the train again started over the prairies in a more southerly direction, passing the present site of Rockford, which was then a wild of great beauty, where they encamped for the night. Young Murray had by this time attracted the eye of Col. Cummings, who promoted him to the position of driving his own carriage, and gave the charge of the team from which he had been taken, to his first driver. Here he soon became initiated into the ways of some "great men," by being offered his choice of brandy or wine as often as the colonel became thirsty, which was five or six times a day. Young Murray, to his surprise, declined the brandy, but retained the good opinion of his master, nevertheless. A few days' travel down Rock river now brought them to their destination. The troops were left at Fort Armstrong, and the teams sent back to Chicago, where they were sold.*

On the 9th of September the Indian prisoners were sent to Jefferson barracks, just below St. Louis, from which place Black Hawk, with the prophet, was sent to Washington, arriving there the following April, 1833. On the 26th they were sent to Fortress Monroe, where they remained till the 4th of June, when they were ordered to be sent back to their own country.

On the way Black Hawk was received with ovations in all the large cities through which he passed. Even ladies of high rank flattered him with smiles and compliments, to whom he, not wishing to be outrivalled in politeness (in his way), responded: "Pretty squaw! Pretty squaw!"

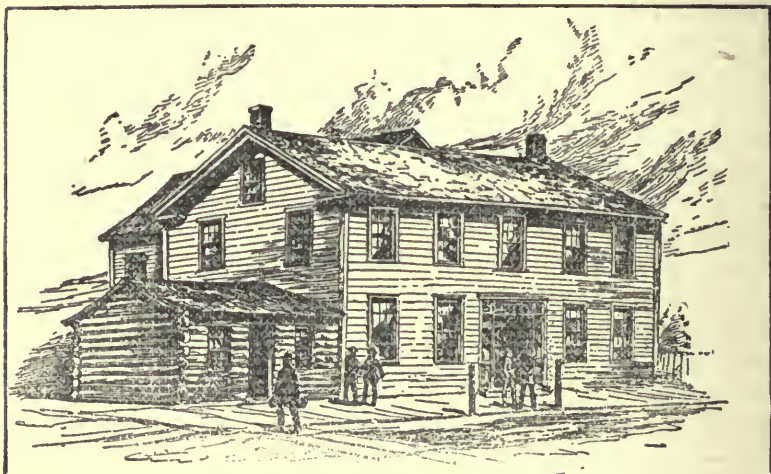
On returning to his country, he was restored to his tribe as a chief, subordinate to Keokuk. He spent his

* While the writer is making up this chapter, Mr. Murray is on the bench holding his court but few rods distant in the village of Wheaton.

last days in quietness, dying on the 3d of October, 1838, at his home on the Des Moines river, in Iowa. He was buried in a sitting posture, after the Indian custom, near the present village of Iowaville in Wapello county, and a mound six feet high raised over the remains of the ill-starred chieftain, who must ever stand recorded as *The last native defender of the soil of the northwest.**

* Our Mr. Lincoln, whom Chicago delights to claim, at least as one of her transient citizens, served in the Black Hawk war six weeks, but humorously says that he fought nothing but mosquitoes. Out of this experience grew an incident which is told by Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, in a pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society, as follows:

"When Major Anderson visited Washington after his evacuation of Fort Sumter, he called at the White House to pay his respects to the president. After the chief magistrate had expressed his thanks to Anderson for his conduct in South Carolina, Mr. Lincoln said: 'Major, do you remember of ever meeting me before?' 'No,' replied Anderson; 'I have no recollection of ever having had that pleasure.' 'My memory is better than yours,' said Mr. Lincoln. 'You mustered me into the United States service as a high private of the Illinois volunteers at Dixon's ferry, in the Black Hawk war.'"



THE SAUGANASH HOTEL.

BUILT BY MARK BEAUBIEN ON THE S. E. COR. LAKE AND
MARKET STREETS, PREVIOUS TO THE
BLACK HAWK WAR.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF FORT DEARBORN,

TAKEN FROM THE RECORDS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AT
WASHINGTON, BY HON. THOS. B. BRYAN.

FORT DEARBORN, ILLINOIS.

SITUATED AT CHICAGO, ILL., WITHIN A FEW YARDS OF
LAKE MICHIGAN; LAT. $41^{\circ} 51' N.$; LON. $87^{\circ} 15' W.$

Post established by the U. S. forces in 1804. August 15, 1812, the garrison, under the command of Captain Nathan Heald, First U. S. Infantry, composed of fifty-four regular infantry, twelve militia men, and one interpreter, was attacked by the Indians, and evacuated same day. The Indians numbered between 400 and 500, of whom fifteen were reported killed. The killed of the garrison were: Ensign Geo. Rowan,* First Infantry; Doctor J. V. Van Voorhis,† Captain Wells, interpreter; twenty-four enlisted men U. S. Infantry, and twelve militia men; two women and twelve children were also killed. The wounded were Captain Nathan Heald and Mrs. Heald. None others reported. The next day, August 16, 1812, it was destroyed by the Indians. Re-occupied about June, 1816, Captain Hezekiah Bradley, Third Infantry, commanding. The troops continued in occupation until October, 1823, when it was evacuated, and the post left in charge of the Indian agent, and was re-occupied October 3, 1828. Capt. Hezekiah Bradley, Third Infantry, commanded the post from June, 1816, to May, 1817; Bvt. Maj. D. Baker, Third Infantry, to June, 1820; Capt. Hezekiah Bradley, Third Infantry, to January, 1821; Maj. Alex. Cummings, Third Infantry, to October, 1821; Lt. Col. J. McNeal, Third Infantry, to July, 1823; Capt. John Greene, Third Infantry, to October, 1823. Post not garrisoned from October, 1823, to October, 1828.

[According to the above official record, the attack preceded the evacuation. This was a mistake, according to the account of every eye witness who has written its history, of whom there are several.—*Author.*]

The following item is from Wm. Hickling, Esq.:

"At this present time (1881) there is standing, fronting on State, near the N. E. corner of Thirty-third street, what appears to be a two-story frame house. The body of this edifice is made of hewn timber, which formerly formed a part of the officers' quarters of Fort Dearborn (erected in 1816). Many years ago, the late Judge Henry Fuller removed this building from its old site, on the Fort reservation, to its present locality; then modernized it by covering with siding and a new shingle roof. In another building erected by Judge Fuller, No. 872 Michigan avenue, may be found an oaken window frame inserted in the kitchen part of said building; this venerable relic was also removed from the "officers' quarters" of the old Fort, after having done duty there for some thirty years. It seems that the judge had a great liking for these old Fort Dearborn buildings, for he removed a portion of another log building belonging to the old fort, converting the same into a stable on the rear of his property, No. 872 Michigan avenue. This old relic of the fort he afterward sold, and I understand the purchaser broke up the old timbers for firewood."

* His name is spelled Ronan in Wabun.

† Spelled Voorhees in Wabun.

FORT DEARBORN, ILL.

FROM OCTOBER 30, 1828, TO MAY 31ST, 1837.

GARRISON.	OFFICERS.	RANK.	ON DUTY		REMARKS.
			FROM	TO	
A. I. 5th Inf. From Oct. 3d, 1828, to May 20, 1831.	John Fowle, David Hunter,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj., 5th Inf. 1st Lt., 5th Inf.	Oct. 3d, 1828.	Dec. 14, 1830.	Commanding Post. } Commanding Post from Dec. 14, 1830, to May 20, 1831; A. A. C. S. & A. A. Q. M.
	John G. Furman,	2d Lt., 5th Inf.	" "	Aug. — 1830.	
	A. Van Buren,	Bvt. 2d Lt., 5th Inf.	" "	Nov. 1830.	
	C. A. Finley,	Asst Surg., U. S. A.	" "	Dec. 14, 1830.	
	James Engle,	2d Lt., 5th Inf.	" "	May 20, 1831.	
	Amos B. Foster,	Bvt. 2d Lt., 5th Inf.	June 20, 1830.	May 20, 1831.	
	Martin Scott,	Capt., 5th Inf.	Nov. 4, 1829.	Aug. 20, 1830.	
		} Troops withdrawn May 20, 1831. } Re-occupied June 17, 1832.			
	Wm. Whistler,	Maj., 2d Inf.	June 17, 1832.	May 14, 1833.	
G. I. 2d Inf. From June 17, 1832, to May 16, 1833. G. to May 31, 1833.	Asst Surg.		" "	Nov. 23, 1832.	Commanding Post. " No returns between June and Oct. 1832. Fort Dearborn having be- come a General Hospital on the 11th of July last, no returns were rendered until its re-occupation; G. and I. 2d Inf. returned to Post on 1st of Oct. from Campaign." See return of Post for Oct., 1832.
	S. G. I. DeCamp,	Capt., 2d Inf.	" "	May 15, 1833.	
	John Johnston,	1st Lt., 2d Inf.	" "	May 31, 1833.	
	I. B. Kingsbury,	2d Lt., 2d Inf.	" "	May 15, 1833.	
	Wm. May Day,	Bvt. 2d Lt., 2d Inf.,	" "	May 31, 1833.	
	R. W. Pentose,	" "	" "	May 15, 1833.	
	E. R. Long,	" "	" "	May 15, 1833.	
A. B. 5th Inf. From May 14, 1833, to Dec., 1836.	Asst Surg.		Feb. 3d, 1833.	Dec. — 1836.	Commanding Post. } Commanding Post from Oct. 31 to Dec. 18, 1833; and from Sept. 16, 1835, to Aug. 1, 1836.
	P. Maxwell, John Fowle,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj., 5th Inf.	May 14, 1833.	June 19, 1833.	
	D. Wilcox.	" " " "	" "	Aug. 1, 1834.	
	L. T. Jamison.	1st Lt., 5th Inf.	" "	Dec. — 1834.	
	J. Allen,	Bvt. 2d Lt., 5th Inf.	" "	Jan. — 1834.	
	J. T. Collinsworth,	Maj., 5th Inf.	" "	June 20, 1834.	
	George Bender,	Capt., 5th Inf.	June 19, 1833.	Oct. 31, 1833.	
	E. K. Baxley,	1st Lt., 5th Inf.	June 20, 1833.	Apr., 1834.	
	E. K. Smith,	2d Lt., 5th Inf.	Oct. 23, 1836.	Dec. 1836.	
	J. L. Thompson,	Maj., 5th Inf.	June 20, 1833.	Sept. 16, 1835.	
A. H. 5th Inf. From May 14, 1833, to Dec., 1837.	John Green,	Bvt. 2d Lt., 5th Inf.	Dec. 18, 1833.	Sept. 16, 1835.	Commanding Post. } Commanding Post. } Commanding Post. } Commanding Post.
	A. H. Tappen,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj., 5th Inf.	Oct. 15, 1835.	May 1837.	
	I. Plympton,	Capt., 5th Inf.	Aug. — 1836.	Dec. 1836.	
	St. Clair Denny,				

No Returns on file subsequent to May, 1837.

The following letter, from Mr. R. J. Bennett is inserted as the most authoritative and best history of the last years of Fort Dearborn, which has yet been made public.

CHICAGO, May 11, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD :

Dear Sir.—In reply to your inquiries concerning Fort Dearborn, I am pleased to say the little I can, to give a more definite idea of Chicago's oldest landmark. The "Old Fort," burned at time of the massacre, belonged to an age preceding Chicago, while the defense, erected at a later date on the same site, was known to many still living, and properly belongs to the Chicago that has grown during the last fifty years, because it stood till the tide of improvements and the demands of a growing commerce crowded upon it, and until its last remnant went down in the great fire of 1871.

In July, 1836, my father came to Chicago, became acquainted with it and helped in laying the state road from this place to Galena during that summer. In March, 1844, I came with my father's family from the east, and spent my first two weeks in this state, in the house of the keeper of the government light. This house stood about where the south abutment of Rush street bridge now stands. So, from my early association, I felt interested in this historical spot. After the great fire, business located me within a hundred feet of the spot where the house stood in which I first lived in this state, and directly upon the "site of Fort Dearborn." This close association of my business with a spot so historical and so closely allied to me by the present and the past, led to the production of two pictures*—one representing the fort as it was from 1844 till after 1850, and the other as it appeared after the stockade, and most of the buildings had been removed, and naught but the "Block House" of the fort and the lighthouse and light keeper's house remained. In the production of those pictures I followed such sketches as could be found, after verification by scores who had known the fort at an early day, and had pronounced the material used reliable. In describing the place, I can do no better than to use the language of Miss Augusta Meacham, in reply to my inquiries upon this subject.

"Father kept the government light in 1842, 1843 and 1844; I think previous to that, for a year or two, he was superintendent of all lights on Lake Michigan. The lighthouse was a stone structure, kept white by lime wash. The dwelling house stood perhaps seventy-five feet east and north of the lighthouse. The old fort was east and just across a rather narrow street or road from it. (This corresponds about to our present River street.) It was west of Michigan avenue; at that time the avenue did not come to the river, but came to an end just south of the fort."

The fort stood on a sand mound, some twenty feet above the river, and occupied a tract bounded by a line running along about River street to near the center of the river as it now is, and east, say 150 feet east of Michigan avenue to the lake beach; thence south, say a like distance south of the present intersection of Michigan avenue and River Street; thence west to the place of beginning. The inclosure was a stockade formed by setting logs upright and close together, the lower end bedded in the earth, and the upper sharpened like pickets or pikes. Within this inclosure and near the stockade was arrayed the barracks and the officers' quarters; they were built of hewn logs. Within these and to the south side of the inclosure was the parade ground. In 1857 Mr. A. J. Cross, now connected with the C., B. & Q. R. R., but then in the employ of the city, tore down the fort and lighthouse and leveled the mound by carting the sand to fill Randolph street to grade. One of the buildings was moved, but still within the site of the

fort (about the center of the store now owned by W. M. Hoyt, and occupied by the firm of which he is the head). That building stood till the fire of 1871 destroyed it, and thus removed the last of Fort Dearborn. A few weeks before that fire I visited that building with my father, and he, laying his hands on one of its corners, said, "This is one of the buildings of the old fort as I saw it in 1836."

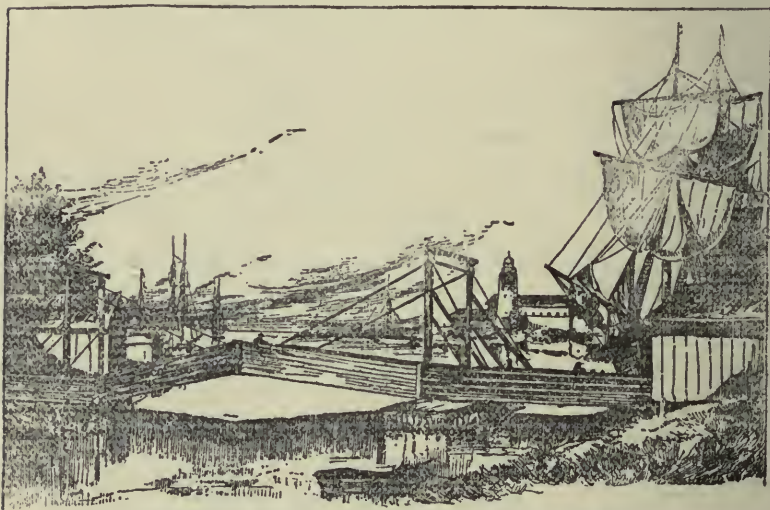
War has given way to peace, defense to aggressive prosperity, but may prosperity never smother our interest in early Chicago and Fort Dearborn.*

Yours respectfully,

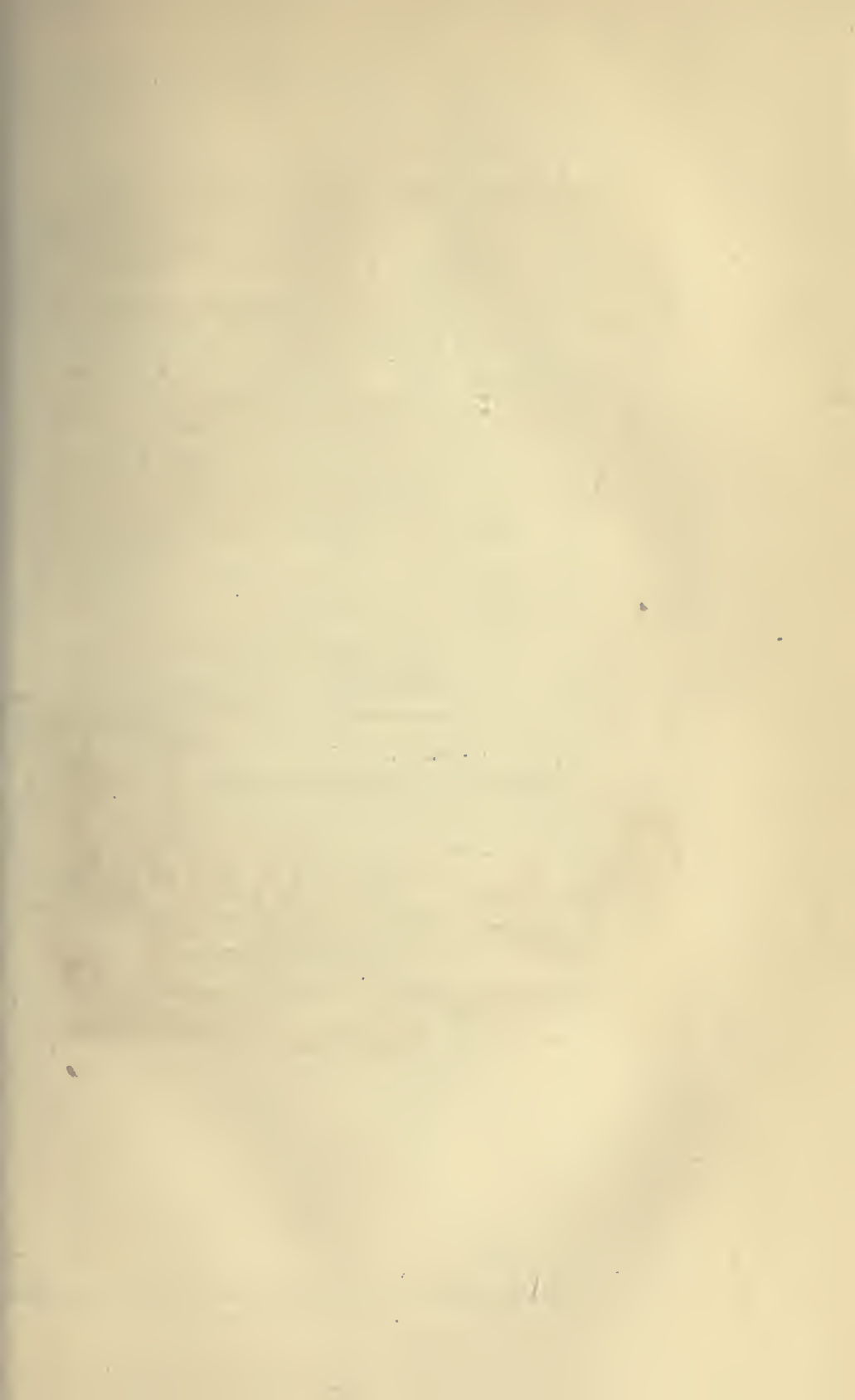
R. J. BENNETT.

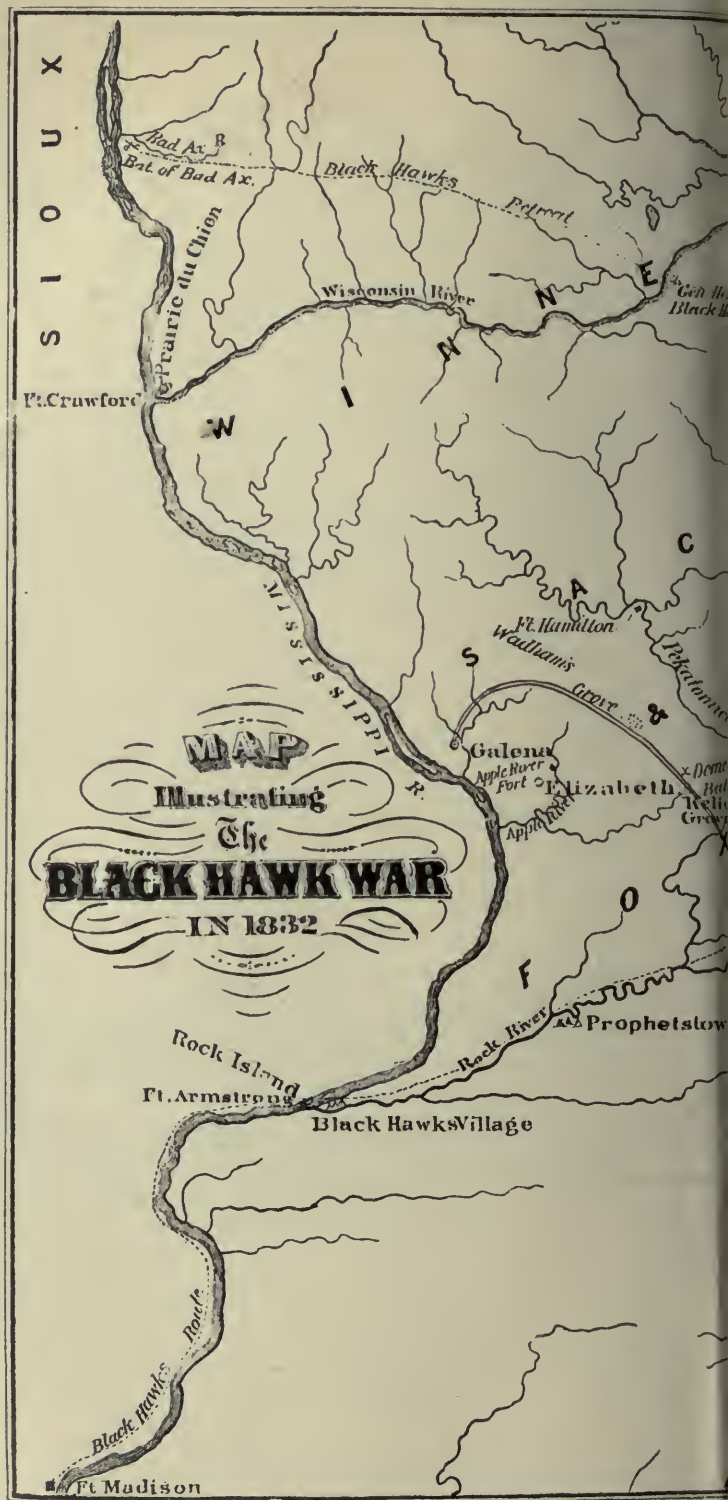
*The two pictures referred to by Mr. Bennett are both landscape drawings of the fort, river and lighthouse, not differing essentially, as far as the block house, officers' quarters, etc., are concerned, from the view here presented. They are now in possession of Mr. Hoyt.—*Author.*

*The view of the fort here presented was from the immediate vicinity of the lighthouse spoken of in Mr. Bennett's letter; hence the lighthouse, light keeper's house and river do not appear, as the spectator is looking away from these objects. The large honey locust tree, appearing in the right background, will be remembered by many of our old citizens. It stood on the west side of Michigan avenue, so near the street that one needed to stoop in passing on the sidewalk. Tradition says it was planted by the daughter of Mr. John Kinzie. It stood till destroyed by the great fire.

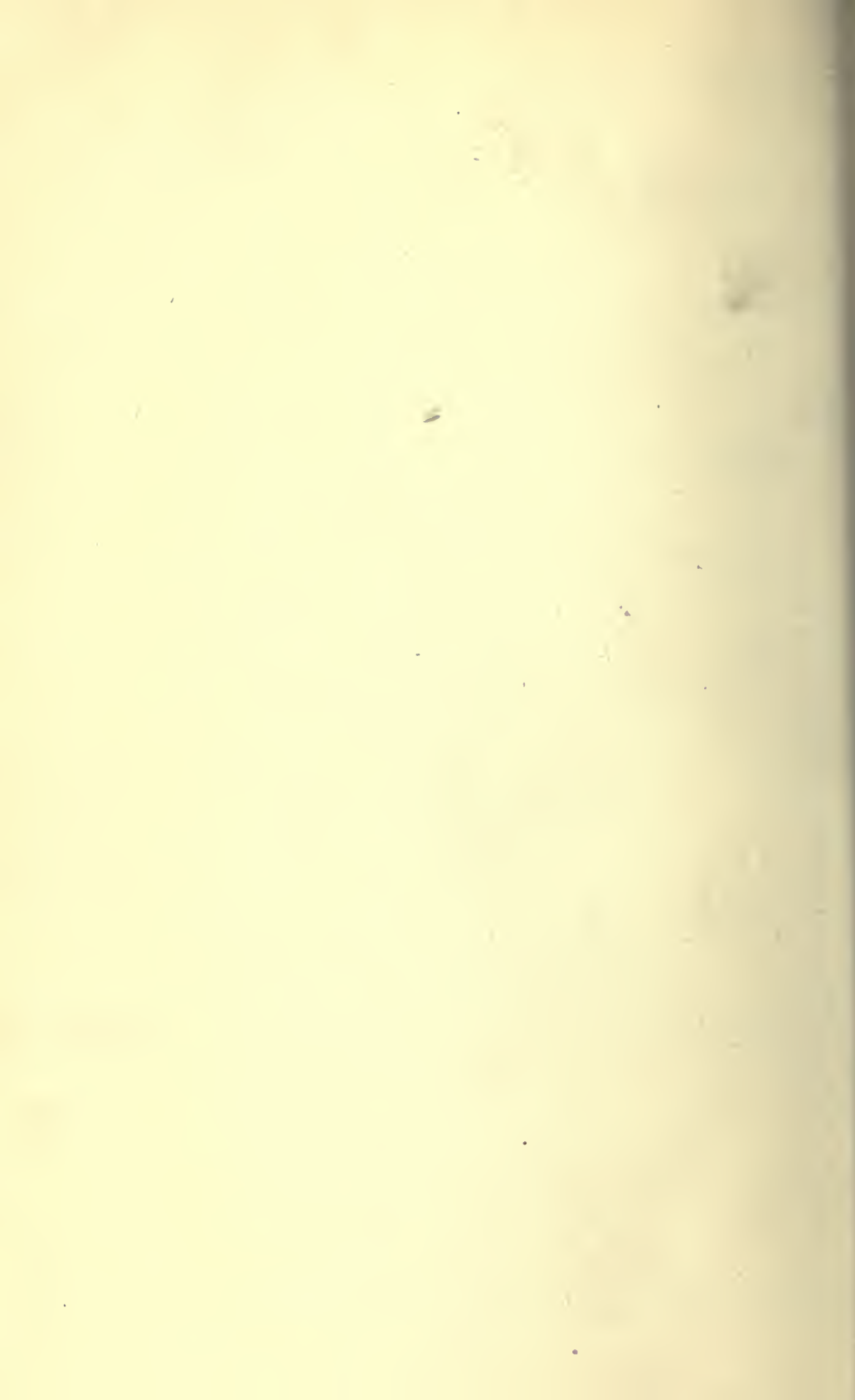


DEARBORN STREET DRAWBRIDGE, BUILT IN 1834.









CHAPTER XXIII.

Chicago as a French and Indian Town in 1790—Chicago as Seen by Philo Carpenter in 1832—Eli B. Williams' Report of Chicago in 1833—Cook County Organized—The Town of Chicago Organized under a Board of Trustees—The Mouth of the River Opened—The First Public Loan—Indian Treaty of 1830—Ditto of 1833 at Chicago—Graphic Description of Chicago and the Treaty by an English Traveler—The Indian Titles Extinguished—The Indians Removed.

The great plateau of northern Illinois was now vacant. Its unmeasured plains over which the summer winds waved the tall prairie grasses into changing hues of green, before the occasional traveler who crossed them, lay out temptingly before the emigrant. The Indian was gone. They had left nothing but the graves of their fathers. They had not even marred the beauty of the groves which stood upon the rolling heath like islands of the ocean, in majestic solitude. The wolves and a few deer were their only tenants, except the birds. The conquest of the northwest was now completed. The spasmodic throe of lingering native power that had been quickened into a fleeting activity by the courage of Black Hawk, had vanished. Many of the men who witnessed all this are still living (1880) and jostling their way along the stage of life in its accumulating activity, that the march of progress has stimulated to high-water mark among us.

But before proceeding with the narrative let us notice the ancestry, as far as the data for it is known, of John Kinzie, the first man who had the honor of representing

the new regions of the stars and stripes, here according to American principles. The French who were at Chicago before him were uneducated, as the foregoing letter will show, written to John H. Kinzie, but addressed to John Kinzie by mistake.

The foregoing letter* is a concentrated page of history of great value, because it tells of the condition of Chicago and its people as early as 1790, the date in which Ouillette came and remained a permanent settler. His name is associated with its history and still remains on the maps showing his reservation near the present limits of Chicago. He gives the names of several persons known to him at the time, and from his letter it appears that the Winnebagoes had been a formidable power, dangerous to offend. This letter was written before the introduction of envelopes, and in copying it under a camera it was reduced, and the place where it was sealed has been indicated by a circle in which the word wafer has been added, to show how letters were sealed at that time.

John Kinzie was born at Quebec, L. C., 1763. His mother was previously married to Major Haliburton. The only daughter of this marriage was the mother of Gen. Fleming and Nicholas Leowe, of New York. While yet an infant, his father died and his mother married a Mr. Forsythe. Gen. James W. Forsythe, U. S. A., is a descendant of this union.

A cousin of John Kinzie was Charles King, president of Columbia college, New York, whose daughter married Monsieur Waddington, for many years ambassador from France to the Court of St. James.

After his youthful flight from home, as told in preceding pages, he apprenticed himself to a watchmaker, thus learning a trade which enabled him to gain the confidence of the northwestern tribes of Indians by manufacturing ornaments, etc., from the silver brought by them from the Lake Superior region, and gave him the name of "Shawneawkee," *i. e.*, Silversmith, by

* Thanks to Mrs. Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, of Savannah, Ga., daughter of John H. Kinzie, who sent the original letter to me, from which this is copied by photo process.

which he was known throughout that region. He was married to Mrs. Eleanor McKillup, the widow of a British officer, March 24, 1793. His oldest son, John H., well known to the writer and many other of the present citizens of Chicago, inherited many of those distinguished traits of his father's character which can best be learned in frontier life, and especially Chicago life, where the sublimest virtues of savage life tempered its rough side into harmony with the teachings of Mr. Kinzie, the elder, whose influence was potent and timely in the days of the Chicago massacre.

The death of John H. Kinzie took place on the cars near Pittsburg, as related in other parts of this work. It was during our civil war, in which cause, on the Union side, he took an active part. He had enjoyed many offices of trust during his eventful life, and had filled them all with honor to himself and with benefit to his country. His talented wife left a lasting monument of her literary fame in her writings, prominent among which was *Waubun*, a history made as interesting as romance and dramatic as Shakespearean tragedy by her graphic pen.

From an obituary notice of her death which occurred in 1871, the following passages are taken:

"While the population of Chicago increases so rapidly that the world is amazed at its progress, the early inhabitants and pioneers are fast passing away, dropping one after the other, like ripened fruit, here and there, startling for a moment the public mind, then vanishing forever from the hearts and memories of this most busy and restless people. Among the latest and saddest of these exits is that of Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, relict of the late John H. Kinzie, whose funeral takes place on Thursday, at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, at St. James' church, and whose memory, worth and works demand something more than a mere passing notice.

"Born at Middletown, Conn., in 1805, descended through her mother from Dr. Alexander Wolcott—an elder brother of Oliver Wolcott. They were the sons of Gov. Roger Wolcott, who was even more famous than his noted son Oliver. He was next in command

to Gen. Sir William Pepperell, in the expedition against Cape Breton, and in the siege of Louisburg, where they secured a signal victory. He was also one of the early colonial governors of Connecticut, held many important offices of trust in the colonies, was a wise legislator and an able statesman.

"Mrs. Kinzie's education, like that of all the well bred girls of New England of that day, was perfect and complete, and to all the thorough knowledge of the schools, she added a cultivated taste for music, a hearty devotion to books and letters, and a complete mastery of the standard English and American classics and history. In August, 1829, she married Col. John H. Kinzie, then sub-Indian agent of the Winnebagoes, under Gen. Cass, as secretary of war, and removed to Fort Winnebago, at the Portage, between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, where they remained a year or two, and then removed to Fort Howard, at Green Bay.

"In the spring of 1834, Col. Kinzie and his wife came to Chicago, and for a time occupied the old Kinzie house on the North Side, near the corner of Pine street, where old John Kinzie had lived since 1803, with the exception of the years 1813, 1814 and 1815, while in custody of the British government as prisoner of war at Sandwich, Canada.

"From the moment of her arrival in Chicago, then containing a population of not more than 600 white people and several thousands of Indians, Juliette Kinzie commenced the great literary work of her life.

"From 1836 down to the time that the great flood of emigration overflowed all the old landmarks of society in Chicago, her quiet and unpretending home was the rendezvous of all officers of the government, all the cultivated and intellectual people of our own and of foreign lands. Frederica Bremer, Harriet Martineau, Capt. Marryatt, Charles Fenno Hoffmann and other eminent authors have been guests at her literary home." But a few years more will see the last one of these urban pioneers gathered into the fold among their fathers, and then our age will descend into history as an epoch of progress unparalleled in its records.

In 1880 there were but three or four men living in Chicago who were residents of the place before the Black Hawk war, and have been representatives of its vital interests, and witnessed its growth from a lea of sand ridge, marsh and forest, to a city of over 500,000—have seen it in its gradations from an obscure military post on the extreme verge of western settlements, to the commercial center of the great northwest. One of these, Gurdon S. Hubbard, has already been memorized in preceding chapters, as his active life has interwoven its record into Chicago history. Another is Philo Carpenter, who is associated with later records of Chicago.

He came to the place in 1832, starting from Troy, N. Y., in May. He took the Erie canal to Buffalo, and from thence took passage on the steamer "Enterprise" (Capt. Walker, master), to Detroit. Four and a half days was then the usual time for this passage. Detroit was the western limit of established lines of western transportation, but a mail coach consisting of a Pennsylvania covered wagon with a concave body, was drawn by two horses slowly through the wilderness road to Niles once a week, from whence the mail was carried to Chicago on horseback, a half-breed generally performing the service. From Detroit to Niles, Mr. Carpenter, with another gentleman named G. W. Snow, came in the mail coach. Niles was an old settled French trading post, and at this time enjoyed a fair trade, principally with Indians. Supplies were transported to the place from Detroit by way of the lake to the mouth of the St. Joseph, which latter spot had been an important point ever since La Salle had built a fort here in 1680. From here freight was transported to Niles by means of flat boats, propelled by shoulder poles, as our worthy Mr. Lincoln used to move his lumber rafts through sluggish waters when a boatman.

Mr. Carpenter with Mr. Snow took passage from Niles to the mouth of the St. Joseph river on one of these boats, expecting to complete the last part of their journey on board a sloop which made occasional trips from this place to Chicago; but in this they were disappointed. The last trip made by this craft to Chi-

cago was just after Gen. Scott's arrival at the place, and so great was the terror caused by the contagion that he brought, that no inducement could influence the master of the sloop to return. In this emergency two Indians came to Mr. Carpenter, and by means of signs offered to convey him and his companion to their destination in a small boat along the shore around the head of the lake. Five dollars was the fare, half down, and the balance at the end of the journey. The terms being accepted, the Indians took to the woods, and soon returned with several long strips of elm bark. These were quickly tied together till a long tow line was improvised and attached to the rude boat, which was the excavated trunk of a tree. One Indian seized the line and started off on a trot, tugging the clumsy craft along the shore, while the other steered. By taking turns a speed of five miles an hour was attained. When the first night overtook them, as chance would have it, a schooner lay stranded on the beach, and its captain invited the travelers to accept his hospitalities. A supper of venison, a good berth and breakfast followed. In the morning the Indians took their places, one at the helm and the other at the tow line; the travelers seated themselves in the boat; a few extra strains of the swarthy toiler raised the speed and rapidly he tugged along the sandy shore the exponents of a civilization destined to exterminate his own race. The next night found them at the mouth of the Calumet. Here John Mann kept a tavern and also a ferry, but he with his family had fled to Chicago, lest some Indian on the war path should attack them to subserve the interests of Black Hawk. Mr. Carpenter and his companion entered his forsaken house and spent the night, and in the morning, resuming their journey in the usual way, soon came to the place where the Douglas monument now stands. Here a settler lived named Joel Ellis, well known to some of the old settlers now living. One of the Indians was now attacked with colic, perhaps caused by the fear of the cholera, and both refused to proceed farther, but Mr. Ellis yoked his oxen to a lumber wagon, the travelers seated themselves in it, and

after an hour's toiling over the sand ridges, the American flag waving over the block house at Fort Dearborn met their view.

The streets of the embryo town had been staked out, but no grading had been done, not even a dirt road thrown up. A wagon track took a circuitous way from one house to another, accommodating itself to the oozy sloughs which seamed the landscape. The places connected by this trace were first the fort with its adjuncts, occupying the grounds south of the present Rush street bridge, from which the path took a western direction to Russell Heacock's log building, which stood on the bank of the river at the junction of a deep run, the mouth of which was where State street now comes to the river. A foot-log across it gave Mr. Heacock a nearer way to the postoffice, which was then at the Fork* (Wolf's Point), but the main road curved around the head of this run, or rather to a place above its abrupt bank where it could be crossed. The road next threaded its way to a log building about at the present corner of Clark and Water streets, where George W. Dole and Oliver Newberry kept a commission house. The next building on the road in its western course was a new frame, the first of its kind ever erected in Chicago; it was located near the present corner of La Salle and Water streets, built by P. F. W. Peck,† and occupied by him as a dry goods store. It stood till the great fire of 1871, contrasting strangely and incongruously with its adjacent companions. The next building on the primitive highway was the postoffice, at which was also a general store kept by John S. C. Hogan. It stood where Water street now meets Lake street diagonally, just east of the bridge. Immediately south of this on Market street, stood a log tavern kept by Mark Beaubien. This was sometimes called the Sauganash, but it was not the famous hotel known by that name subsequently erected about at the present corner of Franklin and Lake streets. Besides these buildings

* Mr. Heacock came to Chicago in 1827. He was the first lawyer who settled at the place.—W. H. HURLBUT.

† Mr. Peck came to Chicago in 1831 on the schooner "Telegraph," bringing with him a stock of goods.

was the residence of John Baptise Beaubien, south of the fort on the bank of the river, past its turn as it took its sandy way into the lake. These are all the improvements on the South Side, as reported by Mr. Carpenter on his first arrival at Chicago.

Speaking of the area occupied by the sand bar and river itself, east of the elevated bank on which the fort stood, he says it was ever changing in form, and such portions of it as one day appeared above water were liable to be submerged the next day. Nor was the mouth of the river any more permanent in its location, for there was no spot from north to south in this low heath of moving sands that had not at certain times been its channel, in obedience to the whimsical action of the winds and waves. At its immediate mouth the river was not more than twelve inches deep during ordinary summer seasons, while a few feet above, it deepened to fifteen feet or more; but the freshets of spring, or an excessive rain at any time might produce a current in the river sufficient to clear away the sand at its mouth to a depth as low as the bottom of the river above. This depth could only be maintained as long as the swollen waters were able to resist the counter action of the waves, which would quickly choke the mouth of the river again when its active current subsided.

Geology has revealed the history of many of the physical changes which are apparent on the face of nature in its present adaptation to our wants, and of these changes observation, even unaided by science, shows how the recent finishing up of great geological changes has been completed. That Lake Michigan has been receding for several centuries does not admit of a doubt when one carefully notes the topography of its southwestern water shed. The rapids of the Illinois river at Marsailles once bore the same relation to the great lakes on the west that Niagara Falls now bears on the east. The evidence of this is found in the valley which once constituted the gently sloping banks of a western outlet of the lakes. This must have been when the face of the lake was thirty or more feet higher

than its present level. At that time the Desplaines river must have emptied into the lake, and as the latter receded its waval action, by obstructing its mouth, as it subsequently did the mouth of the Chicago river, turned it into the Illinois valley. Even as late as 1849, during a great flood, the swollen waters of the Desplaines found their old channel to the lake through the Chicago river, carrying shipping and bridges along in its irresistible career. How much more Lake Michigan may recede depends on the friable nature of the rock at Niagara Falls and the bed of the Detroit river, which as yet seems to be inflexible enough to give many centuries, lease of the present height of the lake before it can recede sufficiently to leave Chicago as an inland city. Till then she may drink of the brimming cup which the economy of nature has brought to her lips, and if, by the wisdom and justice of our country's laws, our government stands and continues to dispense an even measure of justice to all its subjects till the evolutions of nature shall have changed the location of our large cities, we shall present a spectacle never before recorded in the world's history.

The solution of this problem belongs to the future. It will not follow the mandates of our dogmas or the whims of speculation, but a thousand years hence the merits of Oriental, Grecian and Christian civilization will be compared with each other by transcendental philosophy, which is always parsimonious in its praise and lavish in its censure; meantime we shall wag along, each one doing all he can to contribute his mite to make up the sum total of the grandeur of his own age as far as the promotion of his own interest can do it; and the verdict of time will be pronounced in favor of that civilization whose policy the most largely turns private enterprise into, and secures private interests in channels not antagonistic to, but in harmony with the public good. Let us convince our posterity that Christian civilization can win in this sublime rivalry, even if it extends into Oriental fields in the Philippine archipelago, as now proposed by leading American statesmen, the result of which new policy will be shown in

the future. Let us return to Chicago, which we left where Mr. Carpenter found it.

Mr. Eli B. Williams may be regarded as next in chronological order of the living witnesses of early Chicago. He was a native of Connecticut, and with his wife arrived at Chicago, April 14, 1833. From Detroit they came in their own private carriage across the country through Ypsilanti and Niles, coming to the shore of the lake at the residence of Mr. Biella, who with his family were spoken of in the previous chapter. From this place they followed the immediate shore of the lake to Chicago, ferrying over the Calumet at Mr. Man's ferry, arriving at the place the next day in the afternoon. Leaving the fort at their right, they bent their course across the open prairie toward the fork of the river. Here they found a log tavern kept by Mark Beaubien. Several Indians were lounging around the door, in the listless manner peculiar to their race, which was not calculated to assure a lady from Connecticut with confidence, and Mr. Williams, at the suggestion of his wife, drove across the river on a floating log bridge, to a tavern kept by Charles H. Taylor. Here they stopped several days to take observations, after which Mr. Williams decided to settle in Chicago, under an impression that a late appropriation which congress had made to improve the river and harbor, together with the canal when finished, would insure a respectable sized town, where the religious and educational institutions of his native state might be reproduced.

The entire white population of Chicago did not then exceed 200 persons, but there was a much larger Indian population, which, though transient, served to swell the volume of trade, and Mr. Williams concluded to open a store at once. His place of business was on South Water street, east of Geo. W. Dole's. This he built, making the frame from green timber, cut from the forests on the North Side, hewn to a snap line with a broad ax in the old-fashioned way. The weather boarding came from St. Joseph, which then furnished Chicago her lumber as much as it does now her peaches. The flooring came from a saw mill which had just been

built by the enterprising Mr. Naper, at Naperville, who must be recorded as one of the pioneers in the lumber trade to Chicago.

In 1831 the county of Cook had been organized, including within its area the present counties of Dupage, Lake, McHenry, Will and Iroquois, receiving its name from Daniel P. Cook, a member of congress from southern Illinois. Samuel Miller, Gholson Kercheval and James Walker were sworn into office as county commissioners, March 8, 1831, by John S. C. Hogan, justice; William See was clerk, and Archibald Clybourn treasurer, Jedediah Wooley was county surveyor. Three election districts were organized, one at Chicago, one on the Dupage river and one on Hickory creek.

It was not until two years later that the town of Chicago took any action toward organizing, when, under general statute law, they held an election for this purpose, August 10, 1833, and incorporated the embryo town. Only twenty-eight votes were cast, which was but a feeble constituency with which to start a metropolis. P. J. V. Owen, Geo. W. Dole, Mederd Beaubien, John Miller and E. S. Kimberly were elected as trustees. A log jail was built on the public square, where the court house has since been erected. An estray pen was also built at an expense of \$12.

The next year Mr. Williams was elected president of the council board of trustees. Entering upon the responsibility of his office, he found many difficulties in his path. There were various public improvements necessary to be made to keep pace with the progress of such public works as had been projected at government expense, such as the Illinois and Michigan canal and building the north pier, and opening a straight channel for the mouth of the river through the sand bar around which it had formerly formed a circuitous delta.*

* From Mr. Ezekiel Morrison, who came to Chicago soon after the arrival of Mr. Williams in 1833, the following has been learned relative to the opening of the mouth of the river directly to the lake. In 1833 work was commenced at cutting through the sand bar to straighten the Chicago river. It was done under the direction of Major Handy, who had charge of the government work. Cribs were made, filled with stone and sunk across the main channel of the river to turn its course across the sand bar directly into the lake, as it now runs. The next year, as

Clark street was then the principal highway from north to south. During excessive rains it was impassable, in its low places, and it was the first pressing want of the town to make a ditch on each side of it. The treasury was empty, and a loan to accomplish this end was necessary. By dint of much importunity, Mr. Williams succeeded in negotiating one for \$60 with Messrs. Strahan & Scott, by becoming personally responsible for its payment. The amount was faithfully applied to the purpose for which it was intended, and thus the public credit and improvement of Chicago began, which have since been witnessed up to this date (1880) by him who inaugurated them.

Besides the honorable record of Mr. Williams in Chicago, an increased interest gathers around his recollections, from the following incident: At Toland, Conn., in his father's house, John Buel Fitch planned and built the first steam engine ever made. He, with his assistants, worked secretly in the basement of the house, and continued their labors till the engine was in practical working order; the first of its kind which was destined to revolutionize the transporting as well as the manufacturing interests of the world, and control the destinies of nations. While at work on it, says Mr. Williams, the screeching of files, the clink of hammers, and hissing of steam, which was heard outside, excited the superstition of the age, till witchcraft was suspected,

good fortune would have it, the Desplaines overflowed the country intervening and caused an unusual flow of water through the Chicago river. Only a slight opening was made in the sand bar, and the accumulated waters did the rest. A steamboat came through the opening thus made the same spring (1834). The north pier was then commenced to secure the advantage thus gained. Four hundred feet was made the first year, and its progress continued from year to year to its present dimensions. Immediately after the channel was pierced through, the wind commenced drifting sand from the north bank into the river, and clubs had to be set into the bank to prevent the filling up of the channel. The action of the waves was also a constant source of annoyance, and threatened to destroy the utility of the work already done, till the north pier was extended a sufficient distance into the lake to reach water so deep that the sand could not be moved around it by surface agitation. To extend this pier sufficiently to accomplish this has been, and is still, a work perhaps not completed, but destined yet to engage the attention of the Chicago board of public works. Meantime the waval action is constantly making accretions north of the pier. It has already made a belt of land half a mile into the lake, and the process is still going on.

and the whole neighborhood were beset with fear from what was going on in the mysterious basement.

John Fitch lived and died in penury and want, but through his invention the railroad and manufacturing millionaires of Europe and America grew into power, and the present magnitude of Chicago is already traceable to the success of that experiment that from the basement of the elder Mr. Williams' house crowned the twilight of the eighteenth century with everlasting fame.

In the year 1832 the Pottawattamies of Indiana and Michigan, on the 20th of October, at Camp Tippecanoe, in Indiana, concluded a treaty with the United States, by the terms of which the country intervening between their cession of 1816, along the line of the proposed canal and the Indiana line was sold to the United States in the following terms: After making many reservations to private Indians for services rendered the state, the United States agreed to pay to the Pottawattamies an annuity of \$15,000 for twenty years, besides an annuity of \$600 to Billy Caldwell, \$200 to Alexander Robinson, and \$200 to Pierre Le Clerc, during their lives. Further, the sum of \$28,746 was to be paid to liquidate certain private claims against the Indians, and merchandise to the amount of \$45,000 was to be delivered to them on signing the treaty, and an additional amount of merchandise, to the value of \$30,000, was to be delivered to them at Chicago the next year (1833).

On the 27th of October, the same year, 1832, and at the same place (Tippecanoe), the Pottawattamies of Indiana sold to the United States all the remainder of the lands which they still held as a tribe, in Michigan, south of Grand river, in Indiana, and in Illinois.

This treaty did not release the claim of the Pottawattamies, Chippewas and Ottawas, of Illinois, to such lands as lay north and west of the cession of 1816, along the track of the proposed canal; and it will thus be seen that almost all the northern portion of Illinois was still in undisputed Indian possession.

Appropriations to build the Illinois and Michigan canal had already been made by the state of Illinois, to whom the alternate sections of public lands for six miles on each side of the canal had been donated by the government for this purpose.

Since the Black Hawk war, which had brought the country within the knowledge of so many enterprising young men, emigration was coming in rapidly and occupying the lands, although they had not yet been surveyed; but these moral pre-emptors did not want any better claim for an ultimate title than would result from actual possession. Speculators were also coming into Chicago with cash to make investments, and it was all-important that the Indian title to such portions of northern Illinois as the Sacs and Foxes had not already given up, should be speedily extinguished. To this end the Chippewas, the Ottawas and the Pottawatamies of Illinois were summoned to a great council to be held in Chicago in September, 1833. Great preparations were made for this event. Besides the interest the Indians had in it directly as to the amounts of money and goods coming to them on parting with their lands, they were the unwitting instruments by which several hundred white claimants brought charges against the government, either for property said to have been destroyed or stolen by them, or for services done the state in times of Indian disturbances as measures of safety, or for services in times of peace under government contracts.

At this time Mr. Charles J. Latrobe, an Englishman of great descriptive talent, happened to be on a tour to Chicago to see the wonders of an American frontier, and make notes of the same for publication in London.* The naiveness of his description of Chicago and the transient comers to the place, both red and white, to attend the treaty, are too fresh to be lost, and portions of them are here reproduced as a truer picture of the scene than could now be given:

We found the village on our arrival crowded to excess, and we procured with great difficulty a small apartment, comfortless and noisy from

* His book entitled "Rambler" in America, was published in London in 1835. It was dedicated to Washington Irving.

its close proximity to others, but quite as good as we could have hoped for.

The Pottawattamies were encamped on all sides—on the wide level prairie beyond the scattered village, beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them, on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand hills near the beach of the lake. They consisted of three principal tribes with certain adjuncts from smaller tribes. The main divisions are, the Pottawattamies of the prairie and those of the forest, and these are subdivided into distinct villages under their several chiefs.

The general government of the United States, in pursuance of the scheme of removing the whole Indian population westward of the Mississippi, had empowered certain gentlemen to frame a treaty with these tribes, to settle the terms upon which the cession of their reservations in these states should be made.

A preliminary council had been held with the chiefs some days before our arrival. The principal commissioner had opened it, as we learnt, by stating that, "as their great father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent commissioners to treat with them." The Indians promptly answered by their organ, "that their great father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie, for that far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it." The commissioner, nothing daunted, replied: "That nevertheless, as they had come together for a council, they must take the matter into consideration." He then explained to them promptly the wishes and intentions of their great father, and asked their opinion thereon. Thus pressed, they looked at the sky, saw a few wandering clouds, and straightway adjourned *sine die*, as the weather is not clear enough for so solemn a council.

However, as the treaty had been opened, provision was supplied to them by regular rations; and the same night they had had great rejoicings—danced the war-dance, and kept the eyes and ears of all open by running and howling about the village.

Such was the state of affairs on our arrival. Companies of old warriors might be seen sitting smoking under every bush; arguing, palavering or "pow-wow'ing" with great earnestness; but there seemed no possibility of bringing them to another council in a hurry.

Meanwhile the village and its occupants presented a most motley scene.

The fort contained within its palisades by far the most enlightened residents, in the little knot of officers attached to the slender garrison. The quarters here consequently were too confined to afford place of residence for the government commissioners, for whom and a crowd of dependents, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. To the latter gentlemen we, as the only idle lookers on, were indebted for much friendly attention; and in the frank and hospitable treatment we received from the inhabitants of Fort Dearborn, we had a foretaste of that which we subsequently met with everywhere under like circumstances, during our autumnal wanderings over the frontier. The officers of the United States army have perhaps less opportunities of becoming refined than those of the navy. They are often, from the moment of their receiving commissions, after the termination of their cadetship at West Point, and at an age when good society is of the utmost consequence to the young and ardent, exiled for long years to the posts on the northern or western frontier, far removed from cultivated female society, and in daily contact with the refuse of the human race. And this is their misfortune—not their fault—but wherever we have met with them, and been thrown as strangers upon their good offices, we have found them the same good friends and good company.

But I was going to give you an inventory of the contents of Chicago, when the recollection of the warm hearted intercourse we had enjoyed

with many fine fellows whom probably we shall neither see nor hear of again, drew me aside.

Next in rank to the officers and commissioners, may be noticed certain storekeepers and merchants resident here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood, or those passing yet further to the westward, for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent, and five or six hotel-keepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you.

Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawattamies, of whom more anon—and emigrants and land speculators as numerous as the sands. You will find horse dealers and horse stealers—rogues of every description, white, black, brown and red—half breeds, quarter breeds, and men of no breed at all—dealers in pigs, poultry and potatoes—men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, others, like our friend Snipe (one of his stage coach companions on the way), for pigs which the wolves had eaten—creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money, if they do not get it from the government agents—sharpers of every degree; peddlers, grog-sellers, Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawattamies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled and whooped in their various encampments.

I loved to stroll out toward sunset across the river, and gaze upon the level horizon, stretching to the northwest over the surface of the prairie, dotted with innumerable objects far and near. Not far from the river lay many groups of tents constructed of coarse canvas, blankets and mats, and surmounted by poles, supporting meat, moccasins and rags. Their vicinity was always enlivened by various painted Indian figures, dressed in the most gaudy attire. The interior of the hovels generally displayed a confined area, perhaps covered with a few half-rotten mats or shavings, upon which men, women, children and baggage were heaped pell-mell.

Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors mounted or on foot, squaws and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed—groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children, or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the grass in consultation.

It was amusing to wind silently from group to group—here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl, quashed by the good natured and even playful interference of the neighbors, there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs into the deep, black narrow trail running to the north. You peep into a wigwam and see a domestic feud; the chief sitting in dogged silence on the mat, while the women, of which there were commonly two or three in every dwelling, and who appeared every evening even more elevated with the fumes of whisky than the males, read him a lecture. From another tent a constant voice of wrangling and weeping would proceed, when suddenly an offended fair one would draw the mat aside, and taking a youth standing without by the hand, lead him apart, and sitting down on the grass, set up the most indescribable whine as she told her grief. Then forward comes an Indian, staggering with his chum from a debauch; he is met by his squaw, with her child dangling in a fold of her blanket behind, and the sobbing and weeping which accompanies her whining appeal to him, as she hangs to

his hand, would melt your heart, if you did not see that she was quite as tipsy as himself.

Here sitting apart and solitary, an Indian expends the exuberance of his intoxicated spirits in the most ludicrous singing and gesticulation; and there squat a circle of unruly toppers indulging themselves in the most unphilosophic and excessive peals of laughter.

It is a grievous thing that government is not strong handed enough to put a stop to the shameful and scandalous sale of whisky to those poor miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it for sale under the very eye of the commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained, were it only that no one should be able to lay at their door an accusation of unfair dealing, and of having taken advantage of the helpless Indian in a bargain, whereby the people of the United States were to be so greatly the gainers.

And such was the state of things day by day. However anxious I and others might be to eulcate the United States government from the charge of cold and selfish policy toward the remnant of the Indian tribes, and from that of resorting to unworthy and diabolical means in attaining possession of their lands—as long as it can be said with truth, that drunkenness was not guarded against, and that the means were furnished at the very time of the treaty, and under the very nose of the commissioners—how can it be expected but a stigma will attend every transaction of this kind. The sin may lie at the door of the individuals more immediately in contact with them; but for the character of the people as a nation, it should be guarded against, beyond a possibility of transgression. Who will believe that any act, however formally executed by the chiefs, is valid, as long as it is known that whisky was one of the parties to the treaty.

“But how sped the treaty?” you will ask.

Day after day passed. It was in vain that the signal gun from the fort gave notice of an assemblage of chiefs at the council fire. Reasons were always found for its delay. One day an influential chief was not in the way; another, the sky looked cloudy, and the Indian never performs an important business except the sky be clear. At length, on September 21, the Potawattamies resolved to meet the commissioners. We were politely invited to be present.

The council fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow, on the opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood. From the difficulty of getting all together, it was late in the afternoon when they assembled. There might be twenty or thirty chiefs present, seated at the lower end of the enclosure, while the commissioners, interpreters, etc., were at the upper. The palaver was opened by the principal commissioner. He requested to know why he and his colleagues were called to the council? An old warrior arose, and in short sentences, generally of five syllables, delivered with a monotonous intonation and rapid utterance, gave answer. His gesticulation was appropriate but rather violent. Rice, the half-breed interpreter, explained the signification from time to time to the audience; and it was seen that the old chief, who had got his lesson, answered one question by proposing another, the sum and substance of his oration being—“that the assembled chiefs wished to know what was the object of their great father at Washington in calling his red children together at Chicago.”

This was amusing enough after the full explanation given a week before at the opening session; and particularly when it was recollected that they had feasted sumptuously during the interval at the expense of their great father, but was not making very encouraging progress. A young chief rose and spoke vehemently to the same purpose. Hereupon the commissioner made them a forcible Jacksonian discourse, wherein a good deal which was akin to threat was mingled with exhortations not to play with their great father, but to come to an early

determination, whether they would or would not sell and exchange their territory; and this done, the council was dissolved. One or two tipsy old chiefs raised an occasional disturbance, else matters were conducted with due gravity.

The relative positions of the commissioner and the whites before the council fire, and that of the red children of the forest and prairie, were to me strikingly impressive. The glorious light of the setting sun streaming in under the low roof of the council house, fell full on the countenances of the former as they faced the west—while the pale light of the east hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently claved to their birthright in that quarter. Even though convinced of the necessity of their removal, my heart bled for them in their desolation and decline. Ignorant and degraded as they may have been in their original state, their degradation is now ten-fold, after years of intercourse with the whites; and their speedy disappearance from the earth appears as certain as though it were already sealed and accomplished.

Your own reflection will lead you to form the conclusion—and it will be a just one—that even if he had the will, the power would be wanting, for the Indian to keep his territory; and that the business of arranging the terms of an Indian treaty, whatever it might have been 200 years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependent, and the government agents. When the former have seen matters so far arranged their self interest and various schemes and claims are likely to be fulfilled and allowed to their hearts' content—the silent acquiescence of the Indian follows of course; and till this is the case, the treaty can never be amicably effected. In fine, before we quitted Chicago on the 25th, three or four days later, the treaty with the Pottawattamies was concluded—the commissioners putting their hands, and the assembled chiefs their paws, to the same.

By it, an apparently advantageous "swop" was made for both parties.

By the terms of this treaty the three tribes ceded to the United States the entire remainder of their lands in Illinois that had not already been sold. The ceded tract lay between the Rock river and Lake Michigan, embracing the entire lake shore north of Chicago, and all the lands intervening between the canal cession of 1816 and the Sac and Fox and Winnebago cessions between the Rock and Mississippi rivers of 1830 and 1832.

The consideration for the relinquishment of this land was first 5,000,000 acres granted to them, situated on the east bank of the Missouri river south of the Boyer river, to which they were to be transported at the expense of the government as soon as practicable, and maintained in their new home for one year. One hundred thousand dollars was to be paid by the United States to satisfy certain claimants for reservations, and to indemnify the Chippewas for certain lands in Michigan, ceded to the United States by the Menomonees,

to which they laid an equal claim. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars to satisfy private claims made against the three tribes; an annuity of \$14,000 per year for twenty years; \$150,000 to be applied to the erection of mills, farming tools and other improvements in their new home. Seventy thousand dollars to support the means of education among them, and lastly, \$400 per annum was to be added to the annuity of Billy Caldwell, \$300 to that of Alexander Robinson, and \$200 each to the annuity of Joseph La Fromboise and Shabonee.*

G. B. Porter, Th. J. V. Owen and William Weatherford, in behalf of the United States, negotiated this treaty with

* RECOLLECTIONS OF CHIEF ALEXANDER ROBINSON.

About the year 1857, I used frequently to see Chief Alexander Robinson. He was in receipt of an annuity of \$500, as his share of the amount paid to the Pottawattamies and other tribes under his chieftainship, by the United States government, as payment for their lands ceded to the United States. Every year a check for that amount was sent to my father, John H. Kinzie, who was empowered by Chief Robinson to collect it for him, and I usually carried the money to Robinson at his residence at Casenovia, on the Desplaines river, about twelve miles northwest from Chicago.

I used to hitch up the buggy, and with a companion among the boys of my acquaintance, who was not difficult to secure, set out early in the morning for Casenovia. We usually arrived there about noon, and almost invariably the venerable chief would be sitting on the verandah in a large easy chair, smoking. He was not a large man, rather under the medium height; but what we call *wiry* and *withy* , not an ounce of superfluous flesh, yet every muscle capable to its full extent. When we hove in sight he would jump up as supple as a man of twenty years, and come toward us shouting "Holal Shawneeawkee's Son! Bushool! Bushool!" (The word "Bushool" is universal use among the northwest tribes is evidently a corruption of the French "Bon jour.") Then he would sing out for some one to come and attend to the horse, and usher us on to the verandah, and hustle up the female portion of the establishment to prepare dinner. And under the impression that no denizen of the city could possibly get along without fresh meat, if none was on hand he would have a calf killed (for only two of us) and a portion served up as tough as newly killed beef usually is before the animal heat has had time to leave the carcass. His house was a two-story frame building, after the usual style of a well-to-do farmer's residence, with substantial outbuildings, and every evidence of a prosperous farm. I do not remember the number of his family, but there were two or three daughters and several men folks always at dinner, but whether they were his sons or not I do not know. He was a lively old man. At that time he was probably eighty-seven years old, but was as lively as a well preserved man of fifty. He was full of humorous remarks, and continually joking with his daughters or whoever of the attendants he happened to speak to, and no one, wherever he was brought up, could be more attentive or polite to his guests than he was to us; not at all obtrusive, but showing us boys as much attention as if we were the highest in the land. My companion on one of these trips was James McHale, late coroner of Cook county, and I remember a remark he made on our return trip to Chicago: "Why Arth," he said, "that's the finest gentleman I ever saw." And he was.

ARTHUR M. KINZIE.

the Pottawattamies, Chippewas and Ottawas. It bears date of Chicago, September 26, 1833. It was the last great Indian council at this place, around which the red men had lingered in great numbers much longer after being settled by the whites than around other frontier settlements.

The reason of this was obvious; Chicago, after over 100 years of transient French occupation, first grew into importance as an English settlement through Indian trade. Moreover, many of its first settlers were men bred on the frontiers and felt no repugnance toward the Indians, but on the contrary not a few felt a friendship for them, strengthened by years of companionship in the fascinating sports of border life, which not only level social distinctions, but accept a good fellowship through a rough exterior intolerable to the uninitiated civilian. Notwithstanding the apparent degradation of the Indian, even after being brutalized by bad whisky, many of them could make nice discriminations in issues where natural rights were at stake, as our government agents found in their councils. They well knew that they were the instruments by which many unjust claims were brought against the government; but of this they said nothing, lest their own rights might be compromised by such an exposure.

The amount of goods dispensed to them at Chicago to fulfill treaty stipulations was often very large, and in order to distribute them equitably men were chosen for the service whose personal acquaintance with the Indians would enable them to do it in the most satisfactory manner. On these occasions the huge piles of goods, consisting largely of Indian blankets, were dispensed by piecemeal to the different Indian families according to their necessities, but sometimes a discarded Indian lassie, whose place had been substituted by a white wife, came in for an extra share of finery as an offset to lacerated affections.

Two years elapsed after the Indians had sold out their interest in the country before they were removed. This was effected by Col. J. B. F. Russell, whose widow is still living in Chicago, 1880. This lady, who

is descended from the Peytons, of Virginia, has in her possession autograph letters of Washington and other fathers of our country, besides many valuable relics of early Chicago, among which is the journal kept by her husband during his public service. To her courtesy the writer is indebted for much valuable information, among which are the following items from Mr. Russell's journal:

"The first party of Indians left Chicago, September 21, 1835, with the chiefs, Robinson, Caldwell and La Framboise, and proceeded to their place of rendezvous, on the Desplaines, twelve miles from Chicago, a place of meeting usual on such occasions. I met them in council and presented to them the objects of the meeting and the views of the government relative to their speedy removal to their new country. They wished to defer answering what I had said to them for two days, to which I consented. Sunday, 28th. Provided teams and transportation for the removal of the Indians." The journal next proceeds to detail the particulars of his thankless toil in satisfying the real and whimsical necessities of his captious charge, who honored him with the appellation of father, and vexed him with complaints continually. Their first stopping place was Skunk river, in Iowa. Patogashah started with his band to winter at this place, which was the first party to start independent of government assistance. Robinson had command of a separate party, Caldwell another, Waubansie another, and Holliday another, and Robert Kinzie and Mr. Kerchival assisted Mr. Russell in superintending the whole.

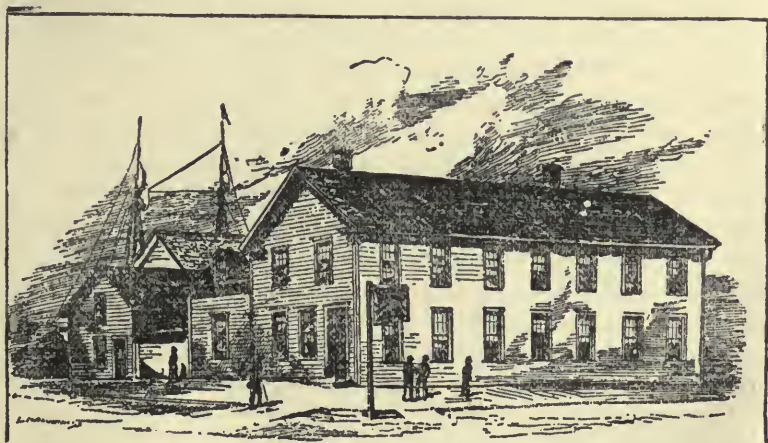
Fort Des Moines, on the Mississippi river, lay on their route to Fort Leavenworth, which was their destination, on the Missouri river, from whence they were to draw their supplies, as stipulated by the government at the treaty, as they settled themselves in their new home adjacent. The whole tribe were not removed to their new home till the next year, 1836, when the last remnant of them took their leave of the country around the head of Lake Michigan, which they had occupied for two centuries, as shown in foregoing pages.

Two years after their settlement near Fort Leavenworth, owing to feelings of hostility which the frontier settlers felt toward them, they were removed to Council Bluffs, from whence, after remaining a few years, they were removed to where they now live (1880), diminished in numbers from 5,000, at the time they were removed from Chicago, to less than half that number.*

* The report from the office of Indian affairs in Kansas, September 1, 1878, says: "The Pottawattamies are advancing in education, morality, Christianity and self support. A majority of them have erected substantial houses, planted fruit trees, and otherwise beautified their sur-

Mr. Russell's success in removing them was the result of his frontier military experiences on the borders of Maine, together with his habits of activity, tempered with patience. He deserves mention among the early settlers of Chicago, because his name is interwoven with its history. He was born in Boston in 1800, well descended from revolutionary stock, his father being a patriot editor, and his uncle (Major Ben. Russell), was stationed at West Point at the time of Arnold's treason. Mr. Russell's first arrival at Chicago was July 21, 1832, he having been ordered to join Gen. Scott here. His wife did not come to the place till the summer of 1835, when, in company of Gen. Cass and his two daughters she arrived, and they were guests at the Sagaunash. They were from this time permanent residents of Chicago, well known by all the early settlers. Mr. Russell's death took place January 3, 1861. His remains rest at Rose Hill.

roundings. The average attendance at a school which the government provides for them is twenty-nine, from an enrollment of forty-four. The school buildings are well supplied with facilities for boarding and lodging the pupils, and also for teaching the females household duties. Their reservation contains 77,357 acres of land in Jackson county. Their wealth in individual property amounts to \$241,650. On their farms they have reapers, mowers, planters, cultivators and other agricultural machinery, all of the most modern patterns.



GREEN TREE HOTEL, BUILT 1833, CANAL AND LAKE STREETS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Beaubiens—Pioneer Hotel—Ingenious Device for Lodgings—The Pioneer Newspaper—Its Subscription List—Wolff's Point—Its Inhabitants—Alexander Robinson—His Character—His Wonderful Age—Shabonee—His Character—Chicago in 1834—Chicago in 1835—Turning the First Sod for the Canal—Celebration of the Event—Its Consequences—The Last Records of Chicago as a Town.

Among the pioneers of Chicago the Beaubiens deserve a place, for without them a chasm would be left unabridged between the old French and Indian regime and the Anglo-American of to-day.

In the year 1817 Conant & Mack, a Detroit fur company, established a house at Lee's place on the Chicago river, South Branch, under the general superintendence of Mr. John Crafts, as already stated in a previous chapter, and Mr. John Baptiste Beaubien was in his service as local agent, which was the means of bringing him to the place to settle. A few months later the American Fur Co. bought out the house established at Lee's place and established one at Chicago, at the same time imposing upon Mr. Crafts the entire duties of the Chicago house, which of course displaced Mr. Beaubien.* He still remained at the place, having purchased of Mr. Dean, an army contractor, the house and enclosure containing a garden and field adjacent to the fort, known as the Dean house. for \$1,000.

Col. Beaubien built another house upon this place, and continued the occupant of it till 1836. In 1823 the factory houses adjoining, or on the same premises, were sold by order of the secretary of the treasury, to

* Gurdon S. Hubbard.

William Whiting, who sold the same to the American Fur Co., and of whom Col. Beaubien purchased the buildings of the factory for the sum of \$500. Mr. Beaubien by these purchases became the owner and occupant of all the premises of the so called reservation, outside of the fort, and claimant to the lands not covered by the buildings of the government. Upon these facts Mr. Beaubien set up his claim as a pre-emptioner to the southwest fractional quarter of section ten, township thirty-nine north, range fourteen east, as being the sole occupant and in actual possession on the 9th of May, 1830, the date of the pre-emption law. He therefore applied on the 7th of May, 1831, to the land office at Palestine, for a pre-emption, which was rejected; though on the same day a pre-emption was granted to Robert A. Kinzie, for the north fractional quarter of the same section, which was the part occupied by the Kinzie family, since defined as Kinzie's addition to Chicago. He applied again in 1834 to the land office at Danville for a pre-emption, and was again refused. On the 28th of May, 1835, Col. Beaubien applied to the land office in Chicago—the office in the meantime having been established here—and having proved to the satisfaction of the register and receiver that he was entitled to pre-emption, he entered the same and received his certificate therefor. The lands had been retained and his applications resisted on the ground of the tract being claimed by the United States for military purposes. The land had been surveyed by government in 1821, and in 1824, at the instance of the Indian agent, the secretary of war requested the commissioner of the general land office to reserve this land for the accommodation and protection of the property of the Indian agency; and the commissioner did inform the secretary that he had reserved it from sale for military purposes. Beaubien had received the registrar's certificate—but his title to the property was resisted, and the case traversed the courts to the supreme bench of the United States, and the land was finally held by the United States, and was surveyed into lots and sold by order of the president, in 1839. Mr. Beaubien was allowed as a special favor some of the lots which had been covered by his homestead, which has proved a fortune equal to the original expectation of the whole tract of the reservation.

Within a short time he has made some changes in his estate in Chicago, and has removed with his family to his farm on the Desplaines, near the reservation of Alexander Robinson, the late chief of the united tribes of the Pottawattamies, Ottawas and Chippewas."—*Zebina Eastman's History of Chicago, Published in the Chicago Magazine, May, 1857.*

About this time he married a half breed, named Josette La Fromboise, who had been in the employ of John Kinzie previous to the massacre. During this time her parents lived in a log house at the head of the south branch of the Chicago river, at which place she took refuge after the massacre and remained till her marriage, the ceremony being performed by Father Rechere. Her father, J. B. La Fromboise, was a man of education. His wife, an Ottawa girl, the mother of Josette, soon learned to read and write, and taught an Indian school at Chicago.* A son of this union, Alexander Beaubien, is now a resident of Chicago, from whom the facts have been learned. Medard B. Beaubien, an older son, cast his lot with the Indians

*Schoolcraft's Thirty Years.

when they were removed from Chicago, and is now with them at Silver Lake, Kan. There are numerous other children and descendants of the Beaubiens living among us. The interest of Mr. J. B. Beaubien being attached to Chicago, he induced his brother Mark to come from Michigan, their original residence, who arrived at the town in 1826. Soon after his arrival he bought a small log house which John Kinzie had built, about at the present corner of Lake and Market streets, for \$100. Here he opened a tavern, if his hut deserved such a name. The manner in which he entertained his guests, according to his own statement when interviewed by a *Times* reporter in 1876, affords a specimen of ingenious audacity which could only be condoned by that brimming exuberance of jollity and good fellowship that ever abided around him and disarmed criticism. Says this incarnation of comedy:

I had no ped, but when traveler come for lodging, I give him planket to cover himself up in on de floor, and tell him to look out, for Ingun steal it. Den when he gits to sleep I take de planket way carefully an give it to noder man and tell him same, so I always have peds for all dat want em.

This device was certainly not the result of any negligently disposition on his part; but a necessary expedient by which no guest should be rejected from his entertainment. From this small beginning he rose in respectability, until in 1831 he enlarged his tavern to a two-story building with green blinds, and in honor of Billy Caldwell, whose Indian name was Sagaunash, thus named the house.*

He was the father of twenty-three children, sixteen by his first wife, whom he married at Detroit, Mich., and seven by his second. His home in 1881 was in Newark, Ill., where he was enjoying a green old age, not yet forsaken by that excess of good humor that has carried him so easily through a life that, without it, must have been full of perplexity. A single look at the ingenuous old man might for the moment lift the burden from a sorrowing heart.†

* See picture of the Sagaunash, page 568.

† The writer called on him when he lived near Naperville, in 1860. His old-fashioned French furniture seemed to still link him back to his own early age.

Equally allied to what may with propriety be called the medieval period of Chicago's history, is Mr. Robert Kinzie (younger brother of John H.) Both were here at the time of the massacre, and rescued with their father, John Kinzie, and returned to the place in 1816, since which time Chicago has been their home the most of the time till their deaths. That of John H. took place June 21, 1865, as stated in foregoing pages. Robert survived him till December 13, 1873, when he passed away and was buried in Graceland. He was lieutenant-colonel and paymaster United States army, and was on the staff of Gen. Sheridan at the time of his death. His wife died about 1896. Her maiden name was Gwinthlean H. Whistler. Her grandfather was the same who built Fort Dearborn in 1803. She was born at Fort Howard, and spent her infantile years in that wild frontier till eleven years old, when she went with her father to Fort Niagara, from which place, after a three years' residence, he came to Chicago to take command of Fort Dearborn, she accompanying him. Here she married Mr. R. Kinzie in 1834. Ellen Marion and Maria Indiana, daughters of John Kinzie, were born in Chicago, the former in 1805 and the latter in 1807. Both were rescued from the massacre with their older brothers, John H. and Robert. Maria Indiana became the wife of Gen. David Hunter. Both she and her husband lived in Washington till their deaths. He was born in 1802, and died February 2, 1896; and his wife was born in 1807, and died February 21, 1887.

Volumes could be written on the experiences of these male and female pioneers. It is refreshing to be in their presence and commune with them on the age that has just preceded the one in which we live. They were educated in a school that transcended the average solitudes of our day in utilitarian conditions. The problem with them, how they were to secure the positive wants of the mind and body, was ever foremost of that as to how they should obtain the fictitious ones; hence their efforts were not wasted in the pursuit of the unattainable, for the destined goal of him who seeks

the fulfillment of capricious and selfish purposes only vanishes in the distance as age begins to shorten the step and check the force of his career; and he dies under the painful conviction that he has lived in vain. The antidote to this last despair is found in an active life, with our mental joints (if the metaphor is admissible) lubricated with that kind of magnanimity that pioneer life is almost sure to beget, and which is by no means a lost art, even in this age of sharp rivalry, though it is not too much to say that newly settled countries are more favorable to its growth.

A new era now opens upon Chicago, one destined to spread her fame throughout the world, and to infuse into newspaper literature that essential manifesto of progress which the elastic spirits of new countries are sure to call into being. To say less than this would not do full justice to Chicago journalism.

On November 26, 1833, the first sheet appeared, under the title of the *Chicago Democrat*, edited and published by John Calhoun, corner of La Salle and South Water streets. A well written editorial appears in the first number, setting forth the policy of the paper with temperate and modest pretensions withal, evincing a masterly skill in editorial capability which does honor to his army of successors. The same number congratulates the Chicagoans on the success of Mr. Owen at the treaty just negotiated, in overcoming the objections of the Indians to removing to their new home in Missouri, and equally congratulates the Indians on the prospect of soon getting out of the reach of the depredations of "unprincipled civilized borderers." Liberal quotations from literary journals, poetry, as good as the average newspaper musings, wit and wisdom, and a moderate amount of advertisements, fill up the six-column sheet creditably.

The third number advertises an English and classical academy, corner of Water and Franklin streets, which must have been the first of its kind in Chicago. In the issue of June 11, 1834, is a quotation from Cobbett, the English historian and essayist, evidently intended as a trite description of Chicago young girls:

The girls of America [says this Catholic father], are beautiful and unaffected; perfectly frank, and at the same time perfectly modest; but when you make them an offer of your hand, be prepared to give it, for wait they will not. In England we frequently hear of courtships of a quarter of a century. In that anti-Malthusian country a quarter of a year is deemed to be rather lengthy.

June 11, 1834, the following appears, which is reproduced in these pages to show the progress of emigration and the means of travel:

Hardly a vessel arrives that is not crowded with emigrants, and the stage that now runs twice a week from the east is thronged with travelers. The steamboat "Pioneer," which now performs her regular trips to St. Joseph, is also a great accommodation to the traveling community. Loaded teams and covered wagons, laden with families and goods, are daily arriving and settling upon the country back.

June 28th the editor congratulates Cincinnati, Ohio, on the prospect of a railroad to connect with the Miami canal.

The Illinois and Michigan canal is frequently commented on, not only as essential to the success of Chicago, but as a national necessity.

The subscription list of the paper is still preserved, and is copied here as a valuable record of the business men of Chicago at that day, for nearly all took the paper.

CITY SUBSCRIPTION BOOK OF "CHICAGO DEMOCRAT," DATED
NOVEMBER, 1833.

A. Lloyd.	J. Dean Caton.	Charles Viani.
C. and I. Harmon.	Eli B. Williams.	Lt. L. T. Jamieson.
Chester Ingersoll.	Samuel Wayman.	Librarian, Ft. Dearborn.
Dr. W. Clark.	Archibald Clybourn.	E. Wentworth.
John Miller.	Augustus Rugsley.	George Walker.
Samuel Brown.	Silas B. Cobb.	Stephen E. Downer.
Newberry & Dole.	Abel Breed.	Abel E. Carpenter.
G. Kercheval.	E. H. Haddock.	John B. Beaubien.
James Kinzie.	Irad Hill.	Parker M. Cole.
E. A. Rider.	Albert Forbes.	J. R. Brown.
H. B. Clark.	Dr. Maxwell.	Solomon Lincoln.
Robert Kinzie.	Hiram Hugenin.	F. Forbes.
P. J. Lewis.	A. Merrill.	Rufus Brown.
P. F. W. Peck.	James Herrington.	Rev. Jeremiah Porter.
James H. Mulford.	George N. Powell.	T. C. Sproat.
John Wright.	Jonathan Hix.	Peter Warden.
Alanson Sweet.	Joseph A. Barnes.	Philip Scott.
R. M. Sweet.	Mancel Talcott.	E. W. Casey.
Philo Carpenter.	Alanson Filer.	J. L. Thompson.
G. Spring.	Douglas Sloan.	H. T. Harding.
John K. Boyer.	A. Woodruff.	E. S. Kimberly.
Star Foot.	Daniel Elston.	P. Pruyn.
M. B. Beaubien.	Luther Hatch.	Peter Cohen.
T. J. V. Owen.	George W. Snow.	Brewster, Hogan & Co.
W. H. Brown.	P. L. Updyke.	C. H. Chapman.
B. Jones.	John L. Sergents.	Platt Thorn.
I. Allen.	John Watkins.	J. P. Brady.

J. K. Botsford.
 J. B. Tuttle.
 Col. R. I. Hamilton.
 Charles Wisencraft.
 E. S. Thrall.
 Nelson R. Norton.
 Benjamin Hall.
 N. Carpenter.
 Hiram Lombard.
 Samuel Harmon.
 J. W. Reed.
 Walter Kimball.
 William Taylor.
 H. Barnes.
 E. Brown.
 Ahisa Hubbard.
 R. E. Herrick.
 Thomas Hoyt.
 Edward E. Hunter.
 John Noble.
 Ford Freeman.
 Hiram Pease.

Mathias Mason.
 John Wellmaker.
 I. Solomon.
 N. F. Hurd.
 James Mitchell.
 Oliver Losier.
 John Marshall.
 S. Ellis.
 Isaac Harmon.
 C. B. Dodson.
 L. Barnes.
 Richard Steele.
 Henry Hopkins.
 Elijah Clark.
 William Taylor.
 Mark Beaubien.
 John H. Kinzie.
 C. H. Chapman.
 Paul Burdeck.
 George Bickerdike.
 Aug. Penoyer.
 Jones & King.

Jacob G. Pattreson.
 George Hertington.
 Alexander N. Fullerton.
 M. K. Brown.
 Silas W. Sherman.
 Robert Williston.
 John Davis.
 H. C. West.
 Byron King.
 John T. Temple.
 William Cooley.
 Rathbone Sanford.
 Orsemus Morrison.
 James Walker.
 Gilbert Carpenter.
 Benjamin Briggs.
 W. Vanderberg.
 Benjamin F. Barker.
 Samuel Brown.
 H. I. Cleveland.
 S. C. George.
 B. Caldwell.

The account book which Mr. Calhoun kept is equally valuable as a memento of the village days of Chicago. Among the charges for job printing, ball tickets are no inconsiderable item.

Government blanks for the land office* were a good source of income, for which Mr. Calhoun may thank his young wife, not only for her patient industry in helping to execute the jobs, but for her inventive genius in improving a way to press the printed sheets to give them the necessary finish after being printed. For the want of a lever press to do this Mrs. Calhoun suggested a flatiron, and offered to iron every sheet in a run of 3,000, which she did, and turned out the job in immaculate smoothness. Besides assisting her husband by this laborious undertaking, she helped him in correcting his proof, and in the general executive labors of the office.

By the request of her husband she preserves during her lifetime the entire file of his papers, and I trust that I betray no confidence by stating that, from my conversation with her as to their final disposition, I infer that she will bequeath them to the Chicago Historical Society.

* The government land office was opened June 1, 1835, under charge of Col. E. D. Taylor and James Whitlock.

The last issue of his paper bears date of November 16, 1836, two days before which time by contract it was sold to Horatio Hill, a present resident of Chicago (1881), and brother of Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, its hard money governor, who said, in order to give point to his issue with the whig party, that a bank of dirt was the best bank, and a plow-share the best share in it.* Mr. Hill immediately transferred his contract to Mr. John Wentworth, who then came to Chicago and began his eventful career where Mr. Calhoun left off as a journalist. The paper was continued under the same name by Mr. Wentworth, of which more will be said in its appropriate place.

For more than twelve years previous to this time, the fork of the river then known by the name of Wolff's point, was the center of Chicago attractions. Here stood the old Miller house, on the north side, erected by Alexander Robinson† in 1820. To him it was a palace, where he entertained not only his Indian friends, but such white persons as wished to secure Indian trade by the distribution of presents among them. Mr. Robinson was early in the employ of Conant & Mack as an Indian trader on Fox river, and afterward employed in the same service by Mr. Lawton, on the Desplaines. He spoke both the English and Pottawattamie languages with ease, and on conventional occasions acted as interpreter.

It is not known at what time he disposed of his house at the fork, but it is known that in 1832 Mr. Samuel Miller kept tavern here—the same who had married Elizabeth Kinzie, the third child of John Kinzie, by Margaret, his first wife. She died at this house in August, 1832. The original building was made of logs, but afterward covered with weather boards, to give it

* This pithy similitude is here reproduced from childish memory, when the father of the writer read Mr. Hill's message to a select coterie of listeners among whom he was an attentive one.

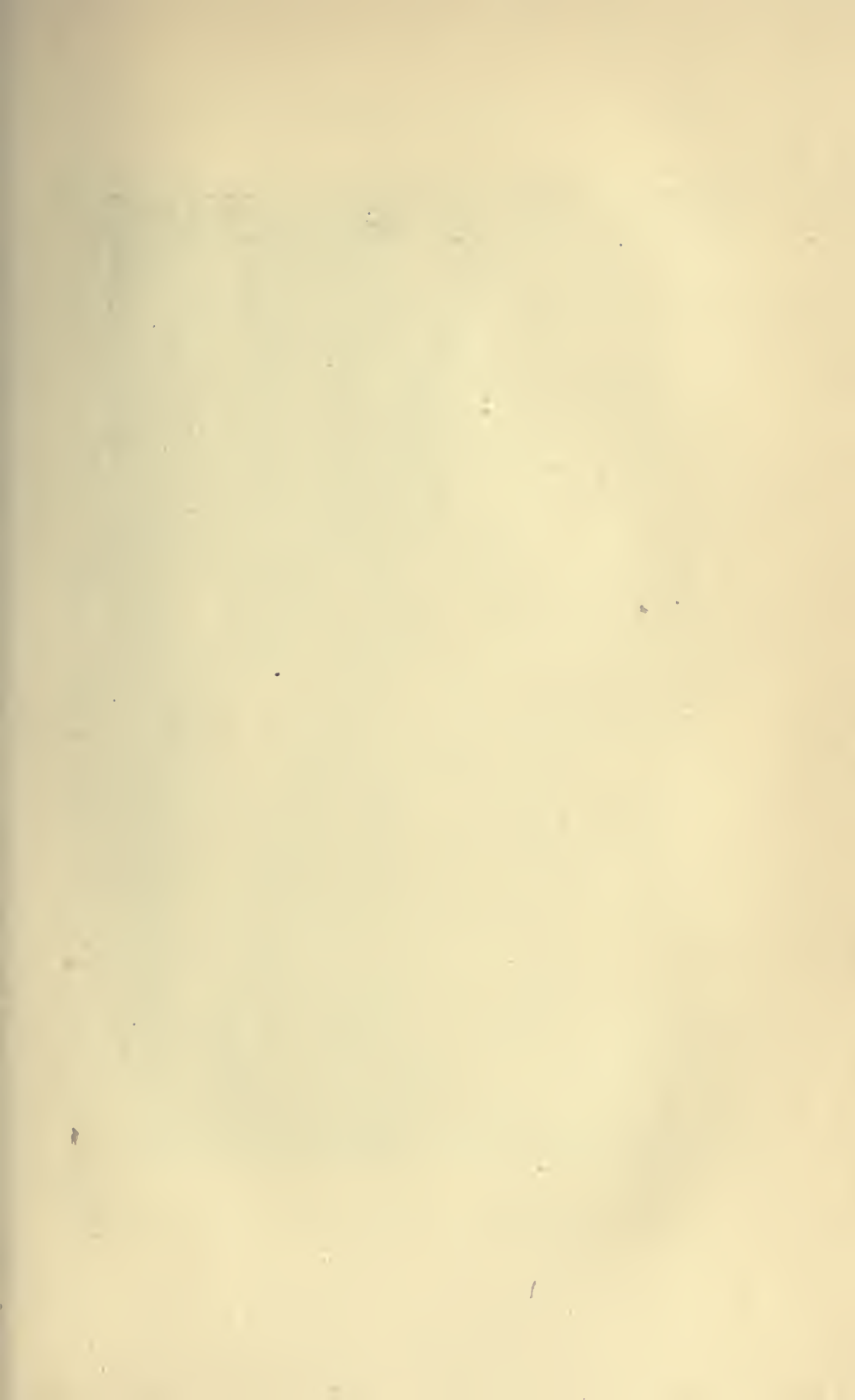
† Mr. Robinson's father was a Canadian voyageur, of Scottish descent, in the employ of a fur company, and his mother a Pottawattamie woman. He was bred to his father's occupation, and became a useful man in his sphere, as well as a true friend to the Indians, for which cause he rose to the position of principal chief of the Pottawattamies, and remained such till their removal, in 1835.

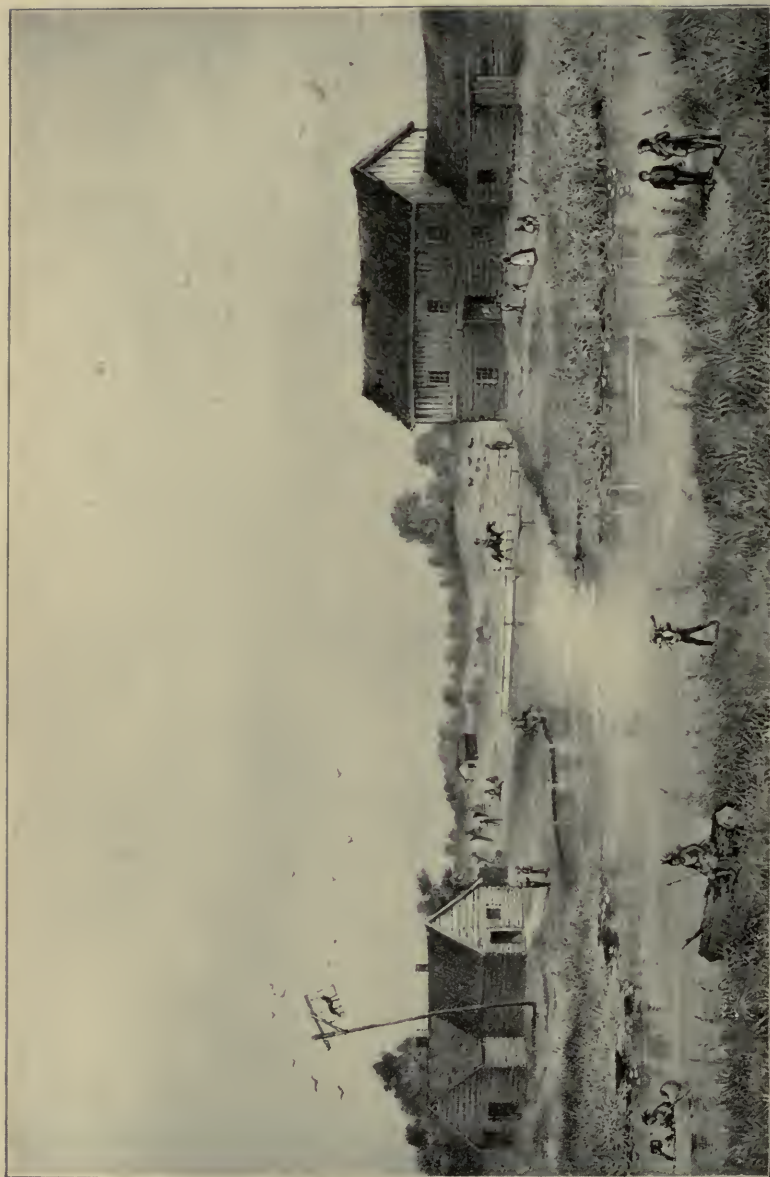
the appearance of a frame house. But even at this early day the whole structure was in a state of decay, especially the roof, as will be seen by the accompanying picture. It had before this date served as church, school house and private residence.

On the west bank of the river, at the immediate junction of the two branches, was a tavern kept by Elijah Wentworth in 1833. This was at the time the model hotel of the town.

Robert A. Kinzie had a store, in 1832, where the Menasha Woodenware Co. now is (1881), on the west bank of the river. Thomas Cook then lived immediately west of the Green Tree, following the occupation of teamster. He is still living at his home, in Lyons (1881). The Green Tree is still standing, being the northeast corner of Lake and Canal streets. It was built by John H. Kinzie, and is the oldest building in the city at the present day (1881). For many years it has been known as the Lake street house, but it is now a common saloon and private dwelling. Immediately east of this place James Kinzie kept a store in 1835, where he drove a thriving trade with Indians and new comers. Alexander Robinson's second residence was situated between Lake and Randolph streets, on the West Side. His place was generally lively with Indians, in the declining glories of their latter days in Chicago. Groups of blanket squaws, with their papposes slung on their backs, in birch bark pockets, and an equal number of braves, bedaubed with paint and ornamented with feathers, hung around his doors in listless dalliance, while among them a few white drummers might sometimes be seen distributing free whisky to secure their trade. A few hours' boisterous yelling and a war dance would wind up the scene, and with the small hours of morning tranquillity would be restored.

It may appear strange to some that a man of Mr. Robinson's integrity and reputation for excellence in those qualifications which make up the character of the model citizen, should intermingle and associate with the low class of Indians that came and went freely to and from his house; and for this apparent inconsistency





WOLF'S POINT IN 1832.

history ought to make an apology in his behalf; not on his individual account, but because he was one, of but a small number left, who represented the once lofty virtues of his race in their purer and happier days; and who, after 150 years' occupation of Chicago in company with the French, were now taking their leave forever of this place, so dear to them.

A man's a man for a' that,

was a sentiment of which Robinson felt the true force. No one could be too low to become a recipient of his favor, and no one so high in his estimation as to be unapproachable through the common forms of respect. Being half Indian, and having a wife of the same race, he was shut out from civilized society socially, and to have cut loose from the Indians would have left him without influence, and alone in the world. This same principle is not unfrequently seen nowadays when a partisan politician in defense of some dogma essential to secure public spoils, receives on terms of social equality persons far beneath his station, and Robinson was more justifiable than these, because his motive was not a selfish one, but the result of an inevitable destiny.

In 1833 Mr. Philo Carpenter presented the temperance pledge to him (the first, says Mr. Carpenter to the writer, that was ever drawn up in Chicago). After a moment's reflection he signed it, at the same time proving the sincerity of his resolution by drawing a flask of whisky from his pocket and emptying its contents on the ground. It is not known how long he held his resolution, but he never was a drunkard.

The removal of his tribe was a turning point in his life. The issue now came directly to him which to choose—an Indian or a civilized life. After weighing the matter, in consideration of his children's best good, he chose the latter, not without painful emotions on his part, and sore disappointment on the part of his tribe. Soon after their removal he moved to his reservation on the Desplaines river, and became a farmer highly esteemed by all who knew him. His wife was equally exemplary in her walk in life, and afforded one of the many proofs that the pure Indian is possessed of high

virtues when circumstances favor their growth, which is all that can be said of any one.

His daughter Cynthia, the wife of Mr. Cooney, is now a resident of Chicago (1881), to which place the family recently came, for the laudable purpose of educating their children. From her the writer has learned that her father came to Chicago in 1806, and henceforward made it his home till he retired to his reservation on the Desplaines. He was not present at the massacre of 1812, but on hearing of it returned in time to unite with the Sauganash and Black Partridge to save the lives of the prisoners, when his own life was threatened for his courageous interposition to this end. Says his daughter: "He told the would-be assassins that they might *destroy the white blood in him, but must not touch the Indian.*" This dilemma, with its complex issue, helped to turn the scale in favor of the prisoners, and when the issue was settled, he took Mr. and Mrs. Helm under his charge and rowed them in his canoe around the extremity of Lake Michigan and along its eastern shore to Mackinaw.

He lived to see the great fire of 1871, and as he beheld its desolations from Lake street bridge, he gave a lusty whoop, and exclaimed that he once more saw the open prairie there as in the old days of his own prime. He died the next year, April 19, 1872, at the advanced age of 110 years, according to Robert Kinzie's estimate, who says that he was born before his father, John Kinzie. Some others set his age at 105, but all agree as to his wonderful longevity; and no one challenges his record for uprightness, hospitality and benevolence.

An equally noble specimen of an upright man was Shabonee, whose eulogy has been told by Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard, in a pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society.*

* "I cannot close," says Mr. Hubbard, "without adding my testimony to that of Mr. Hicklings, regarding the character and services of that noble Indian chief, Shabonee."†

† His name has been spelled in two ways by his biographers.

In addition to Mr. Hubbard's voucher as to the integrity of Shabonee, the following bit of his history from Chicago's well known citizen, William Hickling, Esq., is only a just tribute to the memory of him whose remains now honor our soil, and whose life-size portrait is treasured in grateful memory by the Chicago Historical Society.*

The same treaty which gave to Caldwell, Robinson and others of our Indians and half-breeds their reservations of land, also gave two sections to Shabonee. This he desired to be so located that it would include his old home and council house in the grove before mentioned. By direction of Major Langham, then surveyor general of Illinois and Missouri, a survey and plat of the reservation was made by a deputy surveyor, and Shabonee fondly hoped that the house which he and his family had occupied for so many years was secured to him and them forever. I believe that in all the other reservations of land granted by the aforementioned treaty, that all the parties thereto, having

"From my first acquaintance with him, which began in the fall of 1818, to his death, I was impressed with the nobleness of his character. Physically he was as fine a specimen of a man as I ever saw; tall, well proportioned, strong and active, with a face expressing great strength of mind and goodness of heart. Had he been favored with the advantages of education, he might have commanded a high position among the men of his day. He was remarkable for his integrity, of a generous and forgiving nature, always hospitable, and until his return from the west, a strictly temperate man, not only abstaining himself from all intoxicating liquors, but influencing his people to do the same. He was ever a friend to the white settlers, and should be held by them in grateful remembrance. He had an uncommonly retentive memory, and a perfect knowledge of this western country. He would readily draw on the sand or a bed of ashes, quite a correct map of the whole district from the lakes to the Missouri river, giving general courses of rivers, designating towns and places of notoriety, even though he had never seen them. . . . It ought to be a matter of regret and mortification to us all that our government so wronged this man (who so often periled his own life to save those of the whites), by withholding from him the title to the land granted him under a solemn treaty, the commissioners representing our government having given him their pledge that the land allotted him by the Pottawattamie nation should be guaranteed to him by our government, and be protected in its ownership. He never sold his right to the land, but by force was driven from it, when he returned from the west to take possession and found that our government disregarded his rights and sold it."

* This portrait was painted from life by Mr. F. B. Young, of Rome, N. Y. It was presented to the society by Mr. Cyrus F. Miller, of Rockford, at which place it was painted in 1840.

such reservations, enjoyed them in fee, and only required the consent of, and signature of the president of the United States, in order to pass a good title to parties purchasing such reserved lands. Why Shabonee's case should differ from all the rest I could never determine. At any rate, when the survey of the public lands lying north of the old Indian boundary line was ordered by the land department to be made, the deputy surveyor had instructions to ignore the previous survey of the reservations, and include the lands thereon contained in the regular section lines of the United States survey, and during the absence of poor old Shabonee and his family in Kansas, these lands were sold by public sale at Dixon. The home of the old chief and his family passed into other hands, strangers to him, and in answer to an appeal made at Washington in Shabonee's behalf, the commissioner of the general land department, in reply, said that Shabonee *had forfeited and lost his title to the lands by removing away from them.*

In 1837 Shabonee was notified by the Indian agent, that by the terms of the late treaty, all members of his band, with the exception of those of his own family, must remove to their new reservations in western Missouri. The parting with so many of those with whom he so long had been associated, he could not endure, so he resolved, with all his family, to accompany them to their new homes. In the fall of the year the whole tribe, some 130 in number, reached the reservation in safety; but no sooner had Shabonee and his family reached their lodges in their new homes than new troubles began. The Sauks and Foxes, unfortunately, had their new reservations in close proximity to that of the Pottawattamies and Ottawas. The well known hostility a few years previous of Shabonee to Black Hawk, and the part which the Ottawas took against him and his followers in the war which followed, were still fresh in the mind of the individual Sauk leader, and made enemies of two noted braves who, at an earlier period of their career, had for so many years been fighting side by side under the eye of their leader Tecumseh.

The warfare against Shabonee and his family resulted in the murder of his eldest son and a nephew, who were killed soon after their arrival in western Missouri. The old chief, Shabonee, narrowly escaped with his life from the vengeance of his foes. This caused him and his family to return to Illinois in about one year after having left it. From this time until in 1849, Shabonee and his family, some twenty to twenty-five in number, lived at the grove in peace and quietness with the white neighbors surrounding them. By this time the Pottawattamies and Ottawas had been again removed to a new reservation granted them in Kansas, and Shabonee again, with his family, left their old homes in Illinois, to join their red brethren in the new one to be occupied. He remained there with his old friends and tribe some three years, then again with his family, retraced their steps back to their old home in the Illinois grove, only to find his village and lands in the possession of strangers; the old home he and his family had occupied for more than forty years, was lost to him forever. When he fully realized his forlorn situation, it is said that the old warrior, who probably had scarcely ever before shed a tear, here "wept like a child." But his cup of misery was not yet full. An unfeeling brute, the new owner of the land upon which on his return Shabonee and his family encamped, cursed the poor old man for having cut a few lodge poles on what he thought was his own property, and peremptorily ordered him and his family to leave the grove. This they did, and it is said that Shabonee never visited it again. A few friends, realizing the destitute situation in which the poor old chief and his family were placed, purchased for him a small tract of twenty acres of timber land on the Mazon creek, a short distance south of Morris, in this state. The situation of the land and its surroundings were of a character to suit the Indians. The land was fenced in, a small spot broken up for tillage, and a double log cabin built for them. Here in a semi-state of poverty and wretchedness, the old chief and part of his family lived, most of the time in wigwams or tents, using the house for storage purposes and as a barn.

Shabonee died July 27, 1859, aged about eighty-three years. He was buried in the county of Grundy, and be it said to the shame of the white men, no memorial stone, nothing but a piece of board stuck in the ground, shows the spot where lie the remains of the best and truest Indian friend which the early settlers of northern Illinois had in the day of their tribulation. He was not much of an orator, yet his words of wisdom always had their weight in council deliberations. Until quite late in life (after his return from the west in 1838), he was remarkably temperate in his habits, scarcely ever tasting of the "fire water," that great enemy of his race. No doubt his long association with Tecumseh, who also was strictly temperate in his habits, had its influence upon the mind and character of Shabonee. It is well known that Tecumseh, both by precept and example, ever tried to impress on the minds of his red brethren that most of the unnumbered woes which had been fastened upon their race were in the main attributable to their inordinate love of whisky, and the usual debaucheries following its use. Shabonee, in another trait of his character, showed what influence had been made upon it by the teachings of his model leader Tecumseh, viz.: his humanity always shown and protection from indiscriminate slaughter afforded to the unfortunate captives of war who fell into his hands. This is attested to by Caldwell in the document before us.

Surrounded by white neighbors, and almost in daily contact with civilized man, yet this contact failed to produce good results. On the contrary, that so called civilized man too often tempted the poor old Indian to indulge in a too liberal use of the accursed "fire water," which generally left him in a state of maudlin helplessness, pitiable to behold. Let us throw a veil over his few faults, and remember his many virtues.

Black Partridge, whose career as a chief preceded that of Shabonee, was treated like an enemy by the whites, his village being burned by them during an invasion of central Illinois in 1812, as told in a foregoing chapter. But a few months before this wanton act of

hostility, to justify which history fails to find any provocation, this chief had used his utmost endeavors to prevent his tribe from making war upon the garrison of Fort Dearborn, and failing in this purpose, he gave due warning to Capt. Heald of the irrepressible hostility of the Indians. After the massacre, he co-operated with Billy Caldwell to save the lives of all the prisoners, and procure for them a safe passage to the British lines. To omit a record of the ill-requited services of these chiefs, who represented the native virtues of their race, would be unjust to their memory, besides losing an opportunity to bring to light the benevolent bent of the mind, as exemplified in these children of nature.

Of all people known to history, the Indians are the best subjects of whom to study the first elements of mental philosophy, because their minds were untrammelled by any other influence except what was inherited from nature, which cannot be said of any of the ancient nations of savages in the old world. No penetration could measure from the wooden immobility of his face the depths of his subtlety as an enemy; and where in civilized society shall we find his match in self-sacrifice, when, as a captive, he returns to his enemies on a parole of honor, with an almost certainty that he will be executed?

Numerous instances of this have occurred in their more heroic age, but one has recently occurred, a living witness of which now lives in Chicago (1881). Among the victims of the Indian creek massacre in the Black Hawk war was a family named Beresford. After the peace, two young Indians were identified as the perpetrators of the crime, and indicted by the grand jury of La Salle county and placed in the custody of Mr. George E. Walker, of Ottawa (sheriff). Soon after, the tribe to which these indicted Indians belonged were removed to the Missouri, Mr. Walker allowing the alleged criminals to go with them, under a voucher that they should return to be tried; and so much confidence did he place in their honor, that he signed their bail bond. Six months later their trial came, and Mr. Walker went alone after them, and they voluntarily

returned to Ottawa in his custody for trial, expecting to be executed, but they were cleared for want of positive evidence.* Let us not forget the griefs the Indians have suffered at the hands of our apostates of civilization, and remember that their condign vengeance was measured out to offset these abuses. *Never blame an Indian for anything he does to a white man*, was a frontier proverb, not without some shade of justice.

The following from Beck's *Gazetteer*, of Illinois, is copied as the best known authority, to show what Chicago was at that time. No official census had then been taken, and his statement as to the population is an estimate too high, in the opinion of old settlers. Mr. Williams' estimate for the year before was 200, it will be remembered.

"GAZETTEER, OF ILLINOIS."

PUBLISHED BY R. GOUDY, JACKSONVILLE, 1834.

Chicago, the seat of justice for Cook county, is situated on a river or bay of the same name, at the junction of north and south branches, and from one-half mile to a mile from Lake Michigan.

The town is beautifully situated on level ground, but sufficiently elevated above the highest floods, and on both sides of the river. It contains three houses for public worship, an academy, an infant and other schools, twenty-five or thirty-five stores, many of them doing large business, several taverns, mechanics of various kinds, a printing office which publishes the *Chicago Democrat*, and 1,000 or 1,200 inhabitants.

Its growth, even for western towns, has been unusually rapid, as two years since it contained five stores and 250 inhabitants.

The United States government is constructing a harbor at the mouth of the Chicago, by cutting a wide and deep channel through a sand bar at its mouth, and constructing piers to extend into the lake, beyond the action of the waves upon the bar. Twenty-five thousand dollars were expended last year for this purpose, and the present congress has appropriated an additional sum of \$32,801, which, added to the previous appropriation, makes the sum of the original estimate.

When this work is completed, the Chicago will form one of the best harbors for steamboats, schooners and other craft in all the lake regions. Steamboats and schooners will pass along a deep natural canal through the center of the upper part of the town, with the greatest convenience.

These facilities, the natural position of the place, the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here with favorable prospects for health, must soon make this place the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country.

Back of the town toward the Desplaines river, is a fertile prairie, and for the first three or four miles elevated and dry.

Along the north branch of the Chicago, and the lake shore are extensive bodies of fine timber. White pine in small quantities is obtained on the Calamic, at the south end of the lake, fifteen miles distant. Large quantities exist in the regions toward Green Bay, from which

* *Ottawa Free Trader*, November 17, 1874. Mr. Walker died in November, 1874, at the residence of his son in Chicago, No. 34 Indiana avenue.

lumber in any quantities is obtained and conveyed by shipping to Chicago. Yellow poplar boards and planks are brought across the lake from the St. Joseph's river.

The mail, in post-coaches from Detroit, arrives here semi-weekly, and departs for Galena, for Springfield, Alton and St. Louis, and for Danville and Vincennes.

The United States government owns a strip of elevated ground between the town and lake, about one-half mile in width, on which Fort Dearborn and the lighthouses are situated. Here are stationed about 100 United States troops, including officers, as a check upon the Indians in the adjacent territory. As the title to the Indian lands in the northern part of Illinois and the adjoining territory, as far as Green Bay, is extinguished by the treaty of September, 1833, and the Indians are to be removed west of the Mississippi, this garrison will soon be broken up, and the town to be extended to the lake shore.

Such was the eagerness to obtain property in this place, that the school section adjacent to the town plat, after reserving twelve acres, was sold in small lots last October, for \$38,705. The money was loaned out at 10 and 12 per cent interest, and the avails applied to the support of schools in the town. Chicago is situated on section nine, township thirty-nine north, in range fourteen, east of the third principal meridian.

Chicago, the stream or bay on which the town of Chicago is situated. It is made by north and south branches, which form a junction in the upper part of the town, about three-fourths of a mile from the lake. The Chicago resembles a vast canal, from fifty to seventy-five yards wide, and from fifteen to twenty-five feet deep. Northerly and easterly winds throw the cool waters of the lake into this channel, and raise it about three feet.

North branch, which is the largest, rises a short distance above the boundary line, and near the lake, and runs parallel with the lake shore a southerly course, and is navigable for small boats. Its banks are well timbered and the land fertile.

South branch rises in an opposite direction in the prairies toward the Saganaskee swamp, runs a northern direction about twenty miles, and forms a junction with the north branch in the town of Chicago. The timber is rather scarce on the south branch.

The following gentlemen were trustees of the town of Chicago in 1835, as appears from the lease of a wharfing lot 50x40 feet on the river, immediately west of Clark street bridge. Hiram Huginn, George W. Dole, Samuel Jackson, Eli B. Williams, Francis C. Sherman, James Kinzie, Alexander Lloyd, Walter Kimball and Bryan King, trustees, leased said lot to L. Harmon, H. G. Loomis and D. Harmon. The terms of the lease were \$500 cash down, and \$1,500 payable in equal installments of one, two and three years, with interest at 6 per cent per annum. After which the lessees were to pay an annual rental of one barleycorn, on the 23rd day of November. These were the terms on which the wharfing lots were first leased, but subsequently they were modified to suit a more modern style of business, when the payment of the annual barleycorn (a form inherited from old English usages) was no longer demanded. One of these old leases is now in the hands of Mr. G. F. Rumsey.

The same year a statement appears in the *Democrat* of November 25th, estimating the population of Chicago at 3,265 inhabitants. This may be set down as the first year of that speculative excitement for which Chicago has ever since been remarkable. The receipts at the land office which was opened this year, exceeded \$500,000 for the first six months.

The following has been copied from Prof. E. Colbert's "Historical Notes of Chicago," which have been

compiled with his accustomed care, and are here inserted by permission from him:

During the summer of 1833 not less than 160 frame houses were erected, and the number of stores was increased from five or six to twenty-five. Among the new buildings was the Green Tree tavern, by J. H. Kinzie, which was the first structure ever erected in the place for that purpose; its predecessors were simply private residences, thrown open to the public for a consideration.

The year 1834 witnessed the establishment of closer commercial relations with other points east and west. The second week in April a schooner arrived from St. Joseph, and two cleared for the same port. On the 30th of the same month the corporation organ announced that emigration had fairly set in, as more than 100 persons had arrived by boat and otherwise during the preceding ten days. On the 4th of June the *Democrat* announced that arrangements had been made by the proprietors of the steamboats on Lake Erie, whereby Chicago would be visited by a steamboat once a week till the 25th of August. On Saturday, July 11th, the schooner "Illinois," the first large vessel that ever entered the river, sailed into the harbor amid great acclamations, the sand having been washed away by the freshet of the spring previous. In its issue of September 3rd, the paper stated that 150 vessels had discharged their cargoes at the port of Chicago since the 20th of April preceding. The total number of votes polled in the whole of Cook county this year was 528. The poll list of Chicago had increased to 111, out of a population of 400, besides 200 soldiers in the fort. It is noteworthy that not less than thirteen of the 111 were candidates for office at the August election.

In the spring of 1834, a stage communication was opened up between Chicago and the country to the westward, by means of J. T. Temple's line for St. Louis. The route to Ottawa was piloted out by John D. Caton, who had previously been over the unmarked road on horseback. A bitter storm sprang up, and the driver was obliged to resign his post; he died afterward from that day's exposure to the cold. Mr. Caton, afterward chief justice of the Supreme court of the state, took the stage through to Ottawa, where a better system of roads began, the first settlement of the state having been from the southward, as already stated.

A large black bear was seen on the morning of October 6th, in a strip of timber on the corner of Market and Jackson streets, almost exactly on the spot where the armory was afterward built. He was shot: then the citizens got up a grand wolf hunt in the same neighborhood, and killed not less than forty of those animals before nightfall. It was just at this point, thirty-seven years after, almost to a day, that the flames leaped across the river from the West Division, and thence swept northward to the limits of the city.

In this year a draw-bridge was built across the river at Dearborn street; active measures were taken to prevent the spread of the cholera, and a committee was authorized to build a cholera hospital outside the town if the disease should make its appearance; the first Sunday liquor law was passed (September 1st); the large sum of \$40 was paid for repairing bridges; and the town was divided into four wards, by an ordinance intended to prevent fires. Prior to this year all the stores were located on South Water street—indeed, Lake street, and all the streets southward of it, only existed on paper. In the autumn of 1834, Thomas Church erected a store on Lake street, which was soon the busiest in the whole town. The packing statistics of the year show that Mr. Clybourne packed 600 cattle, and more than 3,000 hogs; while Messrs. Newberry & Dole slaughtered some 400 cattle and 1,400 hogs in a packing house of their own, recently built on the south branch. The same year Gurdon S. Hubbard packed 5,000 hogs, on the corner of Lake and La Salle streets.

The first water works of the future city was established about this time, the sum of \$95.50 being paid for the digging, stoning and stone of a well, in Kinzie's addition, on the North Side.

In 1835 the hotel accommodations of the year increased in proportion to the population. Besides the Green Tree hotel, on the corner of Lake and Canal streets, there were now three others. The Tremont house had been erected a year previously, on the northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn, and the loungers of that day used to stand on its steps and shoot the ducks on the river, or on the slough that lay before the door. Starr Foot was the first landlord, but he speedily gave way to Ira Couch, under whose management the Tremont soon became headquarters for the travelers and speculators with which the town abounded. It was burned down in 1839, in the second fire that had visited the place, the first having occurred in 1834. The Graves (log) tavern stood nearly opposite the Tremont, and the Saganash hotel offered accommodations for man and beast, on the corner of Market and Lake streets, the spot where Lincoln was nominated in 1860 for the presidency. At that date the grove of timber along the east side of the south branch was still undisturbed, the north division was thickly studded with trees, a few pines stood on the lake shore south of the harbor, the timber being thickest near the river, and a great pine tree stood near the foot of Randolph street.

By an act of the legislature, approved February 11, 1853, all the land east of State street, from Twelfth street to Chicago avenue, was included within the town lines; except that it was provided that the Fort Dearborn reservation, lying between Madison street and the river, should not belong to the town till vacated by the United States.

In this year (June) an attempt was made to borrow money on the credit of the town. The treasurer was authorized to borrow \$2,000, at not more than 10 per cent interest, and payable in twelve months. He resigned rather than face the novel responsibility, and the street commissioner followed suit.

In this year the *Chicago American* entered the field to compete with the *Democrat* for the advertising patronage of the town and its citizens.

Two additional buildings were placed in the court house square in 1835—a small brick edifice on the northeast corner, for the use of the county officers and the safe keeping of the records, and an engine house, costing \$220, the latter not being finished till the following year. The first fire engine was bought December 10th, of Messrs. Hubbard & Co., for the sum of \$896.38, and a second ordered. The first fire engine company was organized two days afterward.

On the 14th of November the board of town trustees resolved to sell the leases of the wharfing privileges in the town for the term of 999 years, binding the board to dredge the river to the depth of ten feet at least, within four years from the sale, and the lessees of the privileges being bound to erect good docks, five feet wide and three feet above the water, within two years from the date of the lease. The sale of those immensely valuable privileges took place on November 26, 1835, at the store of Messrs. Jones, King & Co., and it may be interesting to remember now the "minimum prices" at which owners of lots fronting the river had the privilege of buying. On South Water street the price was \$25 per front foot; on North Water street, \$18.75 per front foot; on West Water street \$18 per front foot. The men who got rich in buying such property, at such prices, deserve no credit for speculative ability. But the board, on November 18, 1835, offered still further assistance in their new school of "affluence made easy." They then resolved that they would not be bound to dredge the river, in making leases on North Water street, consequently they lowered the minimum figure to \$15 per front foot, in part, and \$8.50 per front foot on the remainder of the line. To aid in paying for leases at this rate, the board took secured notes for three and six months, for the first payment of one-quarter of the price,

and gave three years in which to pay off the balance. The sale was three times postponed, and while waiting for a sale all the picked lots seemed to have been taken at a minimum price. When the *vendue* did take place, only six lots remained to be sold, and but one of these found a purchaser, at \$26 per front foot. The city will have the right to resume possession of these valuable lots on November 26, A. D. 2834. The "privileges" thus thrown away by a lot of men who ought to have known better, subsequently became matter of much anxious legislation on the part of the board, and with the sale of the magnificent school lands, made October 21, 1833, on a petition signed by twenty-three citizens, form the two great sores in the history of the city. Both were literally "sold for a mere song." The school lands, sold for \$38,865, have since been worth nearly \$50,000,000.

The official seal was adopted in November, 1835—a spread eagle, having three arrows in his claws, and the words "United States of America" surrounding the same.

Among other ambitions developed in Chicago as a town, was shipbuilding; and on May 18, 1836, the sloop "Clarissa" slid from her stocks into the river, amidst the huzzas of a large assemblage gathered there to celebrate the event. But the great attraction of the year was the celebration of turning the first sod for the canal excavation, which is told as follows by Mr. John L. Wilson, who was an eye witness:

"The beginning of the canal was celebrated July 4, 1836, by nearly the whole *village* of Chicago going up to Bridgeport on the small steamer "George W. Dole," towing two schooners. Dr. William B. Egan delivered the address on this most auspicious event, and the Hon. Theophilus W. Smith began the "ditch" by throwing out the first shovelful of earth. The celebration of 'the day we celebrate' then began, and a right joyous one it was, as the canal bill had struggled long in its passage through the legislature, and the probability of ever having a railroad to or from Chicago was hardly dreamed of. On arranging and starting the 'flotilla' homeward bound, a squad of men on the banks of the narrow river, without any cause, began throwing stones into the steamer, breaking the cabin windows, and injuring one or two ladies, and keeping up the fusillade until a detachment of a dozen or more 'old settlers' jumped ashore (or rather, into the shallow water), and charged among them. Those that I now remember were John H. and Robert A. Kinzie, Stephen F. Gale, John and Richard L. Wilson, Henry G. Hubbard, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Sr., James B. Campbell, Ashvel

Steele, S. B. Cobb, Mark Beaubien and others. There were none of the enemy *standing* as soon as they could be reached.* The weapons used were only those brought into action in the 'manly art of self-defense,' but they proved exceedingly efficient. And thus ended the 'glorious 4th' of July, 1836."†

The year 1836 closes the career of Chicago as a town, the next year being her first as a city. The following is her commercial record till that time:

Year.	No. Vessels Arrived.	Tonnage.
1833.....	4	700
1834.....	176	5,000
1835.....	250	22,500
1836.....	450	60,000

The above list of arrivals of vessels, especially in 1834, consisted largely of three small schooners running to and from St. Joseph to carry passengers and flour. The arrivals, previous to 1833, consisted first of the schooner "Tracy," which brought the officers to build the fort in 1803, after which an annual arrival of supplies from the fort came, during the time there was a garrison at the fort. The steamboat "William Penn" was used for this purpose in 1832, 1833-34, bringing supplies to Fort Gratiot, Mackinac and Fort Howard at the same time. Besides these channels of communication with the east was a wagon track around the head of the lake, thence one branch running to Detroit, and another to Fort Wayne. This road ran along the beach, crossing the Calumet by means of a ferry which had been established June 7, 1830, by the county commissioners of Peoria county granting to Rev. William Lee the right to keep the ferry, with a stipulated bill of charges for ferriage, as follows: Twelve and one-half cents for a foot passenger; twenty-five cents for a man and horse; thirty-seven and one-half cents for a wagon and one horse; seventy-five cents for a wagon and two horses, and \$1 for a wagon and four horses.

* Another way of saying that every one of them were knocked down.

† Mr. Wilson's recent contributions to the Chicago press have teemed with reminiscences of the early day here, which pleasantly freshen the memories of early Chicago in the minds of many thousands of its citizens.

HISTORY OF CHICAGO SCHOOLS.

BY SAMUEL WILLARD, A.M., M.D., LL.D.

It is due to Dr. Willard that I should acknowledge my obligation to him for writing the History of the Public Schools for these columns, and that I should congratulate those who take an interest in them, in having their history written by one who was better able to do it than any other person living, he having been associated with them so long with the energy in the work and a zeal for their welfare that earned for him the reputation which he enjoys.

He begins by giving due credit to Mr. Wells, who commenced his work here when there were but ten public schools in Chicago, and among his other labors preserved a record of them from oblivion for the benefit of future historians.

Mr. Wells did another thing, of even greater value, by an exemplary ambition to promote the cause of education, untrammelled with any incentives which could impair their utility.

R. BLANCHARD.

The researches of William Harvey Wells, an honored Superintendent of Schools in Chicago for many years, gathered and preserved for us the earliest information concerning the beginnings of education on the ground where the great city now stands. When he came to Chicago in 1856, it was possible to talk with those whose memories kept the traditions, if not the personal knowledge of the beginnings of things to come, "the baby fingers of the giant."

As the history of Chicago is involved in the history of Illinois, some better understanding of even this

sketch will be obtained by the reader if he will refer to the reports of the State Superintendent, Henry Raab, Esq., for the official terms of 1883-84, and of 1885-86. In the earlier volume he will find a "Brief History of Early Education in Illinois" by the present writer. This sketch especially describes in detail the early conditions and customs of the schools of the pioneers, and the growth of the unorganized schools of volunteer teachers into the system of public education by state authority. This sketch ends with the passage of the Free School Law of 1855.

The second report, 1885-86, contains a very elaborate and full account supplementing the earlier one of Dr. Willard, giving details of matters barely sketched in the "Brief History," and bringing the history to a later time. This work of the Assistant Superintendent, Prof. William L. Pillsbury, is admirably complete in its accounts of the legislation prior to 1855, and of the constant efforts of the friends of education to advance the cause: there is nothing to be added to his research; and to one searching the history of our great state, few things are more interesting. In the same volume are biographical memorials of two great educators in Illinois, President Julian M. Sturtevant, of Illinois College, and Superintendent William Harvey Wells.

A fact pertinent to this history is brought to light by the keen research of Prof. Pillsbury. It has often been published that the arguments and influence of Nathaniel Pope, when he was the delegate from the Territory of Illinois, secured for this state the strip of land which includes the city of Chicago and the northernmost fourteen counties, a region which has more than a third of the population and wealth of the state. Prof. Pillsbury finds that we are indebted to Pope for the liberal endowment of school lands granted by Congress. A like grant had been made to Ohio and Indiana for the encouragement of making roads: Pope asked and obtained that the grant to Illinois should be devoted to education.

Mr. Wells tells us that the first instruction in Chicago was given by Robert A. Forsyth, aged thirteen, to John

H. Kinzie, aged six: the text book was a spelling book brought from Detroit in a chest of tea. This was in the winter of 1810-11. The first school was opened in the fall of 1816, by William L. Cox, a discharged soldier, in a log building belonging to John H. Kinzie, and standing in his garden, about where Pine Street crosses Michigan. The pupils were Forsyth's former pupil, one brother, two sisters and three or four children from Fort Dearborn. Probably there were other little gatherings like this; but no one is recorded till a sergeant in the fort in 1820 held one there. A school of the Beaubien family taught by one of that name appears in 1829.

But the first effort to gather all the children of the village emerges in 1830. Mr. J. B. Beaubien and Lieut. Hunter (in the Secession war, Major-Gen. David Hunter) engaged Mr. Stephen Forbes to open a school, held in a house belonging to Beaubien, where Randolph Street meets Michigan Avenue. At one corner of that crossing now stands Chicago's grand Public Library Building. That school house was a low and gloomy but large log building, which could boast of five rooms. The Forbes family gave up a room to the school of twenty-five pupils, in which Mr. Forbes assisted. The dark and rough walls were later enlivened by a tapestry of white cotton sheeting. Mr. Foot carried on the school the next year.

The School Commissioner of the laws of Illinois in those days was principally a custodian of school lands and funds: he was neither organizer, superintendent, nor director of education. But when Col. Richard J. Hamilton (whose name is commemorated in Hamilton Avenue, on the West Side of Chicago), became commissioner, from 1831 to 1840, his interest as a citizen made him active in forwarding schools. He and Col. Owen hired Mr. John Watkins to teach a school on the North Side in 1833; and they built for his use the first school house of Chicago, on Clark street, near the north shore of the river. Mr. Watkins in a letter to the Calumet Club in 1879 claims that he was the first school teacher in Chicago. He says of his first school house:

“The building belonged to Col. Richard J. Hamilton, was erected for a horse-stable, and had been used as such. It was twelve feet square. My benches and desks were made of old store boxes. The school was started by private subscription. Thirty scholars were subscribed for; but many subscribed who had no children. So it was a sort of free school, there not being thirty children in town. During my first quarter I had but twelve scholars: only four of them were white: the others were quarter, half, or three-quarter Indians.”

Mr. Watkins soon opened school on the West Side, near the east end of Fulton Street, but in 1835 was again on the North Side. The Indian chief Sauguanash or “Billy Caldwell” offered to pay tuition for all Indian children who would go to school, to buy their books and their clothes, upon condition that they should dress like the white children; but not one would accept his proposition.

In the fall of 1833, while Mr. Watkins seems to have been teaching, Miss Eliza Chappel, afterward the wife of Rev. Jeremiah Porter, opened “an infant school,” plainly, a school for the smaller children, on the south side of the river and near the fort. She had about twenty pupils. From Mr. Wells we learn that in the same autumn Mr. Granville T. Sproat from Boston opened an “English and Classical School” in a Baptist Church on South Water Street, near Franklin: and in the following March he had as an assistant Miss Sarah L. Warren (Mrs. Abel E. Carpenter). Relating her experiences in one of her letters she says: “I boarded at Elder Freeman’s. His house must have been situated four or five blocks southeast of the school, near Mr. Snow’s, with scarce a house between. What few buildings there were then were mostly on Water street. I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon, in going to and from school, to see *prairie wolves*, and we could hear them howl at any time in the day. We were frequently *annoyed* by Indians; but the great difficulty we had to encounter was *mud*. Rubbers were of no account, and I was obliged to have a pair of men’s boots made.”

Mr. Sproat's school, in which Miss Warren remained till June, 1836, was the first *public school* in Chicago; that is, as the law stood then, one receiving aid from the school funds. A teacher must make out a schedule of the attendance of the pupils and report it to the school authorities, upon whose certificate of approval he received a proportionate share of the income of the school funds for the year. Mr. Sproat, writing in 1887 from Canaan Four Corners, N. Y., tells Mr. Pillsbury (see Report named above, page cci) that the public money paid *all* expenses, while generally the parents had to pay tuition fees in addition. This bears testimony to the good management of Col. R. J. Hamilton, the School Commissioner. Generally the land given in each township for public education was sold; and the proceeds of the sale were loaned at interest. The great majority of the townships in the state had their land sold early, at a low price; and the investments were often injudicious, so that the township has little to show for the liberality of the United States. At Chicago, the school section of the original township is situated near the center of the city. In October, 1833, all but four of the 142 blocks of this section, were sold at *auction* for \$38,865, on a credit of one, two and three years. The remaining four blocks are (1880), valued at \$2,500,000. The value of that portion sold cannot now be less than \$65,000,000. Had Chicago kept one-quarter of these school lands, she would have had the richest school fund of any city on earth, and her schools would have been absolutely free for all time, without any school tax.

It is not worth while to follow in detail the succession of these schools of private enterprise; for these the reader may refer to "The Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education," for 1878-79: an appendix thereto prepared chiefly by the Superintendent of that time, Mr. Duane Doty, and Dr. Willard, the present writer, and Shepherd Johnston, clerk, gives detail, to which one may add from Andreas's History of Chicago. Suffice it to say that Dr. Henry Van der Bogart followed Mr. Sproat: then came Thomas Wright

and James McClellan, and George Davis, and John Brown, and Edward Murphy who kept order where Mr. Brown had failed, securing it by the vigorous exhibition of an oak cane an inch in diameter, for which function he received \$800 a year.

Of the work of the ladies before the city charter in 1837 gave the schools into the hands of the corporation, we say that Miss Chappel called to her assistance Miss Elizabeth Beach and Miss Mary Burrows, and herself retired in the winter of 1834-35, giving her place to Miss Ruth Leavenworth. Mr. John S. Wright, then a young man of but twenty years of age, at his mother's wish and at her expense erected a building for Miss Leavenworth's school. When she ceased teaching in 1836, Miss Frances Langdon Willard opened a school for the instruction of young ladies in the higher branches of education. She taught many years in at least six states, and kept a private record of her pupils in each place: this interesting book, which enrolls many of the matrons of Chicago, has passed into the hands of her grand niece, Mary Frances Willard, now of the John Marshall high school in the same city. Miss Louisa Gifford (Mrs. Dr. Dyer) became Miss F. L. Willard's successor; and the school became a public school, while Miss Willard opened another school on her original lines.

We should not pass the name of John S. Wright without testimony to his work for education in Chicago, Ill., and the West. Coming from Massachusetts to Chicago in 1832 at the age of seventeen, he entered quickly into all public interests: he was not a teacher, but his educational influence surpassed that of many teachers: he was not an agriculturist, but founded and edited the *Prairie Farmer*, an excellent and powerful farmers' paper: that was a great educational agency, because his educational articles, which began with its first number were addressed to the great class of cultivators of the soil, and not to teachers. Where anything was to be said or done for common or normal schools John S. Wright was never lacking.

Searching the statutes of Illinois for educational enactments, the present writer found an act of February 1835, establishing a system of schools for "Town 39 N., Range 14 E. of the Third Principal Meridian." By the map he found this to mean Chicago. The incorporation act of 1837 repealed it; but it is notable as establishing a free school in one place.

Sections 1, 2, and 3 provide for the annual election of five or seven inspectors for the township, who were to examine teachers, visit the schools, and prescribe text books. They were to recommend to the County Commissioners the division of the township into school districts; and the Commissioners must divide it as recommended, altering boundaries from time to time as the Inspectors should advise.

Section 4 directed that the voters in each district should annually elect three trustees, who should appoint qualified teachers; make the schools free to all white children under regulations to be prescribed by the Inspectors; take care of school property; levy and collect a tax for rent, fuel, and furniture; and levy and collect such other tax as a meeting of the voters might direct.

Here is a curious mixing. The Inspectors might visit schools and make rules, and choose text books and declare who were fit to teach, but they could not hire a teacher or buy anything: they could say what the boundaries of districts must be, but must refer the actual declaration of the division to another body which could make no different boundaries. The Trustees might hire teachers, but could not levy a tax to pay them, though they might levy taxes to buy desks: they could not direct what the teachers should teach, nor fix the times of sessions of schools, or make any regulations, nor choose a text book. The voters might elect these hand-tied officers, and vote a tax to pay teachers, which must be at last the mainspring to set the cog wheels in motion. The system was a sample of the silly jealousy of official power which divides responsibility so that no one can be called to account if affairs go badly. And this fear of "one-man power" was shown among a people which followed Andrew Jackson, the most dictatorial of all

presidents, "through thick and thin," and applauded him though he broke laws and defied the Supreme Court.

It appears that there were in Chicago in 1835 six schools and 300 pupils, and that the interest on the school fund was enough to pay teachers, if a small tax was levied for other expenses. So Chicago had doubtless free schools in 1835; perhaps ever after.

In March, 1837, Chicago became a city. By the conditions of the charter, the common council were commissioners of schools for the city. They were to appoint annually not less than five, nor more than twelve school inspectors. The voters still elected three school trustees in each district. The inspectors had the same powers and duties as under the preceding act, except that the Council laid out the districts. The first Board of Inspectors consisted of ten citizens, among whom were Col. Hamilton and his successor as Commissioner of Schools, William H. Brown.

New names appear in the lists of teachers, some of whom, as Calvin DeWolf, well known as Justice DeWolf, and Thomas Hoyne, honored with many public trusts, are worthy of special mention. The school in District No. 1 was for advanced pupils; and its teacher, Mr. George C. Collins, had the largest yearly salary, \$800. In the charter, provision was made for a High School whenever the voters should desire one; but no effort to create one was made under this law. Indeed voters were sometimes very indifferent to their duties: in September, 1837, Mr. J. H. Blatchford, an inspector, asked the Council to appoint Trustees in his district, because there was no school there, and repeated notices of legal meetings had failed to bring out voters enough to elect Trustees; and those officers alone could appoint teachers.

In 1839 a special act of the legislature, drawn by J. Young Scammon, laid the foundation of our present school system. In addition to the school fund the council was authorized to levy a tax for school purposes to supply the inadequacy of the school fund for the payment of teachers. On February 27, 1840, William H. Brown was appointed school agent, and assumed

the charge of the school fund of the city. This office he held for thirteen years, and carefully managed the trust placed in his keeping. For ten years of this time he refused compensation. The first board of education under the new organization consisted of William Jones, J. Young Scammon, Isaac N. Arnold, Nathan H. Bolles, John Gray, J. H. Scott and Hiram Hugunin. The first meeting of this board of education was held in November, 1840, and William Jones was elected chairman. It is at that date that the written records of the public schools commence.

In December, 1840, Mr. Argill G. Rumsey and H. B. Perkins were employed as teachers in the South Division, Austin D. Sturtevant in the West Division, and Mr. A. C. Dunbar in the North Division. The salary paid each of these teachers was \$33.33 a month. From the regulations adopted by the board of education in 1841, it appears that the schools were kept five days and half a week, and the amount of vacation allowed in a year was four weeks. Instruction in vocal music was first introduced in 1842, Mr. N. Gilbert being the teacher.

In 1840 the only school building owned by the city, built in 1836 for \$200, was on the East part of the site of the *Tribune* building, in District No. 1. This was occupied until January 1845, and then sold for \$40, the purchaser having the worst of the bargain. In 1844, Ira Miltimore succeeded in getting an order through the Council for the erection of "a good, permanent brick school house on the school lot in the First Ward, 60x80 feet, two stories high, to be fitted up on the best and most approved plan, with particular reference to the health, comfort and convenience, both of scholars and teachers." This was opposite McVicker's Theater, and was known after 1858 as the Dearborn School. Those familiar with the city before the great fire can remember the old building which was still useful, but far from ornamental: it was torn down just before the fire; but no Dearborn school took its place. When it was erected, the total enrollment of pupils for the city, December, 1844, was only 979, and the average mem-

bership for that month, 645, with eight teachers. The new building was deemed by many to be larger than the city needed. It was called "Miltimore's Folly." The mayor elected in 1845, Augustus Garrett, showed his lack of foresight by recommending officially that the "Big Schoolhouse" be sold or converted into an Insane Asylum. But at the end of its third year this Insane Asylum of the Sarcastic Garrett had nearly as many pupils and teachers as the whole city at the time of his tirade: 864 pupils and seven teachers. "Wisdom is justified of her children."

Among the principals of this Dearborn School were several eminent for their services as teachers. Austin D. Sturtevant, now not long deceased; Perkins Bass, afterward principal of the Normal University at Bloomington; George D. Broomell, professor of mathematics in the High School for many years; Daniel S. Wentworth, first principal and practically the founder of the Cook County Normal; Albert R. R. Sabin and Leslie Lewis, Assistant Superintendents at this present writing; and Miss Alice L. Barnard, noted for long and successful work.

Of course the large building led at once to the grading of the pupils, which was adopted as fast as new buildings, and the putting of several teachers under one roof would allow. Uniformity of text books had begun in December of 1840, when Worcester's Primer, Peter Parley's First, Second and Third Books of History and an elementary speller were adopted. In the following March and April, full lists were adopted. Reading of the Bible was ordered as the first exercise in the morning, each pupil reading a verse; but explanation of the meaning of what was read was most strictly forbidden. Later, the repeating of the Lord's Prayer after a scripture reading by the teacher was required: this custom continued until September 22, 1875, when the rule was abolished. Some efforts have been made to reintroduce reading of the Bible; but the authorities have given them no consideration.

The success of "Miltimore's Folly" was soon evident; and more follies of the same sort became necessary as

the city increased rapidly in its settled area and population. In 1845 the Kinzie School was ordered on the North Side; then the Scammon on the reserved lots, West Madison near Halsted, in 1846: then preparation for the Jones School began by the opening of a school at the corner of Wabash Avenue and Twelfth Street. The Scammon building was completed in May, 1847. The absurd division of power between the inspectors and the District Trustees, which had continued from 1835, was finally abolished; and the sole power of appointing and dismissing teachers was given to the Board of Inspectors, by an ordinance of the Council, February 12, 1849. The Washington School on Sangamon and Indiana Streets comes next, and movements that result in the Haven and the Brown are begun, while the Franklin is completed and opened at the same time as the Washington, January, 1852.

The Common Council, November 28, 1853, passed an ordinance creating the office of Superintendent of Schools, offering a salary of \$1,000. Probably this was found insufficient to attract a suitable man. In June, 1854, the salary was left to the Inspectors with a fixed limit of \$1,500. In December of 1853, the Board elected Mr. John D. Philbrick, head of the State Normal School, New Britain, Conn., who refused the place. March 6, 1854, John C. Dore, principal of the Boylston School, Boston, was elected, and accepted the position, to which he came in June. At this time the schools enrolled about 3,000 pupils, and there were thirty-five teachers. Mr. Dore's administration, though short, was vigorous and effective, laying good foundations. In his time the preparations for a High School were carried on to a completion, though he did not remain to see it opened. He resigned, March 15, 1856, and Mr. William Harvey Wells, principal of the Normal school at Westfield, Mass., filled his place for eight eventful years, during which he gave such shape and firmness to the school system of Chicago that he seems almost the founder of it.

Mr. Wells, born 1812, was then forty-four years old. He had been a teacher for twenty-five years with distinguished success. He was the author of an English

Grammar that was deservedly popular. He had the tastes of a philologist, and assisted in the revisions of Webster's Dictionary, though he had not the advantage of a collegiate education. He combined the faculty of organizing with the ability to administer affairs. His spirit was hopeful, and his presence cheering. He had a genuine interest in all with whom he dealt; and they knew it from his actions, looks and tones, and believed in him. He hated controversy and struggle, loving peace and accord. He could see both sides of a disputed question. Such a man may seem hesitating and indecisive; but there was no hesitation in him when principles were in question: on methods and measures he could compromise. He was always earnest, sometimes impulsive, and zealous in his special work. He studied the grading and management of schools, so that his book *The Graded School* became the handbook of principals and superintendents. Tired with the exacting labors of his position, he resigned it in 1864, and turned to other less strenuous work. He was for several years a member of the School Board, and one year its president. Philanthropic and religious undertakings knew him as an active friend; and thousands were saddened by the announcement of his death in 1885. The present writer speaks from knowledge of him for nearly thirty years, and gladly testifies to his worth.

Under such a manager the schools rapidly improved. A larger share of the youth came into the Schools. Regularity and punctuality of attendance became an object of ambition. The standard of scholarship rose; and with that, deportment gained honor. Better school houses were devised.

The new High School was organized in the fall after Mr. Wells' coming; and in it was a Normal Department to prepare girls for teachers. Mr. Charles A. Dupee was the first principal. Provision was made for a classical course of three years, an English course of the same length, and a Normal course of two years; but in 1860 the classical and English courses were lengthened to four years. In 1868 a college course of three years was devised.

In 1855 the legislature passed the free school act. An earlier law had provided that two-thirds of the voters of a school district might levy a tax for the support of schools. But of how little avail that was may be seen from the fact that in 1846 Cook County—and that means Chicago and probably nothing more—raised for education \$5,204, while all the rest of the state raised under that law but \$3,559, or 41 per cent of the total amount. Under the new law of 1855 a state tax for schools was to be levied on the taxable property of the state, and the resulting revenue was to be redistributed to the counties, two-thirds of it in proportion to the number of white children and youth under twenty-one years of age, and the other third in proportion to the areas of the counties. This makes the wealthy counties pay for the education of the poorer. The first year (1856) under this law Cook County paid \$35,965.29, or 55 per cent of her state school tax for the benefit of other counties, the whole tax being \$65,150.31. In contrast, Williamson County raised \$1,737.04 and received from other counties \$3,180.21, or 65 per cent of her total of \$4,917.25. The southern part of the state opposed free schools; and the law could not have been carried without this concession. In a financial way, Chicago is a great educator.

In 1857 the Legislature abolished School Trustees in Chicago, and brought the school work into unity under the Board of Inspectors, and increased their number to fifteen, one-third to go out each year.

Mr. Charles A. Dupee, first principal of the High School, resigned in 1860 to enter the practice of law, and Mr. George Howland, who had been a teacher in that school from January 1858, became principal. He held the place for twenty years. He was a graduate of Amherst; a man of refined taste and special classical attainments; gentle in manner, and kind in feeling; modest, and with a certain diffidence which caused many who met him while he was Superintendent to think him cold and severe, mistaking his natural reserve. He was a poet, and published a small volume of verse: also he wrote translation of six books of Vir-

gil's *Æneid* in hexameter verse, nearly line for line, which is used as a text book in the High Schools, and a like translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Under his serious aspect there was a love of humor, which led him to write a comic translation of the first book of the *Æneid* for private circulation only, in which Virgil's solemn pomposities were caricatured in modern American slang. He remained unmarried, and died one year after he laid down his school work.

By a provision of the city charter of 1863, separate schools were required for colored children: as they were mostly in the southern division of the city, such a school was set up on Taylor Street, but discontinued in 1865, the Legislature having obliterated the color line.

Upon the resignation of Mr. Wells in 1864, Mr. Josiah L. Pickard, State Superintendent of Schools in Wisconsin, was elected Superintendent and accepted the position, which he held until the school year closed in June, 1877, when he was elected President of the Iowa State University, a high position which he still fills. No other has held the Superintendency so long as did Mr. Pickard, thirteen years. He had not the formative influence of his predecessor: the school system needed no radical reform. It was his work to conduct it steadily, with such occasional modifications as its growth or its accidents might require. Doing this in his mild way, with quiet dignity that never repelled, doing justice with kindness, conscientiously attentive to all duties and to the welfare of pupils and teachers, he was universally honored and loved; and his departure was regretted, all the more for the belief of many that it was the purpose of certain politicians to oust him had he not resigned on receiving the invitation from Iowa.

The increase of business required new officers for the Board: in 1859 a clerk was appointed: in 1860 Mr. Shepherd Johnston was elected to that office, which he held about thirty-four or thirty-five years, till his death. In 1863 the office of Building and Supply Agent was created: to it Mr. James Ward, who had been a member of the Board six years and of the Committee on

Buildings and Grounds, was elected; he admirably filled the place till his death, some twenty years later. The City Controller had had charge of the funds of the Board; but in 1865 that officer was relieved by the election of the School Agent, Mr. Charles Carroll Chase, whose courteous ways the older teachers will remember: he, too, held the place till his death.

It was long the custom that all the teachers should go to the Board's Rooms on the monthly pay day, a Saturday: a time was set for the group of teachers of each school: each one signed a roll-receipt and passed along to the School Agent, who handed to each the amount due, in bills and specie. This medieval method, borrowed from the manufactory and the payer of day-wages, was continued long after the gathering throngs had become inconvenient. About 1894 the mercantile method was tried of paying with checks, the principal of each school calling for those belonging to his school and giving them out there. No one thinks now of a return to the old way. But the Board was and still is under the thumb of the City Council in money matters; and owing to the unwillingness of the Council to make a sufficient appropriation and levy, sometimes the teachers were for months paid in "scrip" on which there was generally a discount of from 2 to 10 per cent. This has not happened for many years now; but it is still true that a body which does not know anything of the needs of the schools and has no responsibility for their management or their necessary expenditures nevertheless determines the amount of the tax levy for their maintenance, and never has been known to give the amount asked for by the Board. The members of the Board are nominated by the Mayor and confirmed by the Council: and if it should ever happen that a Mayor should have political ends to gain or favorites to reward by nomination, or should dictate to his nominees the policy they must pursue, the schools might suffer in consequence.

An Assistant Superintendent was needed in 1869. There was then no provision of law for such an office: so an extra principal was elected, and Mr. George Dare

Broomell, Principal of the Haven School, became acting assistant Superintendent for one year, when he resigned and went into the High School, October, 1870; and then Mr. Francis Hanford, Principal of the Franklin School, took the place till the great fire deranged the office. In 1872 Mr. Hanford was elected to the new-created office of Assistant Superintendent, which he resigned in 1875. Mr. Leslie Lewis filled the place a few weeks, till the middle of September of that year.

The Chicago Fire of 1871, one of the most remarkable and famous in all history, destroyed ten school houses owned by the city; one (the Jones) on the South Side, and nine in the North Division. The value of these was about \$250,000. That the schools in the unburned part of the city were interrupted for only two weeks, by such an earthquake shock and such a shifting of habitation as attended it, shows how promptly people recovered their footing, and with what readiness Americans meet new circumstances. School Houses were not needed in the desolate burnt district until dwellings should be rebuilt and inhabitants should return. Some of the lawyers on the Board unnecessarily offered the High School for the use of the courts, as the city and county could easily have obtained even better rooms; but the classes of that institution, diminished sadly in numbers, were soon gathered in to study at hours when the courts did not need the rooms: Teachers were classed for a while thus: first, the burned out and homeless: second, those who had others depending upon them: third, those who depended upon their own exertions and had no other business: and last, those for whom friends or relatives could for a while make homes elsewhere or in the remaining city. This last class generously took leave of absence and gave places to others, their situations being reserved for them. Some were out for the whole year; some of the third class went elsewhere or into other employments: but all were recalled as early as possible. The courts found better quarters in January.

A school for deaf mutes had been formed near Lincoln Park in 1870: the great fire broke this up. No

attempt was made to revive the school till 1875, when it was gathered with the Jones School. In 1879 the Legislature made an annual appropriation of \$15,000 for Chicago deaf-mutes. The latest report (1898) shows nine schools for these unfortunates, and 150 pupils: as many more are at Jacksonville.

In September, 1875, Mr. Duane Doty was elected Assistant Superintendent under Mr. Pickard; and on the resignation of Mr. Pickard in 1877 he was chosen Superintendent, and held office three years. He was a graduate of Michigan University, and had been Superintendent of Schools in Detroit ten years. Mr. Edward C. Delano became Assistant Superintendent.

Mr. Doty entered zealously into his work, giving attention to many details that had not been prescribed before. He revised forms of procedure and of reports from teachers: the forms of record of membership, attendance, etc., which he devised for daily use of teachers are so good as to be used unchanged ever since. His annual reports are remarkable for statistics and for collation of facts. But his time is remembered principally as the period of influences and measures for which he was not responsible. The Mayor of his time was John H. Colvin, who owing to a defect in the charter, was able to hold his office some time after his term was completed. A majority of the Board appointed by this Mayor held rather reactionary views, in contrast with and even opposition to those of their predecessors for some years. It is to be noticed that two weeks after electing Mr. Doty this revolutionary Board put out of the schools the reading of the Bible and the morning use of the Lord's Prayer. This made many good people regard this daring Board as anti-religious: the inference was unfair, since the Rev. Dr. A. W. Patton, of Chicago, a Congregational clergyman of undoubted orthodoxy and zeal, defended their action; and Henry Ward Beecher and hundreds of the clergy were of the same opinion; and public opinion has justified this secularizing rule.

But the stress of Colvin's reactionary Board fell upon the High School. Many regard high schools with

jealousy, alleging that they absorb funds needed in the lower schools, and that the languages and literature and theoretical mathematics and science there taught are unpractical. "Practical" is their motto.

So many entered the High School courses that there was not room for them in the High School building on Monroe Street near Halsted: hence, in 1869, pupils were sent to the Franklin School on the North Side, to the Haven on the South, and to the Foster on the West, where competent teachers conducted them through the studies of the first year of the course; and in 1871 the Normal department of the High School, occupying a building adjacent to the High School proper, was made an independent school under Mr. E. C. Delano. In 1875 three "Division High Schools" were organized with what were deemed "practical" courses, having a commercial aspect, with book-keeping and continuations of the studies of the grammar grades, such as would enable pupils to enter into business earlier and advantageously, this being the idea known as practical. Latin was not in these courses. The avowed intention of at least some of the Board was to discontinue the classical High School. The Division High Schools had but a two years' course, that being sufficient for the development of the business or practical idea. But at the end of two years the Board felt compelled by popular feeling to admit Latin to the Division Schools alongside of the German previously there, and to make the courses such that those who wished might take two years of the full classical course in the Division Schools and then go to the Central. But the animus of the movement thus initiated appeared in the principal of one of these schools, who took the boys that had been told to take Latin into a recitation room and urged them to take German instead; he afterward told the class that Cæsar wrote poor Latin, in which opinion he differed from Cicero.

In 1880 there was a complete change. All the two-year courses were abolished: the Division High Schools were raised to the rank of the original or Central High, and classical languages and literature resumed their old

standing in the four-year courses, though at first there were not pupils enough to form Greek classes. It became possible again for a citizen to have his son prepared for college or a liberal profession without sending him to a private school. Mr. Howland was taken from the High School, being elected Superintendent: a generous appreciation and management of the new scheme was thus insured. The old Central became the West Division High, under its former senior teacher, George P. Welles. There were at this time 898 teachers and 59,562 pupils.

Previously, all candidates for the High School had been obliged to go to the Central and spend six hours in an examination, during the last week in June. Often the day was hot, and the test severe. If any were absent or sick or unsuccessful, no other opportunity was given. The High School pupils and teachers were interrupted in their work for three days. Mr. Howland thought that as pupils were passed from grade to grade in the grammar schools on the judgment of their teachers, they should take the next step in the same way. He carried his point; and in 1881 and ever since, the certificates of the principals were and have been sufficient for admission to the High Schools. The High Schools of 1881-82 had 1,377 pupils: the total enrollment in the city was 68,614.

In 1884 the mode of teaching English Literature was changed: instead of teaching of authors by biographies and short extracts, fewer authors were taken and longer portions of their works, having some unity, were to be read. The Board had long tried the experiment of Evening Schools for those whose business left them no opportunity for study in the day. The report for 1884 shows that the Evening Schools enrolled 7,447; the Public Schools 76,044, and the Private Schools 25,487.

In 1886 corporal punishment in all the schools was positively forbidden: it had long been discountenanced, and had become rare. The number of Assistant Superintendents was raised to five, two of whom were women: Mrs. Ella F. Young, a teacher from 1862, and sometimes principal, was one of the two. In the fall of 1886

a Manual Training School of seventy-five pupils was opened under Mr. Hermann Handstein, a teacher of mechanical drawing. This experiment was continued with more aid from the Board next year. The report of 1890 shows a Manual Training School of 130 pupils not connected (as before) with a High School. The Evening Schools enroll nearly 10,000 pupils.

About 1888 regular exercises in light gymnastics were introduced into the schools under the name of "Physical Culture," and have been continued ever since. Rooms have been allowed for gymnasiums when practicable. Philanthropic people in Chicago and friends of education asked of the Legislature the enactment of bills: (1) to compel attendance of youth at school: (2) to limit child-labor: (3) to deal with truants. The first and second they obtained; and "Compulsory Education" became a department of service under the Board of Education. At the end of a year, the law was found ineffective, except to secure salaries to several persons. In 1899 at the end of ten years, the Board, in disgust at its inefficiency, abolished its "department"; but on a little outcry of some who still had hopes, it rescinded its action. The law, however, was carefully drawn by politicians who were like the zealous advocate of prohibition who was in favor of the Maine Law, but against the execution of it. Until the enactment of a better law in 1897, it did good only as a scarecrow: it can now do more.

In June of 1891 Mr. Howland resigned, and died October 22, 1892. Mr. Albert G. Lane, at that time and for many years before, the County Superintendent of Schools, succeeded him. The Mayor of that time, DeWitt C. Cregier, appointed two women as members of the Board, Mrs. Ellen Mitchell, whose term was short, and Miss Mary E. Burt. Women, sometimes one and sometimes three, have been on the Board ever since. Although Mrs. Lucy L. Flower distinguished herself by zealous service, no one but Mrs. Caroline K. Sherman has been appointed for more than one term of three years.

We must leave the history of Mr. Lane's time to some future writer to whom it will be less recent. Its latter years have been notable for an increasing number of experiments in the way of additions or annexations to the old standard school course, generally allowed at first experimentally in one or two schools, such as sewing, cooking, typewriting, etc., things good to be learned, but which it may or may not be wise to annex to the schools. Their proposers extol their importance: their opponents ridicule them as "fads," stuck upon schools whose courses are already overcrowded. Other experiments turn up again and again. Some twenty years or more ago a rule was passed against married women in the schools, but never enforced. It turns up again in 1898. A rule was passed that all teachers in Chicago must live within its boundaries: it was repealed soon after the days of grace it allowed had expired. Teachers' salaries go up or down: "retrenchment" is talked (always at the expense of the teachers, and never in the way of cutting off extravagant expenses)—talked, and sometimes effected.

The last published report, 1898, shows a Superintendent, eight Assistant Superintendents, eleven Superintendents of Studies (drawing, singing, etc.), 231 principals and 5,037 teachers in 318 school houses and 332 rented rooms in charge of a total enrollment of 236,239 pupils, of which 124 were deaf mutes, 9,615 in the fourteen High Schools, and 440 in the Normal. The latter was transferred to the city system by the county soon after Englewood, in which it is situated was added to the city: Col. Francis W. Parker, formerly of Quincy, Mass., remained in charge of it. The Board of Education has charge of the John Worthy School at the Bridewell, in which were placed the boys under sixteen committed for petty offenses: the average time of attendance there was but thirty days, and the average number in the school was ninety-seven: but 913 different boys were members: the average for July, 1898, was 121, which shows that the establishment of the school has made the magistrates more willing to send youthful offenders to the Bridewell. Manual training is given to all.

Our history should not close without mention of certain funds. The earliest is the Moseley fund begun by Flavel Moseley in 1855 with a gift of \$1,000, to which came \$10,000 more on his death in 1867 by his will. In 1857 Dr. John H. Foster gave \$1,000 for a fund which is now \$5,000 for medals or diplomas to the most deserving pupils in each school. In 1858 William Jones, and in 1862 Walter Q. Newberry gave funds for the benefit of the schools named for them. Philo Carpenter in 1868 gave \$1,000 for the Carpenter School. Jonathan Burr by will gave a fund now amounting to \$19,671 for benefit of indigent children and for purchase of works of reference, etc. In 1879, Michael Reese of San Francisco left \$2,000, to buy books for poor children. Other funds are named from their donors, Sheldon, Holden, W. K. Sullivan, Calhoun, and George Howland. The total amount of these special funds was \$30,326.88, in June, 1898.

Another fund of importance is of recent origin. It is not managed by the Board of Education, but by a joint committee of the teachers and other employes and of the representative of the Board. At each payment of salary, 1 per cent has been deducted to form a fund to pension teachers and employes of twenty to twenty-five years' service in schools, a portion of which has been in Chicago. This scheme has been in operation about four years. The law protects the interests of teachers who may be discharged by the Board after contributing to the fund; and no pension is to exceed \$600; under that limit the pension is proportioned to the salary of the pensioned.

In 1898, Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, then President of Brown University, was elected Superintendent of Chicago Schools, Mr. Lane remaining as an assistant, with forty years of experience in teaching and managing. What Dr. Andrews can do and will do in this field of work, new to him, is to be written by some future historian. His scholarship, his earnest desire to do the best things, his zeal and energy to carry out his plans—these are manifest to all men, and may well give us assurance of further improvement in education in Chicago.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY MRS. WILLIAM BARRY.

One of the most solid and noteworthy institutions of the northwest is the Chicago Historical Society. Its existence dates back to 1856, when Chicago, as a city, was yet in her "teens." The plan for its formation had been some time ripening in the minds of its projectors, and when, at length, it was presented at a meeting of some of the active and influential citizens, called together for its discussion, it met with a cordial and prompt response.

The preliminary steps having been adopted, the society took shape at once, and entered upon a career of almost unparalleled success and usefulness, which found a check only in the ravages of that terrible fire, whose iconoclasm spared not even the records, which told the story of the society's labors and achievements.

The first active members who composed the "body politic and corporate" were Messrs. William H. Brown, William B. Ogden, J. Young Scammon, Mason Brayman, Mark Skinner, George Manierre, John H. Kinzie, J. V. Z. Blaney, E. I. Tinkham, J. D. Webster, W. A. Smallwood, Van H. Higgins, N. S. Davis, Charles H. Ray, S. D. Ward, M. D. Ogden, F. Scammon, E. B. McCagg and William Barry.

The first president was the Hon. William H. Brown. He was one of the early settlers of Illinois, from New England, a man widely known and universally respected. Over fifty years ago he edited a newspaper in Vandalia, Ill., which contributed largely to defeat the project to legalize slavery in the state.

The first secretary and librarian was the Rev. William Barry, a native of Boston, Mass., whose early archæological and historical pursuits, knowledge of various languages, and familiar acquaintance with the practical workings of similar institutions, peculiarly fitted him for the part assigned him.

The scope of the society's aims, as originally conceived by its founders, was very broad, extending backward as far as history extends—covering the present as fast as it passed into history, whether as related to the civil, political or ecclesiastical subjects of the day, and limited to no nation or tongue. It was on this broad, intelligent basis the society commenced and pursued its work—a work ever widening out and calling for the broadest range of both intellectual and executive ability.

The history of its labors may be divided into two epochs—the period before the great Chicago fire, and that succeeding it.

During the first period great efforts were made by the secretary, partly by visits and partly by correspondence, to secure from old settlers in different parts of the state, all possible traditions and manuscripts relating to the early settlement of Illinois; and a great deal of very valuable material was thus obtained—now, unfortunately, irrevocably lost.

He also at once began in person the inspection of the ancient mounds of Illinois, and urged upon the state authorities to connect with the geological survey of the state, a particular and thorough survey of these very interesting archæological remains, which may yet be destined to throw important light upon the early unwritten history of our race.

A very valuable work was accomplished by the society during the civil war. The secretary early comprehending the solemn and vast issues of a struggle so momentous in its results to the whole waiting world, solving, as it might, the greatest political question of the ages, felt that, to meet the just adjudication of the future, the facts and materials of its history should be preserved as they arose. He therefore diligently gathered everything possible pertaining to it, and succeeded in making,

probably, the largest collection of material relating to that important conflict, to be found in the country. It consisted of newspapers, manuscripts and magazines, from all parts of the country, but especially from the south—letters from soldiers in both armies—an original diary of a captured rebel officer, and that also of a spectator at the siege of Vicksburg—a large amount of unpublished manuscript material, numbering over 700 individual papers—and entire files of Richmond newspapers, published during the war, and preserved by Jefferson Davis.

The original emancipation proclamation was consigned for safe keeping to the custody of the society by the board of managers of the Soldiers' Home.

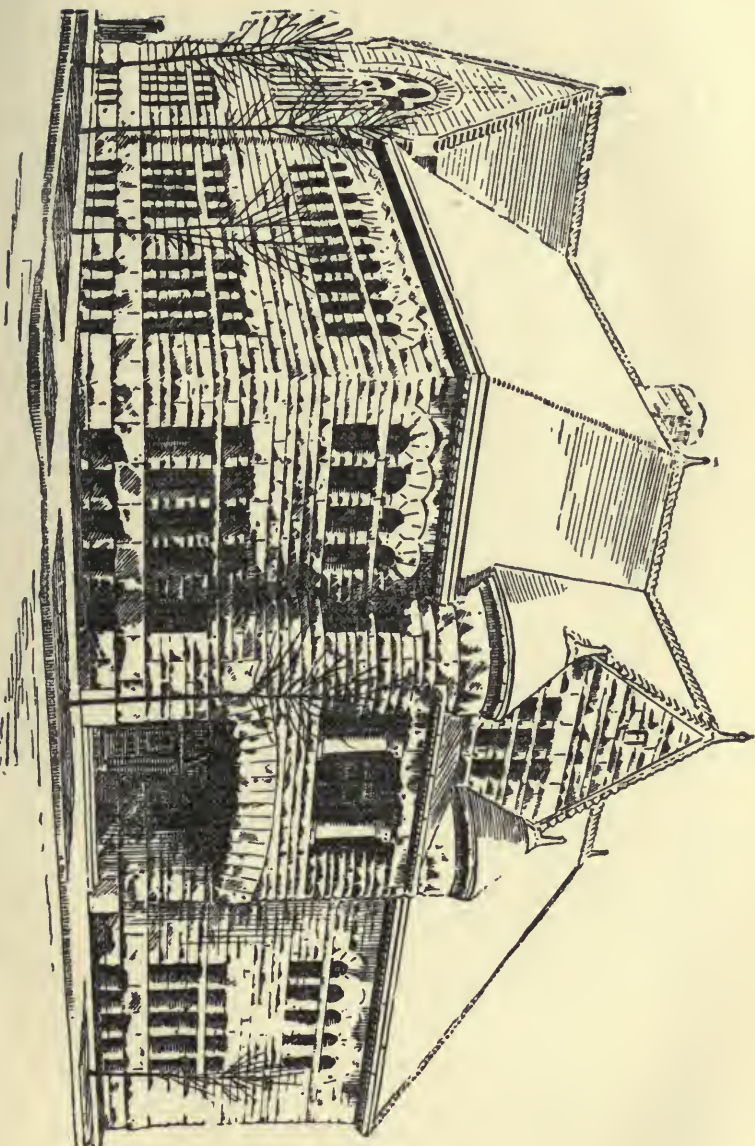
It was during its first period that the society received a valuable legacy from the Hon. Henry D. Gilpin, Philadelphia, amounting to about \$45,000, which, fortunately, at the time of the fire had not become available to the special library for which it was intended.

The collections, at the time of the fire, comprising books and pamphlets from all parts of the country and from foreign lands, amounted to not far from 100,000. Besides books, manuscripts, etc., there were numerous oil paintings, Indian relics, and miscellaneous curiosities.

But while engaged in its special work of collecting historic material, it kept a vigilant eye upon all the great interests of the city, and was ready to lend to them its valuable influence and intelligent co-operation. It took an active part in exposing the evils of inter-mural interments—the initiative step which secured to Chicago one of the most attractive pleasure grounds in the country—Lincoln park. It also encouraged the movement made some twenty years ago, to open by the way of the Georgian Bay, the means of unbroken water transportation between Chicago and Europe.

Through its influence, in co-operation with the French consulate in Chicago, effective steps were taken by the French government to open direct trade with Chicago through Canada, the country to avail itself of its large fishing fleet from France, which came over in ballast, to reduce the cost of freight; in addition to which,

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING.



arrangements were contemplated to establish at Chicago a branch of the "French Credit Mobilier," to furnish the needed aid of money in the enlargement of this international commerce. Unfortunately, when the agent of France was sent hither to carry into effect this scheme, the indications of the war of the rebellion were so threatening as to suppress any immediate movement, and since that time the attempt has not been renewed.

Thus, year by year had the society been multiplying its labors—extending its correspondence abroad and its influence at home, until it had come to be recognized as one of the most active and respectable institutions of the kind in the country. Among its honorary members were recorded distinguished and illustrious names in our own and foreign lands, some of which are Jared Sparks, Edward Everett, James Savage, Robert C. Winthrop, William H. Prescott, George Bancroft, Charles Sumner, John Young, John Lathrop Motley, Duke of Newcastle, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Lady Jane Franklin. In the year 1868 the society moved from its overcrowded quarters, on the corner of Kinzie and Wells streets, into a "fireproof" building, erected on its own lot, corner of Ontario and Dearborn streets, intended as a wing to a large and elegant structure to be built at a later period. We come now to the second epoch in the society's history, that succeeding the "Great Fire" of 1871, which laid all its treasures in ashes.

A society that had established for itself such a prestige was not to be daunted, even by this overwhelming calamity. Scarcely had the embers of the great conflagration ceased to glow, when the president, with a few influential members, called upon Mr. Barry to discuss the situation and plan measures for the immediate resumption of their work. They requested him to once more take the helm, and enter again with the society upon its new career. In his great solicitude for its welfare he consented to take the proposal into consideration, and for a few weeks he gave the matter serious thought. But as the work opened before him it became so vast in its proportions, and so exacting in its demands,

to ensure success, that he felt himself quite unequal to the task, and in a letter published in the *Chicago Tribune*, November 26, 1871, he says:

"The urgent, immediate demand is for an energetic, practical, learned librarian, equal to the labor required, and competent wisely to order, shape and execute it. For such a position I am physically unequal." Meantime he had received assurances from various historical and literary societies of their warm sympathy in the society's misfortunes, and their readiness to aid it in any possible way. He was also informed that contributions might be obtained from the public authorities of France, and probably from other European sources, if they were sought. The New England Historical and Genealogical Society, of Boston, placed a room in their new fireproof building at the disposal of the society, to which its various donations might be sent until it could provide a safe place of deposit. Very considerable collections were soon made, which, by the request of the president, were subsequently forwarded to Chicago, where they were all consumed by the fire of July, 1874. True to those brave instincts for which Chicago has become famous, and which have been literally "tried by fire," these heroic, enterprising men, who held the destinies of the society in their hands, cast down, but not despairing, began again, and nobly pushed forward its work, while still trying to reinstate their own homes and churches, and the innumerable charitable and other institutions of the great struggling city. In the course of time, with a liberal view to the future, they obtained a plan for an extensive and elegant edifice, and soon after they raised sufficient money to erect a small portion of the rear—with the hope that it will gradually grow into its full and symmetrical proportions, as time and means allow, and the necessities of the society require.

The society met for the first time in its new hall, October 16, 1877; the nucleus of its third collection then consisting of 703 volumes and 988 pamphlets. Here for the next fifteen years the society grew and prospered. The library, and all other departments of the society's collec-

tions, increased rapidly. Many valuable papers were read at its meetings. Through the liberality of some of its members, aided by a legacy from Jonathan Burr, the printing of its series of collections was begun, and four volumes issued. The bequest of Miss Lucretia Pond, of Petersham, Mass., became available for the purchase of rare books; and a fund for binding was begun by a legacy from Philo Carpenter.

In 1892 the Henry D. Gilpin fund having then by careful investment and management nearly doubled, and the legacy of \$25,000 under the will of John Crerar, having become available, it was determined to solicit from its members subscriptions for the erection of a fire-proof building for a permanent home for the society. To this appeal the members responded with open-handed liberality. The site at the corner of Dearborn avenue and Ontario street, which had become identified with the history of the society, was chosen for its permanent home; and the collections were stored, the temporary building cleared away, and the present noble structure, unique in being constructed and fitted entirely of iron and stone, was erected at a cost of about \$180,000. To the energy of its president, Edward G. Mason, Esq., this consummation of the early designs of the founders of the society is due.

The corner stone of the new building was laid, with appropriate ceremonies, November 12, 1892; and on the evening of December 15, 1896, in the presence of a brilliant and representative gathering of the citizens of Chicago, the formal exercises connected with its dedication occurred, and the society entered upon a new career of even greater usefulness.

Besides its library of about 25,000 volumes and nearly 50,000 pamphlets, the society also possesses a valuable collection of manuscript documents; seventy-five portraits in oils, with other works of art; and a large museum of local and miscellaneous antiquities, relics, etc.

The officers of the society, in the successive order of their service, have been as follows:

PRESIDENTS: Wm. Hubbard Brown, Walter Loomis Newberry, Jonathan Young Scammon, Edwin Holmes

Sheldon, Isaac Newton Arnold, Elihu Benjamin Washburne, Edward Gay Mason.

SECRETARIES AND LIBRARIANS: William Barry, assisted by Samuel Stone, for the first ten years; Thomas H. Armstrong, Lemuel G. Olmstead, J. W. Hoyt, William Corkran, Belden Farrand Culver, Albert David Hager, John Moses and Charles Evans.

Impressed with the great importance of this institution in a city like Chicago, standing as it does the great metropolitan representative of the northwest, the society has quietly, but persistently, and with intelligent zeal, resumed and pursued its work—a work ever opening out into broader fields and embracing wider circles. The great strides of modern civilization bring us face to face with all the countries and peoples of the earth. We talk daily with Japan, Egypt and Zululand as easily, and by the same medium, as with New York or Boston, and their history becomes ours in divers ways, whether we will or no. We can no longer narrow our lives to our own neighborhood. We are a part of the great whole, and whatever concerns the remotest nation or people concerns us. Every historical society which comprehends the extent and magnitude of its relations will gather into its archives whatever throws light upon the history of the world and man's relations with the great problem of life, whether in the darkness of barbarism or the light of a high civilization. And thus does the work of the intelligent historiographer become one of the most broadening and comprehensive in the whole circuit of human pursuits.*

* The sketch by Mrs. Barry brings the records of the society only down to 1879, since which time they have been continued from data kindly furnished by Chas. Evans, the present secretary and librarian.

R. BLANCHARD.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS AND CHICAGO.

BY JAMES W. SHEAHAN, OF THE CHICAGO "TRIBUNE."
WRITTEN IN 1879.

The state of Illinois was admitted into the Union on the 3rd day of December, 1818, and during the years that have intervened has had a memorable history in the matter of debt, poverty, bankruptcy and taxation. Her record in these particulars is, in many respects, similar to that of many other states, old and new; but her record is unstained by dishonor, is free from all taint of repudiation, and her present glorious condition of wealth, prosperity and high commercial as well as political grandeur is a fitting result of her steadfast devotion to honor and justice in all her financial dealings. On the last day of 1880, Illinois will be free from debt of every kind, with a handsome surplus in the treasury and a steady income, which lessens the ordinary burden of maintaining one of the best administered and most charitable state governments of the Union.

A brief sketch of the origin, the growth and the great magnitude of her public debt; of the courage and fidelity with which her people rejected, under the strong temptations of poverty, destitution, fraud, absolute loss of credit and the example of other states, every suggestion of repudiation; the steps they took to meet that debt by self-imposed taxation, and the final triumph of honest purposes, honestly carried into execution, may find a fitting place in the history of the great northwest.

The new state at the time of its admission contained about 50,000 inhabitants, the census of June, 1820, showing a population of 55,211, and this whole popula-

tion resided, with few exceptions, south of a line drawn west from Alton to the Wabash river.

The science of government and the principles of political economy were but little studied or known in those days. The inhabitants of Illinois were mainly from the southern states, and their habits, traditions and general opinions were widely different from the more advanced systems of the northern and eastern states. One of the peculiarities of the day, and, until very recently, adhered to in some of the southern states, was a resort to public lotteries, instead of to taxation, in order to raise money to meet public expenditures. When the war with Great Britain closed, the population of the territory was small, and money was a rarity. Peltry found a ready sale, and became a medium of exchange; values were computed in deer and coon skins. The legislature of the territory were ready converts to the system (which still has its advocates) of making money cheap and plenty by the mere process of printing. Ohio and Kentucky had met the scarcity of money by chartering a large number of banks; the notes of these banks found their way into Illinois. It was promptly discovered and decided that Illinois need be under no obligations to these states for currency, so the territorial legislature in 1816 chartered "The Bank of Illinois," located at Shawneetown, on the Ohio river, and a year later another bank at Kaskaskia, and still another one at Edwardsville.

These banks were all banks of issue, and their notes were soon put in circulation. To give them credit, the legislature of the territory was induced to make them substantially a legal tender; that is, it enacted laws staying all legal process for the collection of debts unless the creditor would receive the notes of these banks in satisfaction of the execution; and subsequently this law was made to include also the notes of the banks of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. Money was thus made plenty, and it became very cheap, and times were supposed to be good. Incidental to this abundance of money grew the famous charter of the city and bank

of Cairo, which provided for building a magnificent city—the capital to be obtained from the sale of lots at \$150 each—\$50 of which was to be expended in building the city, and the other \$100 was to constitute the capital of the bank. That charter was but a reflex of the popular mind under the excitement and speculative spirit produced by the great inflation.

It required but a brief time for this condition of affairs to collapse. "Everybody was inextricably in debt to everybody." (Davidson and Stuve.)

Such was the condition of affairs when, on January 1, 1819, the first state government of Illinois was inaugurated. The currency was irredeemable; gold and silver there was none. The legislature of the new state sought to avert the coming crash by chartering a new Bank of Illinois, with a capital of \$2,000,000. This bank, however, failed to organize.

In 1820 the banks of Illinois and those of all the neighboring states suspended, many of them were bankrupt, and the brief holiday of inflation was succeeded by the gloom of financial ruin. The legislature of 1820-21 met the difficulty by chartering "The Illinois State Bank," based wholly on the credit of the state. The parent bank was located at Vandalia, with branches at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown, and one in Edwards county. The notes were to be loaned to the people in sums of \$100, on personal security; and all sums over \$100, and not exceeding \$1,000, to any one borrower, on real estate of double the value of the loan. The bank notes bore interest at 2 per cent, and were made legal tender to the extent that executions for debts were stayed, unless endorsed, payable in bills of the bank. Three hundred thousand dollars of these notes were ordered to be issued directly, and that sum was soon issued. The notes at once depreciated, and as the state revenue was paid in this money, the operations of the government were clogged. The notes were payable ten years after date. In 1831, the state borrowed \$100,000 of Col. Thomas Wiggins, and with the money redeemed the notes and wound up the bank.

Directly and indirectly, it is estimated that the state lost \$500,000 by this abortive scheme of banking.*

This was in 1831, and the date is significant, as showing the fleeting effect of even the most costly experience.

In January, 1835, just four years after the collapse and winding up of the "Illinois State Bank," at such heavy cost, the legislature again ventured upon the experiment of banking without capital, and making money cheap and plenty by the mere issue of promises to pay. Severely as the state and the people had already suffered by this delusion, the most costly of all its ventures was now authorized.

A new state bank was chartered, with a capital of \$1,500,000, and the right to increase that capital \$1,000,000 more. Six branches were authorized. The state was to take \$100,000 of the stock, and the remaining \$1,400,000 were to be subscribed by individuals. The subscriptions to the stock far exceeded the amount authorized, and after the awards, the stock commanded 13 per cent premium. The note circulation was not to exceed two and one-half times the sum of the paid-up stock.

The city of Alton at that time aspired to be the controlling center of western trade. Lead from the Galena mines was then an important article of trade. The merchants of Alton held large interests in the bank, and by the aid of loans, undertook to purchase all the lead offered for sale—to corner the entire production. The competition raised the price of lead enormously, the fancy prices attracted all the metal to Alton, but it could not be sold. Other merchants, by the aid of the bank, engaged in like speculations in produce; all proved disastrous. "It was estimated," say Davidson and Stuve, "that the bank lost by the Alton operations \$1,000,000; but these reverses were not generally known." So prosperous was the new bank, that a year after its charter, the legislature was convened in December-January, 1835-36, in special session. The governor recommended that the state subscribe to the extra

* Davidson and Stuve, *History of Illinois*.

\$1,000,000 of bank stock; he represented that the stock was then at 113 and would rise to 130, and the state would realize \$300,000 in premiums. The legislature was not then as advanced as the governor; it, however, authorized the sale of the \$100,000 of stock held by the state.

What the legislature of 1836 hesitated to do, the legislature of 1837 was prepared to do on a much magnified scale. It added \$2,000,000 to the capital stock of the bank, the whole increase to be taken by the state.

The old, defunct, suspended "Bank of Illinois," established at Shawneetown, in territorial days, was revived, with its capital stock increased to \$1,700,000, of which \$1,000,000 was taken by the state. These banks were made depositories of all the state funds, and for the proceeds of all state internal improvement bonds. This legislation was in January, 1837, and the banks had about fairly got in operation when the panic of 1837 occurred. In May the banks suspended specie payments, a special session of the legislature met in July, and the suspension of the banks was legalized. Subsequent legislatures renewed the legalization of the suspension, and the state bank dragged along its paper at a large discount, until, "in February, 1842, the monster institution, with a circulation exceeding \$3,000,000, snapped its thread of life and passed into dissolution, spreading devastation upon every hand, far and wide." (Davidson and Stuve, page 424.)

The State bank, and the Bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown, were wound up by an act of the legislature January 24, 1843. Of the terms of the settlement we will have something to say hereafter.

The refusal of President Jackson to approve the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States, though perhaps dictated by the highest purposes and sound policy, produced consequences which the great president hardly anticipated, and even before the date prescribed by law for the expiration of the charter of the great bank, there had already begun an inflation of paper money, under the inspiration of which the country was then rushing to financial disaster and bank-

ruptcy. The crushing of the one "monster" was followed by the birth of hundreds. We have already told the history, as briefly as possible, of the several schemes of banking projected in the state of Illinois, and of their lamentable and costly termination.

The antagonism of the national government toward the National bank, particularly when shown by the withdrawal of the public deposits from that institution, necessitated the adoption of some other policy. The subtreasury system had not then been devised; the use of banks was a natural continuation of the old system, modified by the extinction of the great national "regulator." The government deposits were then transferred to state banks, those selected being popularly called the "pet banks." So soon as the fate of the United States bank had been definitely determined, there was a strong demand for state banks, and these issuing money in great abundance, led to that inflation out of which grew an era of widespread speculation, and a rivalry between sections and states, for improvements in the way of railroads and canals.

It was under the fever of this great internal improvement demand, that the state of Illinois, at the sessions of 1835 and 1836, overlooked or put out of sight the history of the previous costly experiments of banking, and again chartered banks on a more magnificent scale, to the extent and at the cost already stated. It cannot be denied that this revival of charters for banks in which the state was to be a partner, was due to the popular demand for works of public improvement. The means for this purpose could only be obtained through the agency of banks; the banks were state agents, and were to be sustained by the credit and resources of the state, and were expected to furnish all the bank paper needed to float the credit of the state. The laws were ample for this purpose, so far as this could be accomplished by statute, but no legislation has yet been framed which can compel public confidence nor sustain credit where there are no substantial and available means. So, the legislature having provided the bank in 1835, and that bank having during that

time of universal speculation been eminently successful, the legislature of 1836 enlarged the banking system, that the state might engage in the great system of railway and other improvements, which was to construct a highway to market from every quarter-section farm in the state.

At the election in 1834, Joseph Duncan was elected governor of Illinois. He was then, and had been, a successful member of congress. He was personally opposed to the anti-bank policy of President Jackson, but this was not generally known until after the election. He was inaugurated in December of that year, and in his address boldly denounced the policy of the president. He was elected as a democrat, and sought to capture the popular sentiment by strongly recommending the construction of state roads, cordially approving the project of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and urging liberal charters for railways. He of course proposed banks, and the legislation of 1834-35 was substantially that suggested by him. So successful were the banks then created, that a special session of the legislature was held in the winter of 1835-36, and the banks were enlarged. Speculation had become wild in the extreme.

Chicago was then in her infancy, but real estate in that city reached prices which it never permanently commanded for forty years later. The immigration to the state was, in those days great. In 1836, public lands to the value of \$5,000,000 were entered in Illinois. Speculation was, however, rife in all the infant cities and towns. Lots in Chicago and in the hundreds of other Illinois cities and towns, were purchased, unsight and unseen, by speculators at the east, just as mining property in the mountains of Colorado and Wyoming is now bought. Gov. Ford, in his history, mentions the statement that the staple articles of Illinois export were town plats, and that there was danger of crowding the state with towns to the exclusion of land for agriculture. Under the excitement of this craze a new legislature was elected in August, 1836. The subject of internal improvements was the all-absorbing issue; it was considered that all that was necessary to build up these

towns, and populate the state was the construction of railways. Simultaneously with the meeting of the legislature, a monster convention was held at the seat of government, to promote this grand scheme. The scheme itself was, to a great extent indefinite, but its advocates insisted that it should be comprehensive enough to meet the wants of every locality. The legislature was overwhelmed by an outside pressure, which it was unable, even if disposed, to resist.

On February 27, 1837, the legislature passed the "act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvements." This act authorized and directed the expenditure of various sums for the purposes and objects stated. We include in this list the additions made thereto by subsequent legislation:

Improvement of Great Wabash River.....	\$ 100,000
Illinois River.....	100,000
Rock River.....	100,000
Kaskaskia River.....	50,000
Little Wabash River.....	50,000
Great Western Mail Route from St. Louis to Vincennes.....	250,000
Central Railroad, from Cairo to the Illinois & Michigan Canal..	} 1,600,000
Southern Railroad, from Alton to Mt. Carmel.....	
Railroad from Alton to Shawneetown.....	} 1,800,000
Northern Cross Railroad, from Quincy to Indiana State Line..	
Branch of Central Hillsboro to Terre Haute.....	650,000
Railroad, from Peoria via Mt. Carmel and Carthage to Warsaw..	700,000
Railroad, from Alton to Hillsboro to the Central Railroad....	600,000
Railroad, from Belleville via Lebanon to intersect Southern Cross Railroad.....	150,000
Railroad, from Bloomington to Mackinaw, in Tazewell County, thence to Pekin.....	350,000

Also, an appropriation of \$250,000 out of the first proceeds of the internal improvement bonds, to be distributed per capita of the population, to those counties in which no railroad was directed to be constructed, and in which no navigable stream was to be improved. This money was to be expended in making roads and bridges.

Two "Boards" were of course organized to operate the machinery of this system. One was a board of "Fund Commissioners," to manage the financial part; the other was a board of "Commissioners of Public Works." This latter board had jurisdiction over all the public works, except the canal. The law required that portion of the Northern Cross railroad between

Springfield and Jacksonville to be built immediately. But all the other roads were required to be begun at each end, and at important towns on the line, the work to progress in both directions from every point at which it was begun. The jealousy which inspired such legislation as that, was characteristic of that time. No locality was willing that another should have even a day in advance in the march to unlimited prosperity.

The construction of the canal had, up to this time, been carried on by the proceeds of the sale of lands and of lots in Chicago and other towns along the line of the canal. In order to obtain votes for the internal improvement system, the legislature included in this act of 1837 an authority to make a loan for the sum of \$500,000 for the canal, and thereafter that work became part of the system.

The act of 1837 authorized an expenditure of \$10, - 230,000. At the legislature of 1839, additional expenditures were authorized directly, to the amount of \$1,000, - 000, including two new short railways; and it also included indirectly and prospectively, a new railway from Alton to Carlinville, and additional river improvements. The crowning act was an authority to negotiate a loan of \$4,000,000, to continue the work on the canal.

Connected with the legislation on this subject was that of the removal of the seat of the state government. When it was removed from Kaskaskia, the location at Vandalia was limited to twenty years. Alton had the promise for the future, but Alton had become, in its own expectation, the future commercial metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, and in consideration of being made the terminus of three railways, renounced the claim to be the state capital. Springfield was the aspirant. Sangamon county was a large one, and had nine members of the general assembly, two senators, and seven representatives. These nine votes were of consequence in the passage or defeat of the internal improvement measure. They were primarily for the removal of the seat of government to Springfield, and when the building of a state capitol at Springfield was included in the scheme, the nine votes of Sangamon

voted for the enormous job. Gov. Ford, in his history, thus sums up this part of the story:

"Amongst them were some dexterous jugglers and managers in politics, whose whole object was to obtain the seat of government for Springfield. This delegation, from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question. Most of the other counties were small, having but one representative, and many of them with but one for the whole district; and this gave Sangamon county a decided preponderance in the log-rolling system of those days. It is worthy of examination whether any just and equal legislation can ever be sustained, where some of the counties are great and powerful and others feeble. But by such means 'the long nine' rolled along like a snowball, gathering accessions of strength at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable party for Springfield, which party they managed to make almost as a unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for which the active supporters were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the state about \$6,000,000 to remove the system of that seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices; and thus, by log-rolling on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole state bought up and bribed, to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever cripples the energies of a growing country."

We forbear even a sketch of the financial transactions. The banks negotiated some of the bonds, and all the banks of the country having suspended in 1837, money, such as it was, was easy. The canal loan was sent to Europe, and the negotiations there and at home

were of the most remarkable character. The bonds were forever depreciating, and the proceeds of the loans disclosed cruel losses and much irregularity. At last Gov. Carlin called a special session of the legislature, to meet December 9, 1839. He who, a year before, remonstrated against any abandonment of the scheme, now confessed its failure. He reached the conclusion that if the state went on with the work already begun, it would find itself in debt at least \$21,000,000; it already owed about \$14,000,000; its annual revenue was not over \$200,000; its annual charge for interest was \$800,000; and the population of the state was not exceeding 500,000. Not a mile of railroad had been completed, and the governor stated the assets of the state to be 430,000 acres of land, and 3,491 lots in the towns along the canal, and some railroad iron in New York subject to the payment of duties! This was the end of the system of nearly 1,400 miles of railway, and a canal 100 miles long, and vast river improvements.

In 1838 some eight miles of track from Meredosia, were laid; subsequently, at a cost of \$1,000,000, this track was extended to Springfield, and was sold by the state for \$100,000, payable in state indebtedness. That was the total outcome of the whole mammoth scheme. At that session of the legislature, in the month of February, 1840, the legislature abolished its various boards, prohibited any further sale of bonds, or expenditures, discharged its force of engineers and other officers, and provided for winding up the whole business. The work on the canal was not then arrested—its life was protracted a little longer. This was the situation of affairs when the legislature adjourned in the spring of 1840. The payment of interest for 1841 on the canal loan was accomplished, but it was not possible to meet that on the other parts of the debt. The legislature that met in December, 1840, authorized the hypothecation of a sufficient number of the internal improvement bonds to pay the interest which would "legally" fall due in 1841. The reason for the use of this term "legally" was to meet the objection already raised that some of the bonds of the state had been negotiated

outside of the requirements of the law, and were therefore no longer a legal charge upon the state. A law was also passed authorizing the state to sell state interest bonds—to be sold in the market for what could be got for them. By these expedients the state was able to pay the January and July interest of 1841; that was the last payment that was made—no further efforts seem to have been made to that end. In February, 1842, as has already been stated, the state banks went down, to rise no more, and were put into liquidation. The state bonds were quoted as low as fourteen cents. Davidson and Stuve in their history say, page 452:

“The condition of this fair state, with her calamities thus augmented, was truly distressing. Abroad, her name was freely associated with dishonor; emigrants, dreading high taxation, gave it a wide berth, unless it was those who, having no character of their own, cared little for that of the state of their adoption; while the people here, with rare exceptions, were anxious to sell out and flee a country which presented no alternative but dishonor or exorbitant taxation. The chances to sell were, however, in adverse ratio to the desire, and while impending financial ruin, disgrace and the fear of taxation kept the state from gaining population as rapidly as had been her wont, the impracticability of effecting sales saved her against loss. In the meantime, an utter dearth and stagnation in all kinds of business prevailed.”

Gov. Ford thus describes the condition of affairs at this time in Illinois:

No further attempt was made after July, 1841, to pay interest on the public debt. For want of full knowledge of her condition abroad, and of the condition of other new states, in a short time Illinois, and some others in the west, became a stench in the nostrils of the civilized world. The people at home began to wake up in terror; the people abroad, who wished to settle in a new country, avoided Illinois as they would pestilence and famine; and there was great danger that the future immigrants would be men who, having no regard for their own characters, would also have none for that of the state where they might live. The terrors of high taxation were before all eyes, both at home and abroad. Every one at home wanted to sell his property and move away, and but few, either at home or abroad, wanted to purchase. The impossibility of selling kept us from losing population, and the fear of disgrace, or high taxes, prevented us from gaining materially.

In 1824 the affairs of the infant state of Illinois were brought to a crisis of the most terrible character. It was then proposed to make African slavery an institution of the state. At that moment, when the dark shadow of the national curse thus threatened this broad state, there was, seemingly by the hand of a special Providence, a man raised up to meet the calamity at the threshold, and to resist it so bravely and so successfully, that it was not only kept beyond the limits of the state, but its introduction here was forever thereafter prohibited. That man was Edward Coles, the second governor of Illinois. His name will live in honor while that of Illinois is remembered, and so long as human liberty has an advocate on earth.

In 1842 Illinois was in the dust. Her treasury was empty—her credit destroyed. Her name was a world wide reproach. She was bankrupt—hopelessly. She knew not what to do. She was overwhelmed in debt, and had no property. Her people were in debt far beyond their means of payment. Her statesmen were weak and cowardly. They had involved the state in all her trouble, and had not the courage to take the consequences. It only needed a demagogue bold enough to avow the purpose, and dishonor and shame would have completed the dire misfortune. Again the hand of Providence seemed to have been especially interposed to save the state. Another candidate having been nominated, death intervened and removed him before the election, and the man needed by the state to meet the pending calamity was selected unexpectedly, and was made governor in December, 1842. That man was Thomas Ford—a name which, because of his own great merits of integrity and ability, is forever entitled to distinction and credit, but which is entitled to grateful remembrance because of his heroic and inflexible purity and the firmness, by which he rescued Illinois from the peril into which she had fallen, and of which she was overwhelmed in despair. No braver, truer, nobler man ever served the state; no brighter record tells the public deeds of even the greatest of her sons. Gov. Ford, in his own history of the

state, thus describes the condition of affairs when he entered the office of governor:

There was no party in the legislature of 1842-43 in favor of an immediate increase of taxation to pay interest on the public debt. Many there were who wanted to do nothing for five or ten years; and to trust to luck and accident for the means of improvement. There were a very few who were in favor of repudiating the whole debt of the state, who denied the power of the legislature to bind the people by contracting it, and who were in favor of giving up to the public creditor all the property purchased with the borrowed money, and all the public works constructed by it, as all that ever could or ought to be done in the way of payment. But the great majority of the legislature held different opinions. Resolutions were passed which clearly stated the inability of the state to meet its engagements, and fully recognized our moral and legal obligations to provide for ultimate payment. The pay immediately was out of the question. Heavy taxation then would have depopulated the country, and the debt would never be paid.

He further says:

The people of Bond county, as soon as the internal improvement system passed, had declared in a public meeting that the system must lead to taxation and utter ruin, that the people were not bound to pay any of the debt contracted for it; and that Bond county would never assist in paying a cent of it. Accordingly, they refused to pay taxes for several years. When the system went down and left the state in the ruinous condition predicted by the Bond county meeting, many people remembered that there might be a question raised as to the obligation of payment. Public men everywhere, of all parties, stood in awe of this question; there was a kind of general silence as to what would be popular or unpopular. The two great political parties were watching each other with eagle eyes, to see that no one should get the advantage of the other. The whigs, driven to desperation by repeated ill-success in elections, were many of them in favor of repudiation, as a means of bettering their party. Very many democrats were in favor of the same course, for fear of losing the power the democratic party already possessed. It was thought to be a very dangerous subject to meddle with. At a democratic convention which nominated Mr. Snyder for governor, a resolution against repudiation offered by Mr. Arnold, of Chicago, was laid on the table by an overwhelming vote of the convention, so as not to commit the party one way or the other. It was evident that this was to be a troublesome question, and a great many of the politicians on both sides were as ready to take one side of it as the other, and their choice depended upon which might finally appear to be the most powerful. The whigs were afraid if they advocated the debt-paying policy, the democrats would take the other side and leave the whigs no chance of ever coming into a majority; and the democrats were afraid if they advocated a correct policy, the other side might be more popular, and might be taken by the whigs. I speak only of the leaders of parties; amongst whom on all sides there was a strong suspicion that repudiation might be more popular than taxation.

And he thus states his conviction of what then might have been done:

It is my solemn belief that when I came into office, I had the power to make Illinois a repudiating state. It is true, I was not the leader of any party; but my position as governor would have given me leadership enough to have carried the democratic party, except in a few counties in the north, in favor of repudiation. If I had merely stood still and done nothing, the result would have been the same. In that case, a

majority of both parties would have led to either active or passive repudiation. The politicians on neither side, without a bold lead to the contrary, by some high in office, would never have dared to risk their popularity by being the first to advocate an increase of taxes to be paid by a tax-hating people.

The governor was a practical man, and an honest man, and one more intent upon accomplishing the public interests than upon glorifying himself. We have already stated that he obtained the legislation by which he was able to close out the indebtedness of the state to the banks. The legislature was induced by him to settle with the banks, whereby those institutions surrendered state bonds, held by them as collateral for the capital stock of the banks, subscribed for by the state. Subsequently, and after long and laborious negotiation, the foreign holders of the canal debt were induced to make a further loan of \$1,600,000 to complete the canal, the property to be conveyed to trustees, and held by them until the canal debt and interest was paid. Though the canal debt was not paid, nor the state discharged from it, that debt was placed in a condition that it would be eventually paid out of the earnings of the work itself. By the bank settlements, the state was released of \$3,000,000 of debt, and from the immediate pressure of the canal debt, amounting with deferred interest, to more than \$4,000,000. The governor had fought and beaten down the spirit of repudiation. During these very days of trial and struggle, the state was visited with a succession of storms and floods, carrying off the crops, and reducing the people in several sections to actual want.

But this was only temporarily bridging over an extremity. Something more, and of a permanent character, was required. A delay in the canal negotiation, postponed for a season, other measures were proposed by this fearless and faithful public officer. He proposed, but it was not until a later date, that he obtained the legislation imposing a direct tax of one and one-half mills, to pay interest on the debt of the state. This, be it remembered, was enacted at a time when, for two successive seasons, there had been a failure of crops, a devastation by floods, and an unprecedented visitation

of malarial fevers and other diseases. Under the firm hand of the inflexible governor, the state levied this direct tax to pay interest on the debt—a debt which had left nothing substantial to represent it. It was some time before the machinery for reconstructing the credit of the state could be put in motion. The proceeds of this one and one-half mill tax, levied by the act of 1845, were to be applied to the payment of interest on all the bonds of the state, including the canal bonds; as the interest on the latter consumed nearly one-half the proceeds of the tax, there was, even after the tax began to be collected, a large and annual deficiency of interest which continued to be added to the long account of unpaid interest. At the time of the suspension of interest in 1841, the annual charge for interest was \$830,000. This was reduced somewhat by the settlement with the banks, but it was still, for that day, an immense charge.

The great victory, however, was won when the state resolved to pay the debt and interest, and levied the first tax therefor. After that it was a mere question of time. The moral victory was already accomplished. The people under the guidance of honest Thomas Ford, their governor, had triumphed over every temptation to be false to the state, to their honor and to their creditors. Gov. Ford thus recapitulates the condition of affairs as he found them on entering office in December, 1842, and when he left office in 1846:

In the conclusion of this history, the author must be permitted to indulge in a slight retrospection of the past. In 1842, when he came into office, the state was in debt about \$14,000,000 for moneys wasted upon internal improvements, and in banking; the domestic treasury of the state was in arrear \$313,000 for the ordinary expenses of government; auditors' warrants were freely selling at a discount of 50 per cent; the people were unable to pay even moderate taxes to replenish the treasury, in which not one cent was contained, even to pay postage on letters to and from the public offices; the great canal, after spending \$5,000,000 on it, was about to be abandoned; the banks upon which the people had relied for a currency, had become insolvent, their paper had fallen so low as to cease to circulate as money, and as yet no other money had taken its place, leaving the people wholly destitute of a circulating medium, and universally in debt; immigration to the State had almost ceased; real estate was wholly unsaleable; the people abroad, terrified by the prospect of high taxation, refused to come among us for settlement, and our own people at home were no less alarmed and terrified at the magnitude of our debt, then apparently so much exceeding any known resources of the country. Many were driven to absolute

despair of ever paying a cent of it; and it would have required but little countenance and encouragement in the then disheartened and wavering condition of the public mind to have plunged the state into the one terrible infamy of open repudiation. This is by no means an exaggerated picture of our affairs in 1842.

In December, 1846, when the author went out of office, the domestic debt of the treasury, instead of being \$313,000, was only \$31,000, with \$9,000 in the treasury; auditors' warrants were at par, or very nearly so; the banks had been put into liquidation in a manner just to all parties, and so as to maintain the character of the state for moderation and integrity; violent counsels were rejected; the notes of the banks had entirely disappeared, and had been replaced in circulation by a reasonable abundance of gold and silver coin, and the notes of solvent banks of other states; the people had very generally paid their private debts; a very considerable portion of the state debt had been paid also; about \$3,000,000 had been paid by a sale of the public property, and by putting the banks into liquidation; and a sum of \$5,000,000 had been provided for, to be paid after the completion of the canal; being a reduction of \$8,000,000 of the state debt which had been paid, redeemed, or provided for whilst the author was in office.

The state itself, although broken, and at one time discredited, and a by-word throughout the civilized world, had, to the astonishment of every one, been able to borrow on the credit of its property; the further sum of \$1,600,000 to finish the canal; and that great work is now (1847) in a fair way of completion. The people abroad have once more begun to seek this goodly land for their future homes. From 1843 until 1846, our population rapidly increased, and is now (1847) increasing faster than ever it did before. Our own people have become contented and happy, and the former discredit resting upon them abroad for supposed willful delinquency in paying the state debt, no longer exists.

In 1846 the people, by popular vote, elected a state convention to remodel the constitution. This body met in 1847. The constitution then formed was ratified by the people in March, 1848. Our interest in this constitution is merely to show that a proposition to place in the constitution an irrevocable section imposing a tax to pay the state debt, was voted down. Demagogues and cowards affected to doubt the people's honesty. That section was, however, submitted as an article of the constitution, to be voted upon separately by the people, so that its defeat would not carry with it the defeat of the whole constitution. The vote on this section, imposing a permanent tax of two mills on the dollar, on all the taxable property of the state, to be applied to the payment of the principal of the state debt other than the canal debt, was ratified by the people, they voting directly upon the merits of the proposition.

The state had now made provisions as follows:

1. An annual tax to pay the interest on all the public debt.

2. An annual tax to pay the principal of the state debt other than the canal debt.

3. A setting apart of the earnings of the canal to pay that debt.

Then, in 1850, was the contract with the Illinois Central railroad, by which, in lieu of other taxes, the Illinois Central Railroad Company agreed to pay into the state treasury, a sum equal to 7 per cent of its gross earnings. The state had thus made ample provision for the payment of its debts. In 1847 the state provided for funding the principal of all its debts, except the canal debt, and in 1857 provided for funding all the arrearages of interest on all its debts, issuing bonds therefor, thus paying interest on the interest which had fallen in arrears during the years of helplessness.

It is not the purpose of this paper to relate the detailed history of the debt.

Notwithstanding the payments and reductions made in the twelve years, from 1841 to 1853, such had been the accumulations of unpaid interest, that on January 1, 1853, the principal and overdue interest still unpaid amounted to \$17,398,985. Under the act of 1857, the arrearages of interest accrued and then unpaid were funded to the amount of \$2,973,029.

From the date of the act of 1845, imposing a tax to pay interest on the debt, down to Nov. 30, 1860, the direct taxes collected from the people of Illinois and paid on account of principal and interest of their public debt, was as follows:

RECEIVED AND DISBURSED.

1½ MILL INTEREST TAX.		2 MILL TAX, PRINCIPAL.	
To November 30, 1846..\$	62,024	To November 30, 1850..\$	165,789
1846 to 1848.....	234,944	1850 to 1852.....	492,167
1848 to 1850.....	296,327	1852 to 1854.....	771,221
1850 to 1852.....	366,394	1854 to 1856.....	1,113,413
1852 to 1854.....	528,258	1856 to 1858.....	1,387,554
1854 to 1856.....	966,204	1858 to 1860.....	1,192,010
1856 to 1858.....	1,047,884	Total.....	\$5,052,153
1858 to 1860.....	949,082		
Total.....	\$4,451,333	Grand Total.....	\$9,503,486

With these and other payments, the state debt, November 30, 1860, still remaining unpaid, was \$10,-346,017.

The legislature of Illinois authorized the city of Chicago to make certain expenditures for the purpose of deepening and otherwise improving the Illinois and Michigan canal. This fact gave the city a lien on the canal for the amount not exceeding \$2,800,000 to be refunded at the pleasure of the state, from the earnings of the canal. The great fire in Chicago took place in October, 1871, and the legislature, at a special session, assumed this expenditure, and bonds to that amount were issued to the city in satisfaction of the lien. In this way \$2,800,000 more was added to the cost of the canal, and the bonds issued for that purpose were added to the debt of the state then unpaid.

The debt of Illinois has been comparatively a light burden since 1860. Up to that time the tax had been a grievous one. A half million of people in 1845 bravely began to tax themselves to pay interest on a debt, which then, with accumulated interest, was nearly \$18,000,000. Three years later they adopted a permanent tax, to pay the principal of that debt. The great recovery which followed the adoption of these measures, soon enabled the state not only to meet its current liabilities for interest, but also to begin the payment of the principal, and funding the long over due interest, to begin the reduction. In addition to this, the state in 1856 began to receive an increasing income from the Illinois Central Railroad Company. In 1870 the two mill tax was discontinued, being no longer needed; the interest fund tax was reduced to a nominal sum. The whole tax for ten years on account of the public debt has been nominal, or wholly omitted, and the state treasury has during that time been always in advance of the maturity of the outstanding bonds, which the creditors preferred to hold, than to surrender.

And now, on January 1, 1881, the last outstanding piece of scrip, warrant, voucher, coupon and bond of the state of Illinois, has become due, and has been paid, and the heroic work begun in January, 1842, has been completed, and Illinois has been delivered from her bonds, has been emancipated from the chains in which Gov. Ford found her, and is FREE FROM DEBT.

The foregoing financial history of Illinois show the primitive, as well as the impracticable notions here leading men first had for the public improvement and development of her natural resources. Though much youthful strength was wasted in speculative theories that almost wrecked the state, yet the growth of the states west of her changed the direction of her transportation lines, and brought unexpected revenues to her exchequer, making her at this time the second state in the Union in wealth and numbers. Mr. Sheahan, during his many years' connection with the Chicago Tribune, had the charge of this responsibility pertaining to its fiscal records, and was well qualified to write on the subject, in doing which he has given to the future readers of this work the benefit of important contemporary history not available elsewhere.

Rufus Blanchard.



NEW SEAL OF ILLINOIS.

THE CHICAGO HARBOR AND RIVER CONVENTION.

This convention was the outgrowth of President Polk's veto of the bill making appropriations for the improvement of rivers, and the construction of harbors, at the first session of congress under his administration, with the intimation from him that no such appropriations would receive his sanction whilst president. Popular meetings were held during the vacation of congress in different localities, with reference to the matter for the purpose of forming some concert of action. On his way to the next session of congress, Daniel Webster made at Philadelphia his celebrated speech of December 2, 1846, upon this subject, which may be found in the published volumes of his speeches. Upon the assembling of congress there were very frequent consultations of the members favorable to the vetoed bill, in defense not only of their own views, but to the expressions of the numerous meetings that had been held in vacation. The conclusion of those consultations was that a mass convention should be held at Chicago, without distinction of party, at such a time as its citizens, after mature deliberation, should consider the most opportune. Hon. John Wentworth* was not

*John Wentworth, to whom allusion has heretofore been made, was the first member of congress ever elected from Chicago, or north of Springfield, and had served as such twelve years, his first election being in 1843. He was elected mayor in 1857 and in 1861, and had served the public in various other capacities; and was a director in the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company at the time of its consolidation with the Northwestern. He was born at Sandwich, N. H., March 5, 1815, graduated at Dartmouth college in 1836, and came to Chicago, October 25 of that year. He immediately entered the law office of Henry Moore, completed his law studies at Harvard University, and was

only the congressman from the Chicago district, but was a member of the committee of commerce which had reported the vetoed bill. Congress adjourned March 3, 1847; and, upon Mr. Wentworth's return, he made known to the citizens of Chicago the sentiments of the members of congress opposed to the doctrines of President Polk's veto. A public meeting was called, a day named for the convention, and a committee of five appointed to draft an address to the people of the United States, three of whom had voted for President Polk's election. Of this committee, with the exception of Judge George Manierre, all are now (1880) living in Chicago. The address was written by Hon. John Wentworth, and may be found in full in Vol. II, of Wheeler's Biographical and Political History of Congress, as well as a full history of the convention itself, and a very elaborate review of the proceedings of congress upon the subject of harbor and river improvements from the origin of our government.

This was the first national convention ever held in Chicago, and the number and character of those who attended it did so much toward bringing to light the natural advantages of Chicago, that an extract from the address of the Chicago committee is herewith inserted to give the points at issue before the convention.

The high prices of freight, taken in connection with the loss of life and property upon the western waters last season, caused several public meetings to be held in various sections of the country, for the purpose of devising the best means of remedying those and other evils, of which the great mass of the people interested in commerce were complaining. At all these meetings the propriety of holding a convention at some convenient point was discussed and universally concurred in.

In consequence of Chicago having been generally named as the proper point, its citizens called a meeting, named July 5 as the appropriate time, and chose the undersigned a committee to draft an address setting forth the objects of the convention.

The movers in this matter have been, from the first, like the undersigned, of entirely different politics, and, so far from there being even in the remotest degree any political design in the contemplated convention, one of the chief objects of it is to call together for a common object the men of all parties, and to convince the people everywhere

admitted to the Chicago bar in 1841. He was present at the first meeting called in the winter of 1836-7 to consider the propriety of Chicago becoming an incorporated city, and voted at the first municipal election. Whilst pursuing his legal studies he wrote occasional articles for the *Chicago Democrat*, and eventually became its sole proprietor.

that the improvements desired are not now, never have been and never should be connected with "*party politics*," in the ordinary use of that term. Such a connection would in the minds of all interested have a very deleterious tendency. It cannot be denied that there is a predisposition among all politicians to support the measures of a chief magistrate of their own party, and hence we have seen western representatives, originally supporting harbor and river improvements, and elected upon express pledges to do so, finally vote to support a *veto* of bills providing for that purpose, and assigning as a reason therefor, that it was their duty to sustain an executive of their own selection, even though it be in express opposition to the wishes and interests of their constituents. Repeated instances of this kind must eventually give this question somewhat of a political cast, which the undersigned and all who co-operate with them would seriously regret. * * * *

This convention is designed to be one of free discussion, and it is hoped that the *opponents* as well as the *friends* of lake and river improvements, will attend, and more especially since it is generally believed that they have only to see for themselves in order to be convinced that these demands coming from all our great waters are founded in justice.

Although the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers will be the prominent subject before the convention, yet whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the west and to the development of its resources, will come properly before it, and all plans and suggestions will be freely entertained. The committee invite a general attendance from all sections of the Union, and tender, in behalf of their fellow citizens, the hospitalities of the city of Chicago to such as, impelled by a common interest, see fit to honor them by their presence on the occasion.

JOHN WENTWORTH,	} Committee.
GEORGE MANIERRE,	
J. YOUNG SCAMMON,	
I. N. ARNOLD,	
GRANT GOODRICH,	

BILLY CALDWELL.

Says Hon. John Wentworth: Billy Caldwell owed allegiance to three distinct nations at one and the same time. He was captain of the Indian department of Great Britain in 1816, and never renounced the British allegiance. He was justice of the peace in Chicago, in 1826; and he was Indian chief all this time, and died a British American Indian subject.

The following obituary notice of his death was published in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 28, 1841:

Died, at Council Bluffs, on September 28, last (1841), Sauganash (Billy Caldwell), the principal chief of the united nations of Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawattamie Indians, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was well and favorably known to the old residents of Chicago, and the northern frontier of Illinois, as an old and efficient friend during the Sac and Fox trouble of 1832. Among those of the whites who knew him well, he was esteemed an honorable, high minded, intelligent gentleman; generous to a fault, but attentively devoted to the interest and welfare of his people, who had unanimously called him to the chieftainship of their nation.

LOCALITY OF THE CHICAGO MASSACRE.

This has always been in doubt, but fortunately there is now (1881) a living witness, who obtained the knowledge of the precise spot where it took place, from Mrs. John H. Kinzie, the author of "Waubun," who, although she was not here at the time, had been shown the locality by Mrs. Helm herself. This living witness is Mrs. Henry W. King. She was an intimate friend of Mrs. Kinzie, and by her was told that the massacre took place at the foot of what is now Eighteenth street. This locality has ever been identified in the mind of Mrs. Kinzie as the place, and the large cottonwood tree that grows there near the middle of the street, has been the landmark by which Mrs. Kinzie's memory of the spot has been confirmed from time to time, as the tree grew from the dimensions of a sapling to its present magnitude.

"Woodman, spare that tree."

FIRST THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

TO RUFUS BLANCHARD,
Wheaton, Ill.

The first proclamation of any Thanksgiving day in this state was issued by Hon. Francis C. Sherman, as mayor of Chicago, in 1841, attested by Thomas Hoyne, as city clerk. It is well known that an annual Thanksgiving day is of New England origin, and is, in peculiar respects, a New England institution. From the organization of our state government and the admission of the state into the Union the governors and principal officers of Illinois were of southern extraction, and up to 1841 much the largest portion of our population that had come into this state was made up of families who had emigrated from the states south, bringing with them the customs, and so far as they could, introducing the institutions of their fathers.

Chicago, in common with the northern portion of the state, was colonized by a majority of persons who emigrated from New York, the eastern and middle states. In 1841 the common council of Chicago consisted of twelve (12) aldermen and a mayor. Mr. Sherman, the mayor, was from Connecticut, as was also Julius Wadsworth, a member of the board. The others were from eastern states, and Thomas Hoyne, the third city clerk ever chosen, was serving his second year in office, that officer being elected then annually.

Alderman Wadsworth suggested, that if he (Hoyne) would draft a *resolution*, and then draw a *proclamation* in due form, so that it should go out signed by the

mayor and clerk as authoritative, fixing a special day at the usual time in this city as a day for thanksgiving, requesting the churches to observe and the people of the city to close their places of business, the people of this city could have a holiday, the turkey would be eaten and our 4,000 people would be happy.

All was carried out as proposed. It is not for the author of the proclamation to praise that instrument. But it was a document of tremendous sound and unusual length.

The day appointed was kept, the churches were all opened, the ministers in their places and the sermons were of the orthodox size and style.

A copy of the proclamation was published in the *two* newspapers of that day, one of which, the *Chicago Democrat*, was in the hands of the writer up to the time of the great fire of 1871.

It will appear that in the early infancy of our city we were easily led to adopt one of the most *pious customs* of the pilgrim fathers, while the example was adopted and has since been followed by the state.

THOMAS HOYNE.



CLARK STREET IN 1857.



The Miami, Illinois, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, Pottawattamies and Shawnese were the native tribes of Illinois from its first history to their expulsion. The Illinois Indians were composed of five subdivisions: The Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Peorias and Metchigames, the last being a foreign tribe from west of the Mississippi river, who, having been reduced to small numbers by wars with their neighbors, abandoned their former hunting grounds and joined the Illinois.



In this map we find the Miami driven from the head of Lake Michigan southwardly, and the Pottawattamies in their place. At a later day, 1817, the Weas had a village "at Chicago, but being afraid of the canoe people (the Chippeways and Pottawattamies), left it, and passing around the head of Lake Michigan to be nearer their brethren farther to the east." Father Charlevoix, writing from this vicinity in 1721, says: "Fifty years ago the Miami (*i. e.*, the Wea band) were settled on the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, in a place called *Chicago*, from the name of a small river which runs into the lake.

CHICAGO, May, 1881.

RUFUS BLANCHARD,

Dear Sir:

We have received and read your book, "The Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, with the history of Chicago," and take this means of bearing our testimony to the zeal, industry, thorough research and faithful record made by you, of the times and events covered by your volume. We think you are entitled to public gratitude for the ability with which you have collected this store of historical detail concerning the early history of the Northwest, especially of Illinois and Chicago, and for the entertaining manner in which you have presented that history for the instruction of present and future generations.

J. YOUNG SCAMMON,
H. W. BLODGETT,
WILLIAM BLAIR,
B. W. RAYMOND,
C. B. FARWELL,
MARSHALL FIELD,
O. W. NIXON,
L. Z. LEITER,
JOHN A. JAMESON,

W. F. POOLE,
J. W. SHEAHAN,
ANDREW SHUMAN,
ZEBINA EASTMAN,
WILBUR F. STOREY,
O. F. FULLER,
GEORGE SCHNEIDER,
J. S. RUMSEY,
MARK SKINNER.

J. MEDILL,
W. H. WELLS,
WM. ALDRICH,
G. S. HUBBARD,
J. D. CATON,
PERRY H. SMITH,
GRANT GOODRICH,
WM. HENRY SMITH,

The above is a copy of a circular presented me at the time of the publication of the book described. It is now to be republished with revisions and another volume added to it—the whole to be complete in twelve parts.

R. B.

CHICAGO, January, 1899.

RUFUS BLANCHARD,

Dear Sir:

Realizing, as we do, the importance of an authentic history of Chicago from cotemporary sources, to be handed down from our own times to futurity, we, the undersigned, hereby approve the opinions given, in the above circular, by the signers thereof, and we confide to you our assistance in continuing the work.

Marshall Field
H. W. Blodgett
James B. Bradwell
Melville E. Stone
O. F. Fuller
A. H. Higinbotham
George F. Stone
L. Z. Leiter
Sutherland & Mills.

Thomas J. Ryan ^{Wm. Sumner Wilson}

Francis B. Peabody. ^{Henry A. Smith.}

John Hitt C. C. Bonney.

S. E. Cross E. B. Webb

Alex. J. Rudolph. A. J. Lane.

~~Wm. H. Foot~~

Henry H. Hanchey

Franklin MacVeagh

Henry H. Hanchey

D. Henry Sheldon

E. Cummings.

Fredrick J. H. H. H.

~~Franklin MacVeagh~~ E. Colbert

C. J. Gunther.

Wm. H. Hanchey William Blair

Thursantus
Jas. H. Kied

John G. Shortall,

Chas. J. Barnes.

John H. Hollister

Grace W. Smith.

William P. Adams,

Wheaton
George W. Winder

Mary J. Leiter

E. W. Blatchford.

Nancy M. Shepard

W. M. R. French

D. G. Hamilton

J. W. Butler
W. P. Graham
John Zimmerman.

Anna S. Scammon
Charles Stromberg

C. B. Farwell
Elizabeth Kinner

~~W. H. Gumbert~~

D. W. Lunderback
Mr. & Mrs. H. J. Willing

Calvin DeMott

John W. Hutchinson
Last of the Hutchinson Family

William Harper

Arthur M. Kirgic.

Grand son of John Kirgic.

Wm. Smith

Wm. McElally

Frank Rinder

James C. Perrench

Theater Des.

Robert H. Tunnell

Geo. H. Loftin

Nathan M. Deer

John Farnwell Sr.

W. H. Ketcherman

Robt. Thos. Rufus W. Powell
Walter C. Newberry J. Manz
Lambert Rice J. S. Newberry
George F. Crane Thomas Dent
F. Brown

END OF VOL. I.

Through the generosity of the persons whose autographs are printed herewith, the writer has been assured a just remuneration for his labor.

That posterity will feel a sense of obligation to these signers is not to be questioned, and that this work is destined to be an heirloom to their descendants is the ambition of one whose life energies have been spent here.

Rufus Blanchard.

Chicago, August, 1899.

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Abercrombie, Gen.....	128
Appointed to Command the Eng- lish Forces in America.....	131
Defeated at Ticonderoga.....	133
Acadia.....	116
Acadians Removed.....	117
Albany, Convention at.....	90
Alouez.....	14
American Fur Co.....	469
Branches at Chicago.....	471
Amherst, Maj. Gen., Appointed to Command the English Forces in America.....	139
Astor, John Jacob, His Designs.....	468
Establishes His Headquarters at Mackinaw.....	469
Astoria.....	469
Autographs of Chicago Citizens.....	876
Bad Axe, Battle of.....	562
Baughs.....	64
Beaulieu.....	55, 112
Beaubien, J. B.....	596
Beckwith, H. W., His Account of the Winnebago Scare.....	513
Beck's Gazetteer, Extract from.....	612
Blackhawk, His Narrative.....	425
His War.....	531
His Death.....	568
Black Partridge.....	391, 397, 403,
His Village Burned.....	610
Blanchard, Col.....	118, 125
Bloody Run, Battle of.....	173
Bones of Victims of Chicago Mas- sacre Buried.....	469
Boscaween, Admiral.....	131
Takes Louisburg.....	132
Bouquet, Gen., Relieves Ft. Pitt.....	181
In the Indian Country.....	187
His Terms to the Indians.....	188
Braddock, Gen., Arrives in America and Marches Against Ft. Du- quesne.....	111
Is Defeated.....	113
Bradstreet, Gen., Relieves Detroit.....	185
Takes Ft. Frontenac.....	134
Brady, Tom, Takes St. Joseph.....	223
British Orders for the Confiscation of Goods on the High Seas.....	364
Intrigues with the Indians.....	296
Evacuates the Western Posts.....	812
Brock, Gen.....	383
Bross, Wm., His Account of Pioneer Citizens.....	621
Buckongahelas, Champion of the British.....	221
Bunker Hill, Battle of.....	221
Bushy Run, Battle of.....	181
Cadillac, Commandant of Detroit.....	74
Cahokia Settled.....	77
Caldwell, Billy.....	350, 686
Courage in Saving Lives.....	406

	PAGE.
His Death.....	618
His Nationality.....	671
Calhoun, John.....	600
Campbell, Maj.....	166, 168
Canada Given Up to the British.....	149
Its Limits Extended.....	217
Canadian Voyageurs.....	346
Cartier, James.....	10
Carpenter, Philo, Arrives at Chicago.....	578
Cass, Gen. Lewis.....	853
Cass, Gov., The Guest of Billy Cald- well at Chicago.....	510
Cavelier.....	64, 66
Celeron, Capt., Burries Leadon Plates.....	81
Champlain.....	10
Battle with the Five Nations.....	11
Reaches Lake Huron.....	12
Checaugou.....	49
Chicago, Population in 1834.....	577
River, Mouth of.....	581
Population in 1831.....	583
Organized as a Town.....	584
Headquarters for the Fur Trade.....	471
Inhabitants of, in 1818.....	474
Its Inhabitants in 1812.....	375
Its Buildings and Settlements in 1831.....	521
Its Name First on School Atlases.....	496
Surveyed into Government Sec- tions.....	506
Surveyed into Lots.....	515
Poll Books of.....	517
Voters of, in 1835.....	517
Assessed Valuation of, in 1835.....	517
Makes Application for British Traders to be Sent Them.....	210
River, Mouth of, Straightened.....	584
First Public Credit of.....	585
Great Indian Treaty at.....	587
Adjacent Settlements to.....	522
French Fort Built at.....	68
Hut Built at.....	818
Massacre at.....	395
Locality of Massacre at.....	671
Missionary Station at.....	69
Surveyed and Platted.....	507
The Indian Chief.....	214
Harbor and River Convention.....	603
Childs, Col. Ebenezer, His Report of the Country in 1821.....	484
Cholera at Chicago.....	550
Cincinnati Settled.....	266
Clark Street in 1857.....	672
Clark, Gen. Geo. Rogers, Plans an Expedition to Kaskaskia.....	225
Takes Kaskaskia.....	225
Forms an Alliance with the Indians.....	227
The French Join His Standard.....	230
Advances on Vincennes and takes the Place.....	232

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Cleveland, Site of, Purchased	314	Ft. Meigs Besieged by Gen. Proctor	441
Surveyed	316	Desperate Defense	443
Clybourne, Archibald	341	Ft. Niagara	141
Wedded to Mary Galloway	506	Ft. Pitt	137
Jonas, His Horseback Ride to Chicago	504	Attacked	177
Columbia River Discovered	331	Ft. Edwards	125
Colbert, Elias	613	Ft. Henry	119, 125
Connecticut Land Co.	313	Ft. Le Boeuf	84
Continental Congress	221	Ft. Washington Built	268
Contrecoeur	112	Ft. Necessity, Articles of Capitulation	89
Cook County, Its Territory in 1831 ..	521	Fort Ordered to be Built on Upper Lakes	333
Organized	584	France Declares War Against England	128
Cook, Capt.	132	Cedes Louisiana to Spain	148
Court Established at Kaskaskia and Vincennes	270	Franklin	90
Crawford's Expedition to Take Sandusky	245	Takes Issue with Gov. Denny, of Pennsylvania	129
His Defeat and Capture	246	French Missionaries Reach the Falls of St. Mary	12
He Is Burned at the Stake	247	Frontenac	33
Croghan, Geo., Starts for the Illinois Country	196	Fur Trade Under the French	487
Taken Prisoner After an Indian Battle, but Treated Like a Conquerer	198	Gage, Gen.	182
At Ouatanon, Holds Council with the Indians	199	Proclamation to the French of Illinois	312
Journal	201	Galloway, James, Arrives in Chicago ..	500
DeChamps, Antoine, Agent for the American Fur Co.	472	His Troubles on the Way	501
Decrees of Berlin	364	Genet, French Minister to the United States	293
Desplaines River	582	His Removal Requested by Jefferson	294
Detroit Surrendered by Gen. Hull ..	384	Ghent, Treaty of	463
Dieskau Marches Against Johnson ..	118	Gist, Christopher	81
Taken Prisoner	120	Gladwin, Maj.	163
Dixons, Ferris	526	Great Interior Beyond Chicago	499
Dog Feast of Blackhawk Broken Up ..	541	Great Britain Declares War Against France	825
Doughty, Maj., His Charmer	266	Green Tree Hotel	565
Dulhut, G.	41	Green Bay	14
Dumas	115	Greenville, Treaty at	304
Dunmore, Lord, Withdraws the British Troops from Ft. Pitt	217	Griffin, The, Built	83
Dunmore's Army Foreshadows the American Revolution	220	Sails Up the Lakes	84
Ellis Joel	579	Halfking, Chief	83
Embargo Act	865	Hall, Benjamin	842
England Declares War Against France	128	Hamilton, the Hair Buyer	229
English, The, on the Upper Lakes ..	72	Harmar, Gen., Invades the Indian Country	272
Distribute Presents Among the Indians	357	Governor of Indiana Territory ..	321
Pledges to Tecumseh	460	Fights the Battle of Tippecanoe ..	359
Expedition Against the Indian Towns in Illinois	420	Relieves Ft. Wayne	419
Factory, The, System	477	Appointed to Command the Northwestern Army	435
First Continental Congress of 1774 ..	221	Defends Ft. Meigs	440
First British Colonial Governors of Illinois	213	Invades Canada	454
Steam Engine	555	Harrison Fights the Battle of the Thames	455
Brick House Built at Chicago	508	Heald, Capt., Evacuates Ft. Dearborn	393
Florida Ceded to the United States ..	329	Attacked by Indians	395
Forbes, Gen.	134	Heckwelder, Mary, First White Child Born in Ohio	241
Ft. Apple River	553	Helm, Mrs.	396
Ft. Dearborn Built at Chicago	333	Hendricks, Chief	119
Armament of	336	Hennepin	37, 38, 40, 41
Its Garrison	374	Heresy Rebuked by Champlain	487
Rebuilt	489	Hogan, J. S. C.	580
Official Record of	509	Howard, Capt., Takes Possession of Forts on the Upper Lake	186
Ft. Duquesne Taken	137	Hubbard, Gurdon S., Enlists in the Service of the American Fur Co. ..	472
Ft. Wayne Built	303	Arrives at Chicago	473
Besieged	415	His Narrow Escape	476
Ft. Miami Built at the Mouth of the St. Joseph River	35	Huchins, Thos., Director of Public Surveys	263
Ft. St. Louis	51	Hudson, Henry	11
Ft. Creve Cœur Destroyed	42	Hudson Bay Co.	468
Ft. Charters Built	77	Howe, Gen., Sent to Detroit	871
Ft. Stevenson, Its Gallant Defense ..	447	Hull, Gen., His Dilemma at Detroit ..	380
Ft. McIntosh	233	Hut Built at Chicago	318
Ft. Beggs Built	546	Iberville Enters the Mississippi	67
Ft. Laurens Attacked by the British and Indians	239		

	PAGE.
Illinois and Michigan Canal Located	515
Incorporated	507
Illinois Admitted Into the Union	492
Illinois Tribes, Their Unwritten Laws	19
Illinois Territory Constituted	360
Indiana Territory, Its Census of 1810	352
Indians Demand the Ohio as a Boundary	285
Indian Treaty at Chicago in 1821	479
Indian Treaty of 1818, for a Strip of Land from the Illinois River to Chicago	491
Indian Creek Massacre	543
Indian Council at Ft. Niagara	183
At the Mouth of the Maumee River	232
Its Failure	291
Indians Removed from Chicago	593
Indian Architecture	475
Iroquois, The Invasion of	46
Jay's Mission to the English Court	302
Treaty, Its Effect	363
Jefferson, Thos.	250
Johnson, Sir William	183
Joliet with Marquette	14
Returns to Canada	20
Joutel	56
Jumonville	87
Kaskaskia Settled	77
Capitol of the State of Illinois	464
Kellogg's Grove, Battle of	559
King Geo. III, His Proclamation to Penn. Governor of Pennsylvania	215
Kinzie, John	339, 578
John, Arrives at Chicago	344
Mrs. John H.	346, 576
John, Returns to Chicago	490
Advises Capt. Heald to Hold Ft. Dearborn	387
Family Sent to Detroit	407
John, Gets the News of Perry's Victory	453
John, His Death	518
Robt., His Death	599
John, His Ancestry	575
Arthur, His Reminiscences	592
La Barre	63
La Cede Settles St. Louis	193
La Fromboise, J. B.	597
Lake Superior Reached by French	12
La Mal at Chicago	318
La Point	14
La Salle	32
Makes the Portage of the Kankakee	35
Commences Building a Fort and Vessel on the Illinois River	36
Sails for the Mouth of the Mississippi	54
Lands at Metagorda Bay and Starts for the Illinois Country	56
Assassinated	60
His Death Avenged	63
Le Boeuf Taken	178
Lee's Place	375, 596
Massacre at	279
Little Turtle Defeats the American Army	380
Masterly Speech after Defeat	304
He Cedes Six Miles Square Around the Mouth of the Chicago River at the Treaty of Greenville	809
Loftus, Maj., Attempts to Reach the Illinois Country	195
Logan, The Iroquois Chief, His Famous Speech	219
Loudon, Lord, Appointed Governor of Virginia	126
Louisburg Taken by the British	131
Louisiana Named by La Salle	50
Northern Limits of	332

	PAGE.
Ceded to Spain	194
Ceded to United States	326
Mackinaw Taken by the British	573
Taken by the Indians	166
Mann, John	579
Malze, Paulette, Takes St. Joseph	224
Margarette and Elizabeth, Two Heroine Captives	337
Marquette, Father, and Joliet on the Illinois River	18
Discovers Chicago	20
Winters at Chicago	22
Autograph Map	21
Starts for Canada	23
He Dies	23
Journal	24
Bones Exhumed	30
Remains Removed to St. Ignace	27
Monument	24
Marietta Settled	254
McKee, David, His Account of Early Chicago	530
Membre	49
Michilimackinac Taken Possession of by the British	156
Miller, Samuel	603
Military Possession Taken of West Florida by the United States	327
Mississippi Discovered	15
River Made the Western Boundary of the United States	249
Monroe, Col.	130
Monckton, Gen.	111
Montcalm Takes Ft. Wm. Henry	130
Death	146
Montreal	13
Moravian Settlements on the Muskingum	237
Moravians Massacred	246
Morrison, Ezekiel	584
Naperville Settlers Alarmed	544
Newberry, Oliver	580
New Orleans Settled	68
New Design First American Settlement in Illinois	263
Nichols, Luther, the Last Surviving Soldier of Ft. Dearborn	495
Nika	42
North Bend	306
Northwest Divided Into 1st, 2d and 3d Divisions	256, 259, 261
Ohio Company	254
Oliver, Wm., the Brave Scout	417
His Daring Exploit to Relieve Ft. Meigs	443
Ojibewa Girl	102
Ordinance of 1784, Ceding the Northwest to the United States	258
Oswego Taken by the French	128
Ouatanon Taken	166
Ouilmette, First French Resident in Chicago	574
Pauly, Ensign	167
Payne, Rev. Adam, Killed	555
Peace of 1783 with England	249
Peace of 1814 with England	462
Pecatonica, Battle of	561
Peck, P. F. W., Arrives at Chicago	580
Peoria Attacked	423
Perry's Victory	450
Perrot, Nicholas, Takes French Possession of the Lake Country	14
Pictured Rocks	16
Pierre, Eugenie, Marches Against St. Joseph and Takes the Place	234
Pioneer Tavern Keeping	598
Pitt Appointed Premier	129
Pontiac Gives Warning to the English	159
His Short Gun Conspiracy	163
Attacks the Fort at Detroit	164

PAGE.	PAGE.
Smokes the Pipe of Peace.....	213
His Death.....	213
Northern Illinois Boundary Changed.....	493
Post, Christian Frederick.....	135
Pottowattomies, The.....	376
In 1818.....	475
Powers, Thomas, His Intrigues with the West.....	824
Prairie du Chien Taken by the Brit- ish.....	459
Presquoish Taken.....	177
Proctor, Gen., Requires the Citizens of Michigan to Take the Oath of Allegiance to England.....	438
Retreats from Ft. Meigs.....	445
Public Surveys.....	263
Putnam, Israel.....	139
Quebec Settled.....	10
Red Jacket, His Caustic Speech.....	314
Reynolds, John, His Vain Attempt to Compromise Between the Indians and the Whites.....	535
Reynault, Philip Francis, Introdu- ces Slavery into Illinois.....	192
River Rasin, Battle of.....	437
Robinson, Alex.....	592
Rogers, Maj. Robt., Ordered to Take Possession of the Western Post.....	150
Takes Possession of Detroit.....	155
Russell, J. B. F.....	593
Sauganash Hotel.....	568, 598
Sandusky Taken.....	166
Schools, Public, in Chicago.....	618
Schoolcraft, Henry R., at Chicago.....	479
Schuyler, Gen.....	128
Scott, Gen., Ordered to Chicago.....	548
His Route to Rock Island.....	566
Shabonee.....	511, 607
Shelby, Gov., Joins Gen. Harrison.....	454
Shirley, Gen.....	111
Marches Against Ft. Niagara.....	117
Simon, Girty.....	241
Sioux, The.....	12
Snow, G. W.....	578
Spain Cedes Louisiana to France.....	825
Closes the Mouth of the Mississippi River.....	252
St. Joseph Taken.....	166
St. Francis Xavier, Mission of.....	15
St. Ange.....	195
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, Appointed Governor of the Northwest Ter- ritory.....	264
Louisa, a Heroine of the Forest.....	278
St. Clair, Gov., Invades the Indian Country.....	279
Is Defeated by Little Turtle.....	280
Stobo Given Up by Washington as a Hostage.....	88
His Wonderful Adventure.....	142, 143
Starved Rock.....	52, 214
Sterling, Capt., Takes Possession of the Illinois Country.....	211
Steuben, Baron, Sent by Washing- ton to Secure the Western Posts from the English.....	269
Stillman's Defeat.....	542
St. Louis Besieged by the British and Indians.....	235
St. Louis and Chicago in 1821.....	484
Supply Fleet for Detroit Captured.....	169
Thames, The, Battle of.....	455
Taylor's, Capt. Zachary, Defense of Ft. Harrison.....	416
Taxpayers in Chicago in 1835.....	516
Tecumseh Saves the Life of White Messengers.....	353
Made Brigadier-General in the British Army.....	374
Complaints of the British.....	461
Slain.....	457
Tippecanoe, the Place of the Indian Council.....	351
Battle of.....	358
Tonty.....	34, 46, 48, 49, 52, 54, 66, 67, 68
Treaty with the Sac Indians.....	464
With Spain, Giving Up the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River.....	324
Two Hundred and Six White Cap- tives Returned to Bouquet.....	189
Ultimatum in French and Indian War.....	127
Van Braum Given Up by Washing- ton as a Hostage.....	88
Venango Taken.....	178
Vigo, Francis.....	232
Vincennes Settled.....	68
Taken by Clark.....	233
Volney's Admiration of Little Turtle Walker, Geo. E., Becomes Bail for an Indian Tried for His Life.....	311
War Between Spain and England.....	234
Declared Against England by the United States.....	369
Wawatam Saves Henry the Trader.....	185
Washington's Mission to the Ohio.....	91
Washington at Braddock's Defeat.....	113
Wayne, Ft., Prepares for Defense.....	416
Gen. Anthony, Given Command of the Northwestern Army.....	205
Victory Over Little Turtle.....	298
Wells, Wm. Wayne, Arrives at Ft. Dearborn.....	394
Weld, Isaac, His Statement.....	299
Wentworth, Elijah.....	604
Wharfing Privileges.....	613
Whistler, Maj. William, Arrives at Chicago.....	549
White Eyes, Champion for the United States.....	222
Williams, Col.....	119
Eli B., Arrives at Chicago.....	583
Wild Bear in Chicago.....	614
Winnemac.....	352
Brings to Ft. Dearborn the News of Hull's Surrender.....	386
Winnebago Scare.....	508
Wisconsin Heights, Battle of.....	552
Wolcott, Alexander, His Marriage with Miss Ella Kinzie at Chicago.....	478
Wolf's Point.....	603
Wolfe, Gen., Before Quebec.....	141
Defeated at Point Levi.....	143
Gains the Heights of Abraham.....	145
Takes Quebec.....	146
Death.....	146
Ziesburger, David.....	237

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR	1
MARQUETTE'S MAP.....	21
MARQUETTE MONUMENT.....	27
STARVED ROCK	52
WASHINGTON AT BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.....	113
MAP ILLUSTRATING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR	122
DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE ON THE BATTLEFIELD.....	150
PLAN OF DETROIT IN 1749.....	157
PLAN OF TOWN AND FORTIFICATIONS OF DETROIT IN 1796.....	175
PLAN OF FT. PITT IN 1759.....	180
GEN. CLARK WADING THROUGH THE SUBMERGED VALLEYS.....	231
MARIETTA IN 1788.....	255
MAP No. 1, DIVISION OF THE WEST.....	256
MAP No. 2, DIVISION OF THE WEST.....	259
MAP No. 3, DIVISION OF THE NORTHWEST.....	261
CINCINNATI IN 1810.....	267
CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.....	275
FORT WAYNE IN 1794.....	305
CLEVELAND IN 1796.....	317
COSTUMES OF EARLY SETTLERS.....	319
OLD FORT DEARBORN	335
THE OLD KINZIE MANSION.....	340
CHICAGO IN 1812	343
EARLY FRENCH MAP	348
FT. GREENVILLE.....	350
HOSTILE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HARRISON AND TECUMSEH.....	354
GOVERNOR HULL'S RESIDENCE.....	385
BLACK PARTRIDGE'S MEDAL.....	391
MONUMENT OF THE FT. DEARBORN MASSACRE.....	413
SECTION OF MOLL'S MAP.....	433
FT. MEIGS.....	441
PERRY'S VICTORY.....	451
MAP ILLUSTRATING PONTIAC'S WAR	460
LOCALITY OF FT. DEARBORN	465
SCHOOLCRAFT'S VIEW OF CHICAGO IN 1821	479
MINIATURE MODEL OF THE FIRST FT. DEARBORN	481
FT. DEARBORN IN 1853.....	482
MAP OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS IN 1835.....	523
INDIAN TRIBES IN ILLINOIS IN 1812.....	524
BLACK HAWK	529
BATTLE OF BAD AXE.....	563
THE SAUGANASH HOTEL.....	568
DEARBORN STREET DRAWBRIDGE	572
MAP ILLUSTRATING THE BLACK HAWK WAR.....	574
GREEN TREE HOTEL.....	595
WOLF'S POINT.....	604
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S BUILDING	643
CLARK STREET IN 1857	672
INDIAN TRIBES OF ILLINOIS IN 1684.....	673
INDIAN TRIBES OF ILLINOIS IN 1765.....	674
AUTOGRAPHS OF CHICAGO CITIZENS.....	675



HUS
B6394d

48996

Author Blanchard, Rufus

Title Discovery and conquests of the Northwest with the

history of Chicago. Vol. I.

NAME OF BORROWER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

